

RESEARCH

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JOURNALISTIC COMMUNICATION OF GASTRONOMY IN SPAIN DURING THE FIRST THIRD OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (1900-1936)

M^a Dolores Fernández Poyatos¹: University of Alicante, Spain
dolores.fernandez@ua.es

Ainhoa Aguirregoitia Martínez: University of Alicante, Spain
aam47@alu.ua.es

ABSTRACT

During the first third of the twentieth century, gastronomy was a topic of interest in the Spanish press, which compiled news and articles from prominent chefs such as Ignacio Domenech and Teodoro Bardaji, but also from renowned journalists and writers, such as Dionisio Perez Pardo Bazan, Carmen de Burgos, who vindicated the defense of the national cuisine, interceded to improve and expand the domestic and professional culinary education and disseminated issues of gastronomic history and innovations and technical advances. In this paper, the analysis of gastronomy in pictorials, weeklies and newspapers of the time is presented through the online catalogue of the National Library. The results show, on the one hand, the value of the press as a primary source to know the history of gastronomy in Spain in a little researched and, paradoxically, quite reprobate period; on the other hand, the abundance of documents found, many of them unpublished, confirms the important gastronomic movement that took place in Spain during those years.

KEYWORDS

Gastronomy -Journalism - History - Twentieth Century - Spanish Culinary - Journalistic Communication

¹**M^a Dolores Fernández Poyatos**: She is a professor at the University of Alicante, where she develops her teaching and research activities in various degrees and masters. dolores.fernandez@ua.es

LA COMUNICACIÓN PERIODÍSTICA DE LA GASTRONOMÍA EN ESPAÑA EN EL PRIMER TERCIO DEL SIGLO XX (1900-1936)

RESUMEN

Durante el primer tercio del siglo XX, la gastronomía fue un tema de interés en la prensa española, que recogió abundantes noticias y artículos de notables cocineros como Ignacio Doménech y Teodoro Bardají, pero también de reconocidos periodistas y escritores -Dionisio Pérez, Pardo Bazán, Carmen de Burgos- que reivindicaron la defensa de la cocina nacional, abogaron por mejorar y ampliar la enseñanza culinaria doméstica y profesional y divulgaron asuntos de historia gastronómica e innovaciones y avances técnicos. En el presente trabajo se expone el análisis de la gastronomía en revistas ilustradas, semanario y diarios de la época a través del catálogo *online* de la Biblioteca Nacional. Los resultados muestran, por una parte, el valor de la prensa como una fuente primordial para conocer la historia de la gastronomía en España en un período poco investigado y, paradójicamente, bastante reprobado; por otra, la abundancia de los documentos hallados, mucho de ellos inéditos, permite confirmar el importante movimiento gastronómico que hubo en España durante esos años.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Gastronomía- Periodismo - Historia - Siglo XX - Culinaria española - Comunicación periodística.

A COMUNICAÇÃO PERIODÍSTICA DA GASTRONOMIA NA ESPANHA NO PRIMEIRO TERÇO DO SÉCULO XX(1900-1936).

RESUMO

Durante o primeiro terço do século XX, a gastronomia foi um tema de interesse na imprensa espanhola, que dedicou abundantes notícias e artigos de notáveis cozinheiros como Ignácio Doménech e Teodoro Bardají, mas também de reconhecidos jornalistas e escritores- Dionísio Pérez, Pardo Bazán, Carmen de Burgos- que reivindicaram a defesa da cozinha nacional, defenderam por melhorar e ampliar o ensino culinário doméstico e profissional e divulgaram assuntos de história gastronômicas, inovações e avances técnico. No presente trabalho se expõe a analises da gastronomia em revistas ilustradas, semanários e diários da época através do catálogo online da Biblioteca Nacional. Os resultados mostram, por uma parte, o valor da imprensa como uma fonte primordial para conhecer a historia da gastronomia na Espanha em um período pouco investigado e, paradoxalmente, bastante reprovado; por outro lado, a abundância dos documentos encontrados, muitos deles inéditos, permite confirmar o importante movimento gastronômico que houve na Espanha durante esses anos.

PALAVRAS CHAVE

Gastronomia - Periodismo - História - Século XX - Culinária espanhola - Comunicação jornalística.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The gastronomic speech during the first third of the twentieth century

Throughout the first third of the twentieth century, there was progressive collaboration of personalities interested in the gastronomic theme in the Spanish press. It was famous chefs, but also journalists, writers and scholars, lovers of good food, mostly of the culinary issue in Spain, some of them participated with sections, columns and news at fixed or sporadic intervals (most of the time). The most relevant ones with greater participation and continuity were Ignacio Domenech, Teodoro Bardají and Dionisio Perez. The first two -who were cooks-- are considered the main ones of their time and the forerunners of modern Spanish gastronomy; they both published remarkable books with recipes and were also tenacious defenders of our cuisine.

Domenech is recognized as the editor of two magazines about cuisine -*The Elegant Kitchen* (1904-1905) and *The White Hat* (1906-1945) -. In addition, he left his legacy in important weeklies and his contributions are remarkable in *The Elegant Fashion* in 1920 and *The Golden Ant* from 1925 to 1932, with a section called "The Manduca" where he said he devised recipes specifically for the magazine. As of March 31, 1932 to August 1933, he contributed in the same magazine with the section "Culinary Recipes", taken from his book *The New Spanish Elegant Cuisine*.

