

Device-Media-Architecture: Julia Child's Kitchens

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This paper traces a lineage of device-as-architecture through the mediatization of Julia Child's kitchens. A historical survey of the changes to her kitchen and its relationship to interior design during the latter half of the 20th century suggest a reading of interior architecture not as a means to house new technology but rather as composed by technology and devices. Counter to Reyner Banham's projection of a future where interior technologies give shape to an architectural exterior, Child's kitchen reflects a growing trend in the second half of the 20th century in which tool-based clutter and the interior's autonomy from the exterior, best characterized by the storage-accumulation aesthetics of lofts and garages, dominated. Rather than necessarily limiting the role of the architect to exterior form, the elevation of gadgets, gizmos, and devices to the status of architecture opened up the possibility for a functional user-driven design agency.

Analysis of the kitchen backdrops that served as sets for her various cooking shows as well as the cataloging and installation of her kitchen in the Smithsonian Museum of American History reveal an evolution of architectural interiors that shifted with her own identity and paralleled shifting domestic aesthetics away from minimalism, modernism, and post-World War II home automation. This examination of Julia Child's kitchens frame a narrative of domestic design beginning in the 1960s when tools and technology were increasingly seen as the backbone of a new ecological or environmental society. Julia Child's display of functional clutter took part in popularizing a new craft aesthetic where tools were prominently displayed and often collectively used. The images of her kitchen, spanning four decades, provide a context for changing cultural and architectural discourse in relation to the aesthetics of function, devices, media, and attitudes toward preservation.

INTRODUCTION

After making a mistake in the kitchen, flinging food out of a pan and onto the counter or dropping an ingredient on the floor, Julia Child would claim, "Remember, you're all alone in

the kitchen, and no one can see you."¹ Yet remarks like these would not have been uttered to herself but during the taping of one of her nationally broadcast cooking shows. This balance between unobserved domestic space and heavily mediatized images is materialized in her own home kitchen, which served as the set for her last three television series. On one side of her kitchen, doorways were used to anchor studio quality video cameras and posts hung permanently from her ceiling to mount detachable studio lighting. With the exception of this equipment, the rest of her kitchen (or the "set") consisted of her original kitchen designed with her husband Paul thirty years prior and decades of daily use and accumulation. Nearly every available surface was turned over to visible storage for tools, gadgets, and cookware (fig. 1). Masking tape with handwritten labels gave organization to receptacles and provided instructions for how to use the garbage disposal. Cat sculptures and cartoons sat on top of the refrigerator near her husband's own artwork. Images of Julia Child's kitchens taken over decades (which, in addition to her tv shows nearly always served as the background for photographs of her in articles or book jackets) portrayed a tool-dominated interior architecture that came to characterize a mediatized identity.

A historical survey of the changes in Julia Child's kitchen and its relationship to interior design during the latter half of the 20th century suggests that architecture was often less depicted as means to house new technology but rather composed by technology. In *The Architecture of The Well-Tempered Environment*, Reyner Banham proposes a focus on technology, the interior, and the environment as a counter trend in architectural history.² He criticized architects for giving primacy to the exterior and formal operations instead of devoting their attention to mechanical services and home technologies. The mechanization of the home had resulted in a complete separation in the design of the interior and exterior of the home. When the interior of Julia Child's kitchen was literally cleaved off of her Cambridge home's exterior and shipped to the Smithsonian, Banham's critique became materially manifest. The preservation of her kitchen drew the line at the back of her cupboards, where cupboard and contents entered the realm of "national treasure" but wall, window, and floor were left. Counter to Banham's projection of a future where



Figure 1. Julia Child shows a salade nicoise she prepared in the kitchen of her home in France, 1978, AP.

interior technologies give shape to an architectural exterior, Child's kitchen reflects a growing trend in interior architecture in which tool-based clutter and the interior's autonomy from the exterior, best characterized by loft and garage aesthetics, dominated. Rather than necessarily limiting the role of the architect to exterior form, the elevation of gadgets, gizmos, and devices to the status of architecture opened up the possibility for a functional user-driven design agency.