Teodoro Bardají wrote in the most important culinary mastheads of that moment: *The Elegant Kitchen*, *The White Hat* -both of Domenech, *Palate*, *The Spanish Patisserie* and *They*, and in the last one he published a section with numerous recipes from 1932 to 1934. There is evidence of some critical text such as the one found in the newspaper *Freedom* on 10 January 1930, with a review to the republication of *The Book of Stews* by Ruperto de Nola, where he criticized the neglect of the Spanish cuisine by almost all national writers who, by custom, glorified Brillat-Savarin and forgot our writers of the Golden Age. he was also a pioneer in the use of other ways of communication such as radio, which started in the first third of the twentieth century to be a surprising new environment; we have verified his participation in 1934 in Spain Radio with "Culinary Recipes" within the program sponsored by the magazine *They* (12/23/1934, p. 20).

We must specially mention the abundant journalistic contribution of Dionisio Pérez (Post-Thebussem), who, in 1926 and from the newspaper *The Voice*, was pleased that talking about the culinary issue in national newspapers was in fashion again, as Dr. Thebussem claimed in his writings fifty years ago (1888). For four years, he signed a column that left a estimable testimony of his culinary ideas with recipes, dishes and products of Spanish regions which, to some extent, could be a reflection of the interest in regional identity that spread throughout Europe since the end of the 19th century (Storm, 2011, pp. 162-163). In the profusion of themes there is prevalence of

the defense of the Spanish cuisine and its vindication as compared to the French cuisine, which he estimated and recognized for its interest and contribution to the culinary art, but of which he disapproved and even excoriated when it took possession of Spanish dishes and products such as the mayonnaise sauce (*The Voice*, 18.5.1929, p. 2); in other magazines in which he collaborated such as *Around the World*, he branded the Gallic cuisine as a conglomerate of plagiarisms, copies and kidnapping. There, in November 1929, he began to publish extensive extracts from his *Guide of Spanish Good Eating*, which was published that year by the National Tourist Board and is today considered one of the great treatises of the national cuisine.

His articles contained invectives against the contempt and the bad press the Spanish cuisine is subject to. Especially hard was the one he aimed at Gregorio Marañón in *New World* about a text in which the doctor discredited our cuisine (24.1.1930, p. 57). Although he began collaborating with the weekly *Perojo* in early 1929, and despite his having announced his fixed section "The national little stove of Post-Thebussem" he barely wrote half a dozen articles in which he used to censor the lies frequently poured from France about our cuisine, and for other issues of social courtesy such as showing his appreciation after being appointed honorary president of the Association of Catalan Chefs and the Cooks Guild of Madrid.

Other topics he dealt with were about recipes and products such as rice, codfish, strawberries, cheese, paprika, tomato, cherry, chocolate, soft drinks for summertime -barley water, mead, water aniseed in a jug, drink made of sugarcane (nowadays banished in favor of cold beer)-, watermelons, onions, ripening banana, partridges ...; about their benefits to health or how to increase their consumption and production; about customs and dishes in renowned festivals like Old Year Dinner of the Kings of Spain or the Christmas Roulade.

He also made interesting proposals to improve the gastronomic culture of the country. Taking France as reference, he proposed promoting regional fairs and international exhibitions; in particular those in Seville and Barcelona that were to be held in 1929, for which he devised a pavilion where the Spanish cuisine was extolled and taught; it would be useful to banish the bad and poor idea about it, to attract tourists who, with the claim of tasting, would remain longer in the country and for Spaniards to better know their cuisine. Not surprisingly, and in short, Dionisio Pérez was considered by his contemporaries the worthy successor of Dr. Thebussem (*Graphic World*, 01/22/1930, p. 3).

Roughly speaking, we must say that with the stubborn defense of Spanish cuisine and the categorical rejection of the French one -except for Camba who claimed it was the best and almost unique in the world (2013, p. 46)- there existed common complaints in newspapers and treaties of the time by almost all writers who criticized both the fact that Spaniards had abandoned science and cooking and the lack of a national cuisine, with the exception of stew -the quintessential dish of our culinary art- (.. Luján and Perucho, 1972, pp 104-132; Martínez, 1981, p 401), although that, too, they already appreciated our rich gastronomic regionalism: Valencia, Andalusia, Extremadura, Catalonia, the Basque Country ... formed a fertile gastronomic map

that, with due care, could be equal to those of the most valued nations (Ingram, 2012, p. 78).

Apart from these prestigious gourmets, there was abundant evidence of collaborators (mostly anonymous) in the press, whose number increased as the century progressed. They were brief news, articles and even extensive reports covering a wide range of topics: laudatory memories to the great French masters -Brillat-Savarin, Carême, Escoffier- and the notable chefs and classic and contemporary Spanish treatise writers, vindications of the national cuisine, defense of national products and elaborations, their history, properties and uses, health concerns advocating healthy eating, chronicles of exotic customs and remote dishes -China and Latin America, above all- and recipes and culinary literature reviews. Their existence demonstrates the interest in our country for the cooking art. Thus the claim of Dr. Thebussem in 1870, and that of his contemporaries and successors, that the cuisine had a greater presence in the newspapers of the time began to become a reality. This piece of research intends to bear testimony to that.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The aim of this study was to determine, through the press of the time, gastronomy in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century. This aim is justified by our lack of knowledge of a period in which there was a copious editorial production, as shown by researches such as Simon (2003), who claims that the works published in our country can match those of leading countries like France and Italy. Indeed, 1900 to 1936, two hundred new titles have been found which, considering their reissues, reach over two thousand copies (2003, pp. 274-401). Based on these data, it is not unreasonable to think that this extensive bibliography had its counterpart in the press of the time, in which important personalities of that era, -cooks, journalists, writers- assiduously worked, as discussed earlier.

For the collection and selection of facts three kinds of sources have been used: literature period, contemporary literature and newspaper sources, the last two being consulted and analyzed through the digitized collections of portals with free access to their funds (Malalana, 2004; Czech, 2008); in particular, those of the National Library of Spain (BNE) and the Municipal Newspaper Library of Madrid (HMM).

The methodological tool used has followed that used for a similar study by Aguirregoitia and Fernandez (2015). The study sample was obtained by applying discourse analysis to the press between 1900 and 1936 of the online catalog of the National Library through the keywords *gastronomy* and *culinary*. This period of study has been chosen for the degree of maturity reached by the gastronomic sector in the first third of the century. In total, we have recovered 3,121 results, 2,605 out of which are for the culinary term and 516 for gastronomy. Regarding the content, it was considered appropriate to group them into five categories: history, technology and innovation, training, curiosities and recipes.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. History of gastronomy

Historical news has a discreet presence in the first third of the twentieth century. We should highlight, however, some descriptions of culinary art such as that of ancient Venice, which stood out for its luxury banquets and admiration for the cooks. To such an extent such magnificence must have had that, in the fifteenth century, laws were enacted to prevent unbridled luxury at banquets. In 1450 the host was forbidden to spend more than half a ducat for each of his guests, and shortly afterwards the sale of pheasants, peacocks, chicken and wild trout was forbidden. However, continued pageantry continued, as well as the custom of "perfuming food and spraying certain foods with gold dust, which, according to general belief, had the gift of rejuvenating the heart" (*The Future Century*, 09.26.1903, p. 3).

Attention is attracted by several reports on the culinary art in China and the exoticism of its fine delicacies which include crabs with eggs, shark fins, quail breasts and "nasty bird nests, which we call swallow" (*The Age*, 16/07/1900, p. 2). This is the so-called "caviar of the East" or "medical food" (Marccone, 2005, p. 1125), a very expensive product considered a culinary delicacy in China and that the Spanish press had already released in mid-nineteenth century. Customs that were recounted and censured were the meat dishes of dog and cat, although other reports denied its use (*Modern Spain*, 11-1900, pp. 30-35). However, and together with appreciated products -crabs, mussels, fish, fruits, sweet-, various dishes difficult to eat in the West were the object of attention: salted caterpillars, lizard eggs, earthworms, wild bee larvae in brine or fried... were exclusive food for the rich (*Worldwide*, 12.8.1922, p. 17). As seen, this search of the exotic to make an impact on the reader sometimes entails the danger to highlighting what is different and forgetting what is most usual in a distant and unfamiliar food culture, so that there is usually lack of vision of scientific rigor (Pérez Samper, 2009, p. 109).

Also, lengthy reports on the history of gastronomy were published; in general, they can be traced back to Greece, which began to develop a taste for good food at the time of Pericles; yet it was the Romans who took luxury at the table, the glitz of sauces, tasty and succulent meat and fish to the limit; Europe owes them the acclimation of tasty fruits like cherry, apricot or raspberry. Arabs also were masters in composing meals. Nevertheless, the art of eating daintily did not exist as such until the eighteenth century in France that proudly held "the titles of master and introducer of culinary sybaritism" (*Around the World*, 31/08/1905, pp. 11-12).

Neater details are collected in the history under the heading "Cuisine and the Table" in 1934 Bailly-Bailliere Almanac. If Greece and Rome were an obligatory reference, the passage through the Middle Ages that the author named did not seem so usual, considering the good food in the abbeys and monasteries. It was in that period when garlic and parsley were introduced, and Spanish culinary history was represented by an extensive literature: the *Cisoria Art* by Marquis de Villena, manuscripts by Sancho de Savara (greater carver of John II), the recipes of Maese Ivachin (head of the kitchens of Ferdinand The Catholic), those of Lopera (confectioner of Queen Juana) and those of other teachers who stewed for heroes and kings. Those were the years

when the long and lavish banquets were introduced; as examples, the forty-five people -cooks, confectioners, sauce makers, bakers, brewers, servants of cava, etc.- who Charles V took to his retirement in Yuste to satisfy his culinary desires, or the more than five hundred dishes which the Count of Benavente gave to Philip II. By this time, the names of the chefs were almost always linked to those of their masters: Montañón to Philip IV and Vatel to Prince Condé in France. The description ends with a brief picture of modern times that predict the end of the great lords, the great banquets and mourning meals; and conversely, the sandwich, pies, tapas become established, the cuisines of delicacies and international dishes, tropical fruit and wines from all over having been appropriated.