EARLY 20TH CENTURY KITCHEN DESIGN

Ideologies of kitchen design changed dramatically in the first half of the twentieth century and particularly in the postwar period leading up to Child's first televised cooking show (1963). At the beginning of the century, kitchens were generally segregated from other social spaces in the house.³ This had as much to do with the needs of conventional heating fires as with social practices at the time and the more prevalent employment of hired help by privileged classes. This gradually shifted toward open plan kitchens with the kitchen located in the center of the house where food activities mixed with other household activities. In addition to other social changes in mid-century America, this was the cause of the changing

"food axis" that can be described as the "acceptable relationships between cooking, storing, serving, eating, disposing" and the architecture that facilitates those activities.⁴ The Hoosier cabinet, popular in the century's first few decades, epitomizes changing kitchen designs during that period. Whereas kitchen equipment was previously stored when not in use, the Hoosier free-standing cabinet allowed for built-in appliances like the combination flour-bin and sifter that could be used without removal from the cabinet. The decline of the Hoosier's popularity in the 1930s and 40s reflected the shift from freestanding to built-in cabinetry in kitchen designs during that period.

As cooking was the primary source of domestic labor, function became an operative design principle in the early 20th century. Scientific management principles found their way into all aspects of the architectural design with the kitchen a primary site for "step saving" and the reduction of working time. Known for their "work simplification" studies primarily in factories and construction industries, Frank and Lillian Gilbreth applied their Chronocyclegraph and motion-study techniques, affixing lights to workers and taking long-exposure photographs (fig. 2), to cooking practices and kitchen design. Lillian Gilbreth

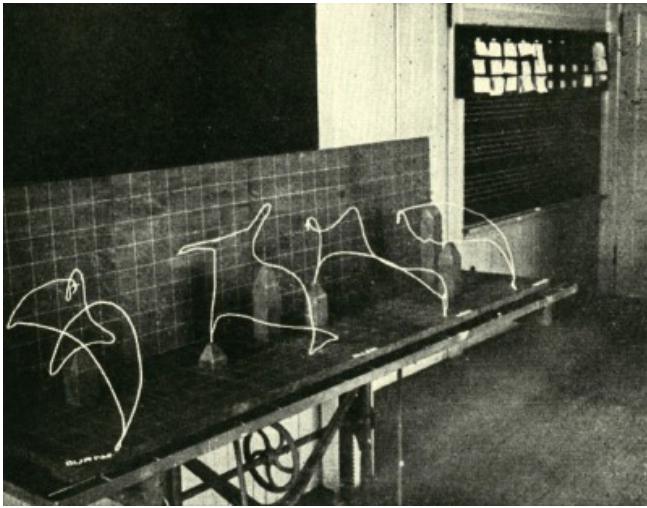


Figure 2. Frank and Lillian Gilbreth, Motion Efficiency Study, 1914.

popularized “circular routing” or the “work triangle” and linear kitchen layouts that influenced kitchen design in subsequent decades. In the United States, the governing principles of function were taken up by cabinetry and appliance manufacturers to market their products to families (and particularly women) as a means to reduce domestic “drudgery.” In the 1950s, the new appliances that became the focus of kitchen design were accompanied by sleek surfaces and offered in a range of colors. Custom cupboards and wraparound cabinets were installed to account for the quantity of both appliances and the increasing quantity of canned goods required for pre-made meals.

GASTRO-MEDIA

In the fifteen years following the war that Julia Child spent abroad, moving with her husband Paul as he took up posts with the U.S. State Department, cooking in the U.S. followed parallel labor-saving trends to kitchen design. The kitchen was no longer merely a domestic work space but a laboratory as technologies developed during the war to feed troops were applied to in-home meals. The Swanson’s “TV Dinner”, Minute Rice, Green Giant green beans, and Mrs. Paul’s frozen fish sticks were all introduced as means of making housework less of a burden.⁵ In 1956, the FDA declared “our industry will not have done its job until housewives buy most of their meals as packaged, ready-to-serve items.”⁶ At the same time, a changing global political situation and soldiers returning from the war created an appetite for foreign foods. The popularity of foreign dishes melded with the pre-made food trend such that the attraction to recipes for Russian beef stroganoff and French lobster thermidor was that these “gourmet restaurant dishes... were easy to make using convenience foods”⁷ or canned goods. In this sense, Julia Child didn’t create the appetite for French cuisine, but entered public discourse at a time when the means of cooking, the tools used to prepare meals, and the kitchens they were prepared in still stood in stark contrast to the images and messages she soon delivered.

When Julia Child returned to the United States in the early 1960s she criticized the contemporary culture as “the country had turned to prepackaged quiz shows and prepackaged foods.”⁸ Yet it was the television medium she berated that she would soon use to spread her own ideology and disseminate images of cooking, sociality, and kitchen space. Analysis of the kitchen backdrops that served as sets for her various cooking shows, images of her own kitchen, and the installation of her kitchen in the Smithsonian Museum of American History reveal an evolution of architectural interiors that shifted with her own identity. These images, spanning four decades, provide a context for changing cultural and architectural discourse in relation to the aesthetics of function, tools, media, and preservation.