The only sample of the gastronomic history in Spain is signed by journalist Pedro de Répide on a supplement for *White and Black* in 1936 (No. 30, pp. 12-13). This is actually an extract, mostly literal, of the work of Dionisio Pérez (1929, pp 9-39.): from careful enumeration of the highlights in the Middle Ages, the customs of Charles V with the expansion of the Spanish cuisine, highlighting the contributions of other cuisines in our cooking art such as oil from Rome; garlic from Egypt or chocolate from Latin America. Now, De Répide enriches his article with reviews of Spanish culinary literature: Granado Diego and Miguel de Baeza, instructors of the sixteenth century; Juan de la Mata, with his *Art of Pastries* and Juan Altamiras of the eighteenth century and the resurgence of national gastronomy in the late nineteenth century with Ignacio M^a Bueno, Dr. Thebussem and Angel Muro. Also interesting, for their being partial and unjust, are the negative findings about Pardo Bazan and Carmen de Burgos and the treaties about cuisine they published. Finally, it is necessary to notice De Répide's vindication of the Spanish cuisine as compared with the French; thus, for example, is the case of potpourri, eels royal-style, partridges Medinaceli-style, mayonnaise and the nonsensely so-called "omelet French-style", the recipe of which was already given in 1637 by Montañón, calling it omelet Cartuja-style or bent omelet. Novel is the column of the writer Luis Araujo about the birth of the history of culinary criticism in France in 1704 with Le Cerf de la Viéville, whose work - Comparison between Italian Music and French Music- defines the characters of one and the other national music according to the gastronomic provisions of both peoples. Thenceforth, even its most current precursors -Brillat-Savarin, Grimod de La Reynière, Carlos Monesslet and Berchaud-, this new form of criticism has just been enriched (*The Age*, 29.7.1922, p. 5). Finally, we must note the interesting history of French chefs published by Colombine -the pseudonym of the writer and journalist Carmen de Burgos-, where she reviewed the major role in the evolution of the culinary art played by the illustrious Vatel, Tirel, Carême and Brillat -Savarin (*Chics*, 06.06.1925, p. 56).

3.2. Technology and innovation

For the culinary progress, it is important that technological advances reach almost equally the different social classes. Thus, if haute cuisine works looking for new techniques making it possible to mold products at will to design a final dish, the popular cuisine should also take care of these advances and always apply them whenever possible to its home cuisine, obviating, of course, the use of impossible

techniques or the use of inaccessible products at home. History highlights the need of cooks, whether professional or non-professional, to know and use inventions and innovations helping them in their task quickly and easily.

Among the agents that influence the gastronomic history and evolution of a country, technology and innovation are key elements. The news found in the press show that the need for a reduction in the time spent in the kitchen was already a headache for engineers and housewives, manipulation that lasted beyond a few minutes being felt as excessive and tedious, which meant at this time devising many ingenious tools in order to expedite the process and relieve fatigue for the housewife and for specialized chefs: "cleaning, accuracy, promptness and economy are its inestimable advantages" (*Selected Leaves*, 1-1906, p. 81).

Out of news on culinary application of cookware, the mixer, used for whipping cream, eggs, cream and other ingredients of fine pastries and the American machine for kneading bread that made it possible to elaborate it "in the same houses more easily, promptly and at convenience than in the field" stand out for their uniqueness and, why not, for their similarity to the current household machinery (*Selected Sheets*, 1-1906, p. 809). In 1930, the creation of the grid fryer to remove food from boiling oil or the pan-shaped toaster making it possible to toast bread evenly without burning were advertised as novelties. In addition, we found such sophisticated utensils such as the one used to remove the bones of cherries, olives and small fruits. It was clear that electricity offered advantages to the household and professional culinary art, giving it more fastness and less effort: "The ideal housekeeping woman and lady of her house is the removal of any vehicle of dirt and the suppression or at least the reduction of manual labor"; now there appear different electrical machines; to squeeze fruits, to clean knives and forks, to shred meat or to grind coffee: "Our laborious readers then see how electricity, going hand in hand with hygiene, promises to turn our houses into little pieces of heaven" (*Selected Leaves*, 1-1913, pp. 507-508).

On August 9, 1911 *Around the World* recorded a culinary revolution: "The paper kitchen" of M. Soyer - a chemist and a cook- who, inspired in chops papillote-style, thought it would be very advantageous to cook all kinds of dishes in special, waterproof and resistant-to-high-temperature bags. Between the cuisine and science we find during the first third of the twentieth century characters like Pozerski de Pomiane, a cook and a scientist, a scholar of the processes of digestion and the protagonist of reports in the press of the time with the headline "Chefs or physicochemists? Scientific Cuisine" (*Faces and Masks*, 17.6.1933, p. 47). In this regard, the similarities with the speech of the current gastronomic activity are surprising, which leads us to believe that science and gastronomy are historically linked. In the *Physiology of Taste* by Brillat-Savarin, there is mention of the relationship of gastronomy with science, indicating the importance of the various decompositions food underwent when being cooked. Science helps to assimilate the culinary process, it does not hinder or complicate it, it is, strictly speaking, explanatory; gastronomy, no one disputes it, has kept pace with science and technology.

3.3. Training

During the first third of the twentieth century, the Spanish culinary education targeted women; in schools, departments and gastronomic institutes, ladies and young ladies of high social status enrolled, whose main objective was to achieve mastery of culinary art, because in their hands was the task of feeding their family (Pérez Samper, 2012, p he was. 28; Pérez Samper, 1997, p 122).. Clear enough was stated at *Estampa*: "There's nothing like a grateful stomach. Married women know it well; single women, being so perspicacious, always know that's another charm "(14-1-1933, p. 5). In 1943, Maria Mestayer de Echagüe, the Marquise of Parabere –a gastronome, a historian and a referenced cook- confessed she could not even fry an egg and when "she saw her husband said all kinds of excuses not to go home at noon, staying to eat at his club, [...] the instinct to preserve their marriage, [...] made her take an interest in the culinary issues "(Echagüen and Echagüen, 2013, p. 18). The training of these women was conducted at centers such as San Sebastián Academy of Cooking, founded in 1901 by Felix Ibarguren and Loreto Capella, the latter being a former chief of the kitchens of Alfonso XIII: "The classes dedicated to the culinary art in San Sebastian, it would be very convenient for modern education of women, that they were trained in those centers where instruction could be implemented with little expense "(*New World*, 03.05.1902, p. 16).



Figure 3. Gastronomic academy of Madrid. Source: *Estampa*, 14.1.1933, p. 71.

From *The Impartial* comes the news of the opening of cooking classes for twenty-two students, stressing that the culinary art is abandoned in Spain. Among the cooks was Santos Iribarren, the theory being in charge of Ramiro Suarez and the very famous writer Pardo Bazán being one of his students (May 4, 1905: 3).

Barcelona was one of the first cities where cooking classes were held. They were led by Ignacio Domenech who created the first Spanish hotel school in 1908 (Simon, 2012,

p. 18), a year later he published the Regulation of the Culinary School and the Syllabus of cooking courses and special courses for ladies and young ladies. In *La Vanguardia* (04/07/1923, p. 5) there was evidence that Domenech gave lessons in family practical cooking in the social center of Bethlehem, which was created by his daughter Nieves (Simon, 2012, p. 4).

In Madrid, in 1911 the School of Home and Professional Women was created; of free access, it was remarkable for having women among its teachers and administrators, among which Melchora Herrero y Ayora stands out, a renowned writer and author of popular cuisine cooking treatises: *The Art of Cooking: formulas experienced at the Home School* (1914) and *Selected and Classical Cuisine* (1927); the former being written in collaboration with her sister Florence, who was a teacher at the same school.

Also in Madrid Domenech taught lessons when the first Cooking Academy was created in 1920. The conferences targeted young women eventually destined to be mothers and housekeepers (Simon, 2012, p. 18).

One of the most famous institutions was the Gastronomic Academy of Madrid, created in 1933 to teach young ladies to cook (Figure 3). Its founders emphasized the efforts to provide these studies with a scientific and university halo: "We are in a culinary academy, a university where the home science is studied, where an art is cultivated: the culinary art" (*Estampa* 14-1 -1933, p. 4). In addition to this, there was an interest in popularizing these schools making them accessible to the middle class. Despite the significant contribution of female teachers, the largest and most important weight in training fell into male teachers. Apart from the known sexist nature of the time, there was a fairly high level of domestic cuisine over other periods of history, where housewives, many of them trained in the culinary art, elaborated recipes that today, due to lack of time and practice, would not have, perhaps, a satisfactory result. Consulting cookbooks of the time, short of concrete data and lacking photographic reinforcement, clarify our view that the culinary knowledge of the past was better than what was stated: brief recipes, continuous references to the intuition of the cook - "when she creates"- or expressions of inaccurate measurements -"with the amount of water considered to be sufficient". In this regard, it is necessary to consider the opinion of writers and gourmets who qualified the recipe books of those years as poor and inaccurate; not in vain, in the preface to his book, Melchora and Florencia Herrero acknowledged having written recipes "not the usual way of almost every book of this kind, but putting at the beginning of each of them a list of the necessary components and determining amounts in grams, liters and known volumes" (Herrero and Herrero, 1914, p. 8).

Finally, and in relation to international news related to culinary training, in other countries the mixed nature of the student body and the professionalism of its objectives is remarkable. While Spain was concerned about having good cooks at home, in some European countries professionals were trained for the sector. According to *Around the World* (15-8-1902, p. 108), in Germany and Austria there were "150 schools for chefs. Teaching of the culinary art lasts four years, after which the student receives an official diploma. Almost all chefs from those countries come from these schools." In 1930, Berlin already had mixed schools teaching children

basic sciences like mathematics, history and basic household chores such as cooking, regardless of gender.

3.4. Recipes

In addition to the many recipe books published in those years, recipes reached a large readership through the press, especially magazines for women, but also through general and most famous publications of the time, as well as specialized magazines in the sector.

The Latest Fashion, one of the most enduring and valuable magazines for women, began in 1903 in its section Practical Life there was a section called the "Culinary Art" explaining the rejection produced by the usual edition of impossible recipes in treaties and in the press and therefore advocating simple, easy-to-manufacture recipes that were custodial of Spanish cooking and baking (18-1-1903, p. 12). The conservative, monarchist *They* kept for four years a section of recipes entitled "The Kitchen" (1932-1936), in which, as we saw, Bardají participated.

Another magazine that featured renowned chefs was *The Elegant Fashion* that, from 1920, felt

the need to devote special attention to the cuisine section, in which all amplitude is made known in a clear and simple way, not without buzzy, making the most modern and antique dishes and other features of culinary art, in practical terms for our subscribers. [...] To carry out our purpose it was necessary to entrust this section to a great cook, who was also an excellent writer, [...] we refer to the author of *The Gourmet Guide* and maitre d'hôtel, Ignacio Domenech (1.6.1920, p. 12).