THE FRENCH CHEF

The French Chef debuted in 1963 on WGBH, a National Educational Television (NET) station, after a guest appearance by Child on a local show in 1962 and subsequent fan letters prompted the station to offer her a contract. Her cooking ethos was quickly embraced by viewers at a time when canned food still dominated cooking shows. For The French Chef, Child was vehemently opposed to sponsorship which characterized contemporary cooking shows like Edith Green Kron’s Your Home Kitchen that delivered recipes built around particular sponsors like Cane brand brown sugar. Kron’s show also typifies kitchen sets at the time, built to reflect the modern cabinets and clean surfaces of 1950s design. Recipes featured on The French Chef were largely those featured in Child’s first cookbook, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, released two years prior. The book adapted traditional French recipes for American cooks, simplifying and explaining techniques and utilizing more readily available ingredients and tools “whenever possible.” Although French food epitomized high culture in 1960s America, the recipes demonstrated by Child were far from the genteel ornamental cooking that Roland Barthes criticized in contemporary France. In Barthes’ analysis, 1950s and 60s France was consumed by “a cookery which is based on coatings and alibis, and is forever trying to extenuate and even to disguise the primary nature of foodstuffs, the brutality of meat or the abruptness of sea-food.”⁹ Not only were Child’s recipes a type of counter trend, tending toward the simplification of dishes, the images of herself, her food, and her kitchen she delivered through The French Chef provided a contrast to ornamental cooking.

In her televised appearances, Child celebrated the coarseness and brutality of cooking and the techniques and tools required to prepare meals from scratch. She often used her own body to demonstrate different cuts of meat and was known for her enthusiastic handling of raw poultry. Child was a self-described “knife-freak,” “frying-pan freak,” and “gadget freak.”¹⁰ Scripts she prepared for the taping of each show make specific notes of when to show tools. In episode #46, “Elegance with Eggs,” her script shows directions to herself in all caps to display tools and cookware particular to the recipe, “(SHOW EACH DISH)” and later “SHOW COCOTTES” (fig.3). Her love of tools

#46 ELEGANCE WITH EGGS 3/2
PROD. #46 Tues. 1/21 AM

NOTES	I. CARDS & TITLES	ACTION and talk	SET UPS
	OPENING SHOT	EGG SET UP ON PLATTER Cocotte in Cocotte (out in Poles) TOP: Eggs on Cocotte, Omelette Boiled eggs, Fried eggs, Poached eggs, Scrambled eggs. 7:10 12:30 8:10 8:10 We're doing eggs today, but we aren't doing any of these XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX today on The French Chef DUMP EGGS AND PLATTER INTO WASTE BASKET	
	CREDITS	Fuss about. HANDFUL OF EGGS	
	INTRODUCTION	Welcome to the FC. I'm JC. The egg, you know, can be your best friend -- if you give it the right break. I'm not talking about eggs for breakfast, but eggs for Brunch, XXXXXXXXXXXX eggs for lunch, Eggs as appetizers, for company Eggs for elegance	
L (4:30)	COCOTTE 4:30 plain; cream; ham; tomato why pan water	Take L'ŒUF EN COCOTTE, for instance -- eggs baked in little ramekins -- fireproof dishes, like these (SHOW EACH DISH) 1 per person as appetizer, 2 as main course. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX butter ramekin, break in egg, set in hot water to set bottom. Add cream and chopped herbs Add chopped ham or chicken livers Add tomato sauce	2 rectangle dishes pan, warm water buttered cocotte battered suff. tin Tomato sauce Chopped ham Molded eggs
8:07 30	Muffled Tins Molded-in tins OVEN & BACK 3:75 8 min XXXXXXXXXXXX	Use muffin tins, make molded eggs like these, substitute for poached eggs, and easier. Heavy butter in tin so will unmold TAKE TINS TO SIDE OF AID. STOVE. REMOVE READY PAIR FROM OVEN XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	Ready eggs in oven; very little water in pans; oven off.
5:00	MOLDED EGGS Other sauces Benedictine Viroflay	SHOW COCOTTES SHOW MOLDED EGGS & REMOVE WITH KNIFE ARRANGE WITH SPINACH, etc. Viroflay & Florentine	Table knife (for removing eggs) Serv. dish with 2 pieces toast ready spinach ready cheese sauce fluted mushrooms(Simmer placque other snipped dis Ready with cheese topping snirr J. cooler pan, correct night for quick boil
10:30	SHIRRED EGGS Lower 1. burner high Pot holders	Show metal shirred egg dish, other dishes, simmer plaque Butter in metal dish, break in egg, add more butter & heat to fill Show one with cream and cheese	
12:30	TO PROILER	BROILER: finish eggs SHOW EGGS, and clear up for omelettes	
4:30	CLEAR FOR OMELETES		
5:00	OMELETES Front left burner high 7" bottom, long 4"le sloping sides Scrub, heat, oil, XXXX		
15:30 AM	MAKE 1st Omelette		