One of the most important publications of the time was *Bailly-Bailliere Almanac*, a small popular encyclopedia of practical life as its caption read. Among its many sections, it maintained "Cooking at Home" during the first third of the century, where it published recipes of the dishes listed in the monthly minutes taken from its culinary Agenda and which included information on products -meat, fish, seafood, vegetables, and fruit- in the section called "Gastronomic Calendar".

Other notable magazines incorporated sections of recipes in their issues. *New World* had "Culinary Art" from 1903; *Around the World*, "Recipes and Recreation" a year later; For those worlds in 1911 its section "Female Pages" opened with a section on the culinary art; *The Illustrated Union* did it in 1923, the same year *The Golden Ant* began with Domenech. Even some such as *World Magazine* received some requests from its subscribers to publish its fortnightly supplement *Chics*, a practical section on recipes and culinary art principles, and it did so in 1913.

The most significant ones, however, were the magazines of the sector, among which *The Elegant Kitchen* (1904-05) and *The White Hat* (1906-1945) stood out, both were founded by Ignacio Domenech and the latter was perhaps the most important of its time. Here we can find sections that deal with history of gastronomy and its products, recipes, baking, famous menus for dinners or meals, curiosities, theory and bibliographic testimonies such as the reproduction of the epistolary exchange between Dr. Thebussem and a chef of S.M. in *Spanish and American Enlightenment*

(1876 and 1877), which is one of the most rigorous debates on the state of the national culinary art (Anderson, 2014, p. 401).

Similar was *Artistic and Home Kitchen*; being directed by Pascual La Rosa, it sought to dignify the cuisine and Spanish professionals. Its culinary content, including recipes wanted to be of interest to the aristocracy, the middle class and even the humble. As a curiosity, striking is its section "Kitchen Stories" where fictional stories always running around the kitchen or preparing a menu are narrated.

Finally, *Paladar* is remarkable; probably the latest magazine of the analyzed period (1933-1935), and in which famous chefs and gourmets such as Gonzalo Avello, Pedro Chicote, Doménech and Bardají participated. It had a section for recipes, drinks and a variety of topics among which the section "Gastrotecnia" stands out for its novelty and modernity, where technical secrets were explained and tricks to improve results in the kitchen were revealed.

3.5. Curiosities

This group includes news and articles of different content, the link of which is their surprising and unusual nature. They are generally isolated testimonies which, alone, lack entity to constitute a rigorous typology. Thus, for example, the creation of the "Company of the 100 kilos" in France, which could only be entered if this weight was exceeded and the purpose of which was to cultivate a taste for good food (*Around the World*, 11-9- 1917, p. 7).

As company notes, mentioning the news in *The Voice* about the wedding of an American millionaire with the female cook of a hotel because "she cooked very well" (01.08.1925, p. 1), or the curiosity of knowing which were the dishes preferred by celebrities such as emperor Augustus, who as fond of small fish, cheese and figs; Henry IV, king of France, he was fond of oysters and melons; the philosopher Kant, of mashed lentils cooked with bacon; Lord Byron, of the old Cheshire cheese and cucumbers and cabbage soaked in vinegar (*Faces and Masks*, 14.1.1922, p. 84). Surprising was to know how much food Madrid consumed a day or how much food an ocean liner carried: 18,136 kilos of flour; 6,600 oysters; 7,700 kilos of cold cuts, 165 of oysters 21,415 of meat; 17 tons of potatoes, 45 of ice; 21,000 lemons and 35,000 oranges; wine could not be missing: 21,250 bottles of Bordeaux, Burgundies, Oportos, Malaga wine ... (*Around the World*, 12/26/1901, pp 11-12.).

Other issues would cause some hilarity in the current reader. See, if not, the hat made with codfish tails (*Around the World*, 21.11.1921, p. 4) or the design of a floating restaurant on the beach at Coney Island (Figure 5) to "help swimmers who, in the midst of water, feel rushed with the tickle of appetite, for which it has invented a lifejacket arranged so that it can hold a table with all the gadgets and viands needed to make a lunch afloat" (*Around the World*, 06/06/1921, p. 11).

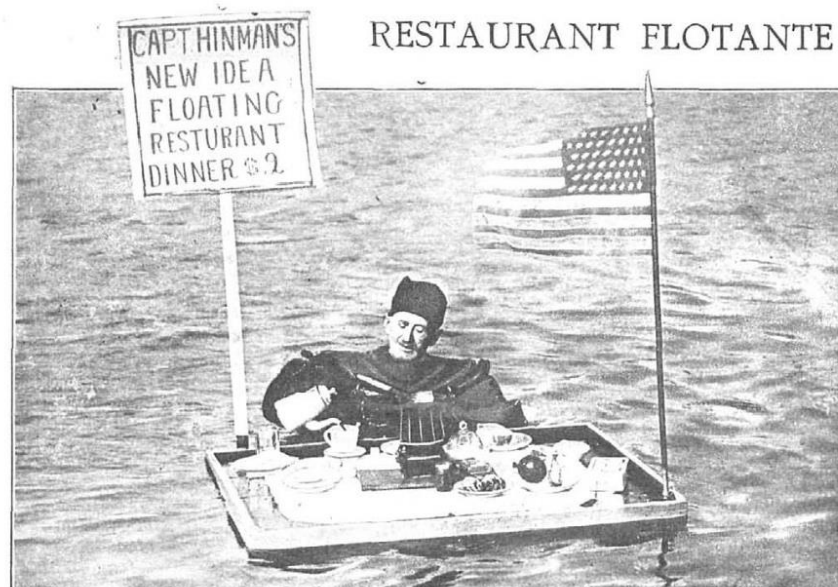


Figure 5. Floating Restaurant. Source: *Around the World*, 06.06.1921, p. 11.

Considerably less jocular is the subject of the poisoning Morató Ventura denounced in the houses of economical meals in Madrid for fraudulent use of products, food adulteration and use of false, harmful condiments. For example, reusing leftover food to prepare soups, purees, bouillon or adulteration with flour, milk or vegetable aniline for an omelet (Action, 30.8.1923, p. 3).

Articles on unusual food and products could not be missing. Cultivation seagrass - algae- already suggested a solution to alleviate hunger during times of famine. Not surprisingly, its use in Japan and China (*Scientific Madrid*, 1909, pp. 212-213) was known. As we know, either due to mere taste or due to its nutritional virtues, its consumption has markedly increased in Western countries, occupying an important place in modern cuisine.

Proposals to learn to feed on insects were also published. In an extensive report, dishes based on insects throughout world history and geography are reviewed: the prized lobsters in Morocco and Palestine; taste of the ancient Greeks and Romans for cicadas and beetles; exquisite ants -white, honey and larvae- to Africans and Indians of America (*Around the World*, 14.5.1919, p. 6). All justified from culture, since, according to the author, everything is a matter of custom or is it not a snail or an oyster more repulsive? Food and gastronomic heritage of a country is a cultural fact and, as such, is not questionable for its aesthetics or ignorance (Flandrin, 1987, p. 4). Rigorous and thorough investigations of prehispanic food in Mexico are recovering the nutritional value of insects that are also being appreciated from the culinary practice with the offer of tasty dishes of escamoles, grasshoppers and maguey worms at exclusive and luxury restaurants (Viesca and Romero, 2009).

Perhaps, the most interesting thing from communication is in the use of photographs to explain the elaboration of recipes, which was due to new trends in the design of the press coming from US Newspapers began in the twenties and thirties of the

twentieth century to be visual maps for the sake of readability (Díaz Noci, 1998, p. 2); of this did the culinary journalism not escape. It is observed for the first and almost unique time, in *The Latest Fashion*, when in early 1903 it announced the start of a new section entitled "Culinary Art", signed by Cordon Bleu. During that year and the next, it published recipes accompanied by photographs that showed how to prepare them (Figure 6).

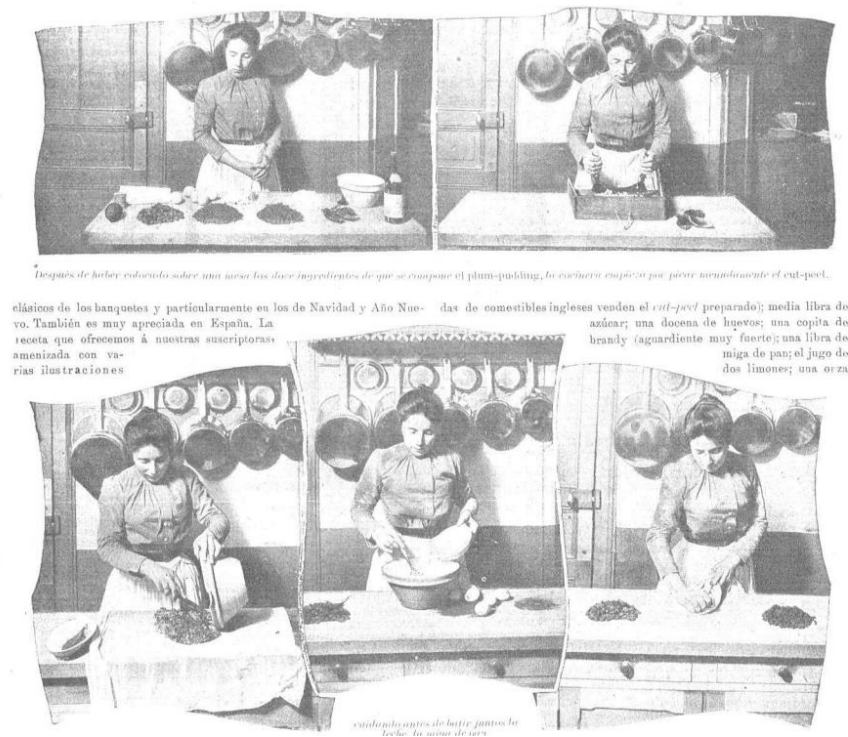


Figure 6. First photorecipe in which a cook taught to prepare the English plum-pudding. Source: *The Last Fashion*, 15.2.1903, p. 13.

This demonstrative model was not followed by the rest of the press, although some magazines and *Around the World* sometimes included lucky enough illustrations on how to prepare a turkey for roasting.