(2:30)

Figure 3. Child's script for episode #46, "Elegance with Eggs." WGBH Boston.

encompassed not only traditional hand tools and cookware but contemporary appliances and gadgets. In the episode "To Roast a Chicken," she explains that an electric rotisserie spit allows one to cook in a fashion that is both ancient (slow roasting over a fire) and fully modern (doing the roasting with an electric gadget).¹¹ She famously carried blowtorches, saws, and grinding machines with her even during the taping of short segments on other shows. Not only was her first cookbook the number one cookbook in the US in 1966, but Time magazine reported that any time she used a specific utensil or piece of kitchen equipment, stores would immediately see of rush of sales of that item: French knives, copper beating bowls, fish poachers, or wire whisks. As the Times article reported, "Let Julia Child so much as mention vanilla wafers, and the shelves are empty overnight."¹² The cover of the same Time magazine issue featured a large floating portrait of Julia Child's head surrounded by floating pots, pans, bowls, whisks, spoons, and other kitchen instruments. The images from articles, books, her own show, and other televised appearances communicated the philosophy that anyone, with the right tools, can do what I do, and made tools an indispensable part of her own identity.

MEDIATED INTERIORS

Julia Child's television show provided a widely circulated image of what day to do existence in the home might look like: a social, communal, and uncommercial experience, albeit one privileged by social class. New tools, new material objects, and new social practices were brought into American homes through mediatized versions of her kitchen. The first set for her TV show "The French Chef" was minimally altered by Child or the WGBH producers. The reason for the use of a largely non-descript set was a fire that broke out in WGBH's studios only a few days before taping was scheduled to begin. The French Chef was forced to find an alternate kitchen and made arrangements to use the test kitchen of the Cambridge Gas and Electric Company. Tools, ingredients, and cookware had to be brought in for each episode via a fire escape and were minimally arranged in the space prior to taping. Yet during the two years the show filmed in the borrowed test kitchen, tools gradually found their way onto the kitchen backsplash and cookware took over counter areas.

When WGBH reopened its studios in 1965, the kitchen set was specifically designed for Child and with her input, including countertops several inches higher than standard height. Child insisted on a long list of items required for each taping, regardless of the dishes prepared for a particular show. The list included a contingent of sauce pans, frying pans, casserole and baking dishes, bowls, molds, blender, mixer, rolling pins, wire whisks, and spatulas among others. These were all specified in precise detail such as, for example, a nine-and-a-half by two-and-a-half inch frying pan in stainless steel with a cast aluminum bottom. Additionally, she prepared lists of tools needed for each taping. For the aforementioned episode "Elegance with Eggs," (fig. 3) her list included egg dishes, egg cocottes, egg stands, muffin tins, her French omelet pan, charlotte molds, a masher, an orange juicer, etc. These lists, slightly edited, were sent out by WGBH to local cookware stores so they could ensure they had the items on hand before episodes, ready for the rush of consumer-fans that came to purchase particular tools and gadgets. The WGBH kitchen set was absent of cabinetry, with tools and cookware surrounding Child's workstation for easy access rather than decoration. As Child said of her kitchen layout at the time: "My kitchen was my office. I like to have pots and pans hanging within easy reach, my cookbooks in the kitchen, and my counter layout to make sense."¹³

The progression of her television kitchen sets from 1963 onward, dramatically changed in the 1970s to account for color television, reveal an increasing accumulation of visible storage and equipment clutter. The sets became less backdrops to her work area and more televised cooking environments where horizontal and vertical surfaces held easily accessible tools and performed a variety of functions. This trend culminated in the use of Child's own home kitchen for her final TV series, In Julia's Kitchen with Master Chefs, Baking with Julia, and Julia & Jacques Cooking at Home, all filmed during the

90s. Two of these shows' titles make explicit the relevance of "Julia's Kitchen" or filming with Child "at home." The interior of Child's home kitchen in Cambridge, Massachusetts was entirely dominated by the visible storage and accessible tools that had already infiltrated her early TV shows. Even before filming in her house, photographs of her kitchen had been widely circulated in the press and her hanging pots, pans, and tools had become the iconic background for photographs of the chef. Specific tools that lined her work surfaces and storage racks had celebrity status all their own such as the Robot Coupe Magimix, on which the Cuisinart was based, that itself has been credited as popularizing French cooking in U.S.