Finally, from communication, we should note the news in *The Herald of Madrid* (1.8.1930, p. 14) on editing movies in France movies at the service of its culinary propaganda; in them, the advantages of French cuisine were taught; apparently they were intended to be translated into many languages and distributed in many countries.

As a final curiosity, we highlight the article "Kitchen of Love", where there was a varied and exquisite menu with products in which oysters in champagne, truffles Venetian-style and fish broth stood out. According to Brillat-Savarin, "truffle owes its fame not only to its delicious taste but also to its virtue to sustain and strengthen abilities the exercise of which includes the sweetest enjoyments" (*Gallant Life*, 22.9.1905, p. 17). It is not the only reference to carnal enjoyment; thus, for example, about artichoke it came to be written: "I cannot eat an artichoke without thinking of

those knights who dreamed of the lady of their thoughts, under the impenetrable visor, and once the tournament was over, when taking off the helmet, recalled their natural figure of a shy lover "(World Chart, 24.9.1930, p. 47).

4. CONCLUSIONS

After the study, it is possible to confirm that there is significant presence of gastronomy in the Spanish press in the first third of the twentieth century. The analysis carried out not only allows us to corroborate it but also to verify the diversity of the issues and, above all, the prestige of the authors who took part: not in vain, numerous articles and reviews were initiated by chefs and leading gastronomes of the time such as Ignacio Domenech, Teodoro Bardaji, Melchora Herrero and Dionisio Perez, among others.

One of the issues with more presence in the news and articles of the press is the feeling of gastronomes who criticize the oblivion of Spanish cuisine in the editorial production of the time, and the vindication of the national cuisine. The strange need to enhance the foreign, generally the French as compared to the national. was censored. These voices emphasized the defense of the traditional, advocating the preservation of the values that make us unique and are part of our gastronomic idiosyncrasy: "It is true that one must know stewing French-style, Italian-style and even Russian-style and Chinese-style, but the basis of our table, by natural law, has to be Spanish "(Pardo Bazan, 1913, p. 6). In these testimonies, some proposals (although isolated) stand out such as that by Dionisio Perez to improve food culture by organizing regional fairs and exhibitions in order to attract tourists and stakeholders. The history of gastronomy had kept its place in the newspapers with stories of gargantuan banquets of yore and novel historical references of the national culinary art, many times in order to vindicate our products, our dishes and our chefs and instructors.

As for technology and innovation, it is assumed that they have been, and are always present in the gastronomic development of a country, being inseparable from each other: gastronomy evolves into new methods provided that the technology allows so, It is the most rational and technical scientific part, helping to understand the subject matter and the guidelines to be followed for a particular purpose. And perhaps most important: the need for technological progress to reach all social classes

Moreover, training shows the restricted and household nature of teaching of the time. Aimed at women to make their families happy, there are many items that cheer them for proper education in the kitchen; and, on the contrary, they include those related to education in other countries, where training was mixed and vocational. Contempt towards those interested in gastronomy such as Pardo Bazan, criticized by Domenech and Bardají, or forgetfulness in which others such as Carmen de Burgos, Melchora Herrero or the recently recovered Marquise de Parabere fell is therefore not strange.

As for recipes, treaties were the means par excellence to disseminate them; however, the press –the popular one and that of the sector - maintained since the early years of the century a growing presence. Both the weeklies for women and the illustrated magazines with highly visible issues included in their issues regular sections on

recipes by renowned chefs -Domènech, Bardají- or recognized gastronomes such as Dionisio Perez who defended the Spanish recipes, those of simple processing and correct explanations as opposed to inaccuracies that abounded in many recipes and in the past.

As for the group of curiosities (Domenech called them *quisquicosas*), news and articles about food, products and unusual and curious facts are abundant. From society notes with only an anecdotal value to extravagant inventions like the hat made of codfish tails. On the contrary, there is a remarkable introduction of photography in articles to develop recipes; a model, as noted above, that had little use in magazines, perhaps because of the high cost it involved.

The interest that the press began to show in the cuisine in the previous century, where the epistolary exchange between Dr. Thebussem and a chef of S.M. was probably the most remarkable one (Good and Ortega, 1998, pp. 1-17), took hold in the first third of the twentieth century. At least the well off society, became interested in Spanish gastronomy, and if the numerous recipe books were witness to it, so were the abundant news and reports that were released. Its research and analysis has allowed us to expand your knowledge and convenience abound in it and to affirm the recognized value of the press as a source for the history of gastronomy.

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AUTHORS

Dr. M^a Dolores Fernández Poyatos

She is a professor at the University of Alicante, where she teaches and researches in various degrees and masters: Advertising and Public Relations, Tourism and TADE (Tourism and Administration and Business Management) and Masters in Communication in Creative Industries and Community Nutrition. She has participated as a director and researcher in international, national, community and local research projects related to communication. His lines of research focus on the history of communication, tourism communication and in the field of institutional communication strategies. She is author and coauthor of articles in publications indexed in bases of recognized prestige, as well as of communications to international and national congresses.

[Http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5771-3306](http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5771-3306)

Ainhoa Aguirregoitia Martínez

She holds a degree in Advertising and Public Relations from the University of Alicante. With a master's degree in Tourism Management and Planning, she specializes through a scholarship as a teaching partner in communication and strategy. She is currently a doctoral student at the University of Alicante, focusing her research on gastronomy, communication and history. She is author of articles and communications to congresses in the field of national and international communication.