The pegboard walls that lined various surfaces in the Child kitchen were a storage technique created by Paul Child that carried over from their many kitchens he built out for his wife while living abroad in the Foreign Service. Some biographers claim that Paul's penchant for organizing Julia's kitchens was a product of his war room expertise gained during WWII,¹⁴ however Parisian kitchen stores and home kitchens bore similar organizational aesthetics. Several domestic architecture publications from the early 1960s featured pegboard in interior designs, negating the possibility that kitchen pegboard use was solely popularized by the Childs. Magazine articles from the early 1960s show that open storage was becoming an interior design trend precisely as *The French Chef* was becoming a nationally syndicated television show. American designers were incorporating aesthetics that had previously been associated with working class kitchens and workshops. Julia Child's display of functional clutter took part in popularizing a new craft aesthetic where tools were prominently displayed and often collectively used. On the Child's pegboard, Paul's organizational strategy included drawing an outline of each tool in thick black marker. These outlines were later accompanied by polaroid photographs that show each tool in its proper place. The outlines and particularly the polaroid photographs were not meant for Julia, but served as a guide for others in a communal home kitchen where the Childs rarely cooked alone.

CULTURE AND COUNTERCULTURE

In the 1960s, tools and technology were increasingly seen as the backbone of a new ecological or environmental society. Far from previous environmentalist perspectives of a world overrun and degraded by machines, philosopher and ecologist Murray Bookchin argued that "an organic mode of life deprived of its technological component would be as nonfunctional as a man deprived of his skeleton."¹⁵ The importance of tools and technology during the 1960s was epitomized in publications like Steward Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog*. The kind of low-tech tools advocated by Brand and others could be understood as intermediate technologies, a term coined by the economist Ernst Friedrich Schumacher, advocating small-scale, decentralized labor that found a middle ground between traditional and modern technology.¹⁶ The movement that promoted access to tools was less a return to nature than a return to technology of

which simple tools and shared techniques were essential components. Child's emphasis not on strict recipes or pre-made foods but on basic rules, techniques, and tools found fertile ground with the concurrent rise of DIY ideologies.

Although French cooking was part of "high" culture in 1960s and 70s, it still remained popular with the countercultural movement in the U.S. Recipes for quiche, crepes, fondues, and soufflés were counterculture cookbook staples, in part suggesting an appropriation of "high class" but also a return to peasant culinary aesthetics. Cooking and foraging tips and recipes continued to be widely distributed even during the political crisis of the Vietnam War. The *San Francisco Express Times* published a series of Alice Waters' recipes alongside news of political upheaval and protest in 1968.¹⁷ The medium of the cookbook fit nicely with the rise of the manual and the terms were sometimes used interchangeably.¹⁸ Cookbooks and manuals in the 1960s provided rules, guiding principles, and starting points for inventive projects but were not meant to be strictly followed. In Julia Child's words, the idea of *The French Chef* was "to take the bugaboo out of French cooking, to demonstrate that it is not merely good cooking but that it follows definite rules."¹⁹ Child's original proposal for *The French Chef* suggested a method of first-person camera work to engage the show's viewer and place them in the position of cook. The show was never completely filmed this way as the producers thought it both technically difficult and less appealing to viewers (without the full range of Child's physical demonstrations), but the first-person format did serve as a template for her early cookbooks. Paul Child would take photographs of his wife cooking and then draw over them, creating illustrations of anonymous manual activity to accompany recipes and descriptions of techniques.

Manuals further drew heavily on the cookbook-as-format in their emphasis on measurements, step by step instructions, and the heavy use of diagrams showing tools needed for a specific project. The work of the artist and ecologist duo Newton and Helen Mayer Harrison provides an example of this template. Their work "Survival Piece #3: Portable Fish Farm" included a four-page layout of instructions and advice for the construction and maintenance of tanks and even a diagram of the electrocution system for the humane killing of catfish. For the installation of their piece in the Hayward Gallery in London, the Harrisons planned the exhibit to culminate in a series of five fish feasts, also including a recipe for the feast in the exhibition catalog.²⁰ Although the emphasis of Child's cookbooks and counterculture manuals shared a DIY ethos and emphasis on tools providing access for anyone to master projects, there were certainly significant differences in social and environmental concerns. The last *Whole Earth Catalog*, for instance, listed fourteen books that classified edible wild plants, a far cry from Child's own famous advice for nurturing a relationship with local (expensive) butchers and shopping at various celebrated markets.



Figure 4. *Almanach des Gourmands*, Alexandre Grimod de La Reynière, 1812.

DEVICE-ARCHITECTURE

Architectural interiors of accumulation were certainly not new to the 20th century, particularly in the kitchen. Although crowded kitchens were traditionally found in working-class and servant spaces, the famous Parisian gastronome Alexandre Grimod de La Reynière, published a print of his excessive kitchen interior in the first page of the *Almanach des Gourmands* (fig. 4). By the end of the 19th century wunderkammers and collections of objets d'art were common among the interiors of the bourgeoisie. Walter Benjamin drew attention to the separation of work from the home in the early 20th century through which the home became an isolated and private world, causing the "phantasmagorias of the interior."²¹ Yet, through collecting, homeowners brought together memories and objects from "romantic locales," transforming the home into "a box in the theater of the world."²² Benjamin traces the gradual disappearance of bourgeois interiors during the rise of modern architecture through its repression of memories. The

development of Julia Child's kitchen sets trace and parallel the rise of an alternative aesthetic of interior accumulation.

"Since we rejoice in the shapes of tools, cooking utensils become decorative objects, all carefully orchestrated by Paul from pots and pot lids to skillets, trivets and flan rings. Even the knives are graduated according to shape and size on vertical magnetic holders. Glass measures and earthenware pitchers are hung just so, while scissors hang in harmony with olive pitters, bottle openers and nut-crackers."²³

In this text by Child, devoted to her home architecture, not only the kitchen, she lavishes attention on the tools and storage that line her walls. The appliances and tools are not described as only objects in the home but are instead constitutive of a new interior architecture. The rise of the storage-accumulation aesthetic, formerly the domain of the garage or workshop, is built on the dissolution of a work-home separation, akin to the artist work/live loft spaces that gained in popularity around the same time. Her kitchen is not the site of domestic labor, but her "office," "laboratory," and "workshop" that was pushed beyond private work into a public domain of images through her shows, articles, and cookbooks. In contrast to the functional clutter aesthetics of live/work and garage spaces, Child's aesthetic developed out of a gendered space yet paralleled a way of being in the kitchen "that was also opposed to the role of the housewife."²⁴

CONCLUSION: DEVICE-ARCHITECTURE PRESERVATION

The proposition of Child's kitchen as an architecture formed of devices and tools is reinforced by the transfer of her "kitchen" to the Smithsonian in 2001. The kitchen transfer was arranged, prepared, and documented not by architects or architectural conservationists but by archivists and curators (fig. 5) and the collection is recorded in lists and photographs of the tools that were acquired more than detailed plan drawings. Smithsonian builders recreated the background architectural elements of her kitchen from scratch including floors, walls, windows, and ceiling, bringing only her tools, storage receptacles, sink, and appliances to the museum. The archivists cataloged her kitchen in five categories: opening, decorating, crushing, extracting/inserting, and grabbing. The importance of her instruments is perhaps best encapsulated in the Smithsonian's construction of a tool-composed column, in which a plexi-glass cylinder supports a whirlwind of tools as if captured in the moment of a drawer being flung open and the contents cascading to the floor (fig. 5). In this installation, the plexi-glass is intended to visually disappear, rendering devices suspended in mid-air, negating an interior and architectural context beyond their own material presence. While this is a curatorially-staged display,

it is a fitting resting place for the kitchen tools that composed Child's interiors of devices and accumulation.

The evolution of mediated kitchens across her stage sets and homes (and the home as stage set) produced a widely circulated and mainstream image of devices-as-architecture that ran counter to the aesthetics of minimalism, modernism, and postwar home automation. Child's gizmo-laden interiors were both disseminated via popular media, primarily television, and

resonated with countercultural visions of a new ecological society. These images played a part in Child's effect to alter notions of domestic labor by shifting aesthetic relationships between tools and interiors—an image of domesticity that did not hide its labors, but rendered them in full view.



Figure 5. The installation of Child's pegboard wall and device display, COPIA, 2003 and American Museum of Natural History.

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