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**The Contribution of P. G. Wodehouse to the Field of Gastronomy through  
his Character, the French Chef, Anatole.**

A thesis submitted to the Technological University of Dublin in part fulfilment of  
the requirement for award of Masters (M.A.) in Gastronomy and Food Studies.

by

**Elizabeth Wilson**

May 2019

Supervisor: Anke Klitzing

***Declaration***

I hereby certify that the material that is submitted in this thesis towards the award M.A. in Gastronomy and Food Studies is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for any academic assessment other than part fulfilment of the award named above.

Signature of candidate.....

Date.....

## **Abstract**

In her paper 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century France', Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson argues that the field of gastronomy came into existence in the middle of the nineteenth century in France. This field of gastronomy was constructed from two elements, the significance that gastronomy, defined at the time as a structured set of culinary practices, had attained in France by the nineteenth century, but also, the contribution of writers of culinary discourse who wrote about this gastronomy. These writers came from different disciplines and included the realist fiction writer Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), whose work Ferguson describes as ethnographic, the scientific description of cultures and people. This thesis takes the premise of a realist fiction writer, Balzac, contributing to the gastronomic field, and extends it to P. G. Wodehouse and his character, the French chef, Anatole. The thesis asks whether Wodehouse's depiction of Anatole is ethnographically accurate and can, therefore, be said to contribute to and extend the gastronomic field. In doing so, it underlines the interaction between literature and the gastronomic field and may prompt investigation into further contributions made to the gastronomic field by other realist fiction writers.

## **Acknowledgements**

I am profoundly grateful go to my supervisor, Anke Klitzing, whose support and wise advice has been invaluable in completing this thesis. This research would not have happened without the work of the Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson, who passed away late last year. May she rest in peace. My sincere thanks goes to my family, especially my sister Linda, and friends who have travelled this academic journey with me. The camaraderie, support and humour, albeit sometime of the gallows variety, of my fellow classmates has made the whole Masters in Gastronomy and Food Studies course an absolute joy. To them and all the faculty I extend my heartfelt appreciation. Mention must also be made of the members of both the UK and US Wodehouse Societies whose suggestions contributed to this paper.

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## Short Stories and Novel in which Anatole Appears

### SHORT STORIES

Wodehouse, P.G. (2008 [1925]). 'Clustering Round Young Bingo'. In: *Carry on Jeeves*. London: Arrow Books, pp. 223-254.

Wodehouse, P.G. (1958 [1930]). 'The Love that Purifies'. In: *Very Good, Jeeves*. Middlesex and New York: Penguin Books, pp. 160-181.

Wodehouse, P.G. (1958 [1930]). 'The Spot of Art'. In: *Very Good, Jeeves*. Middlesex and New York: Penguin Books, pp.114-137.

Wodehouse, P.G. 'Jeeves Makes an Omelette'. (2004 [1958]). In: *The World of Jeeves*. London: Arrow Books, pp. 708-728.

### NOVELS

Wodehouse, P.G. (1962 [1934]). *Right Ho, Jeeves*. Middlesex and New York: Penguin Books.

Wodehouse, P.G. (2008 [1938]). *The Code of the Woosters*. London: Arrow Books.

Wodehouse, P.G. (2008 [1954]). *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit*. London: Arrow Books.

Wodehouse, P.G. (1960). *Jeeves in the Offing* (1960)

Wodehouse, P.G. *Stiff Upper Lip*. (1992 [1963]). Published in: *The Jeeves Collection*. Kent, England: Cresset Press Books.

Wodehouse, P.G. (1971). *Much Obligated Jeeves*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.

Wodehouse, P.G. (2008 [1974]). *Aunts Aren't Gentlemen*. London: Arrow Books.

## **Introduction**

This thesis aims to develop the argument that the author P. G. Wodehouse has contributed to the field of gastronomy through an ethnographic depiction of his character, the French chef, Anatole.

During his lifetime, Wodehouse produced seventy-one novels, twenty-four collections of short stories, forty-two musicals and fifteen films scripts. He saw two ways of writing, his, “a sort of musical comedy”, while the second involved “going right deep down into life” (Wodehouse cited in Heddendorf, 2010, p.411). This description may suggest that he viewed his work as light and perhaps insignificant. This thesis argues to the contrary. In fact, it argues that Wodehouse is an ethnographer in the sense that ethnography is a qualitative research method that focuses on the “recording and analysis of a culture or society, usually based on participant-observation and resulting in a written account of a people, place or institution” (Coleman and Simpson, 2019). Through an ethnographic representation of a French chef in Edwardian England Wodehouse contributes to the field of gastronomy. Gastronomy is a “structured set of culinary practices and texts uniting producer and consumer” (Ferguson, 1998, p.603). This union of culinary practices and texts in the definition of gastronomy comes from Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson’s 1998 paper, ‘A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19<sup>th</sup> Century France’. Ferguson argues that the field of gastronomy came into existence in the middle of the nineteenth century in France. The gastronomic field comprises the significance that gastronomy, or culinary practices, had achieved within French society by that time, in conjunction with an amount of culinary discourse or gastronomic texts that surrounded this gastronomy. The texts she cites include works by diverse writers from various disciplines, gourmands, social writers, philosophers, and realist fiction writers.

## **Justification**

Ferguson describes the field of gastronomy as “structured by the distinction between the material product – the food stuffs, the dish or the meal – and the critical, intellectual, or aesthetic by-products that discuss, review and debate the original product” (1998, p.610). Her definition comprises the significance that gastronomy, or culinary practices, had attained in France by that time, and the contribution of culinary discourse, or gastronomic texts.

The writers of culinary discourse she cites are chef Antonin Carême (1784-1833), consumer advocate Alexandre-Laurent Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838), social commentator Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826), philosopher Charles Fourier (1772-1837), and author of realist fiction Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850).

It is the inclusion of Balzac, a realist fiction author, in the list of writers whose discourse contributed to the field of gastronomy that led to the premise for this thesis. Ferguson describes Balzac's work as the "dramatic ethnography of the nascent industrial capitalism of post-revolutionary France" (1998, p.628). Boutin agrees that Balzac had a "documentary impulse", and that his novels can be read as "literary ethnography" (2005, p.68).

Ethnography is defined as a qualitative research method that focuses on "recording and analysis of a culture or society, usually based on participant-observation and resulting in a written account of a people, place or institution" (Coleman and Simpson, 2019). Given this definition, what Ferguson is arguing is that Balzac's literature, with its depiction of food and dining in nineteenth-century France, is a realistic representation of this part of French culture at the time.

In discussing the evolution of the field of gastronomy in the middle of the nineteenth century Ferguson states that "the structure of the gastronomic field is distinctively French" (2004, p.104). This paper looks to argue that while the construction of the gastronomic field may have been distinctively French, the field can extend outside of France. In particular, for the first time, it asks that if Balzac's work can be considered an ethnographic description of gastronomy in nineteenth-century France, whether this consideration can be extended to include another author, in a different country, and time, thus extending the gastronomic field. The author under consideration is P. G. Wodehouse, and this paper examines the depiction of his character, the French chef Anatole, in Edwardian England. Anatole appears in Wodehouse's Jeeves and Wooster series which, according to the author himself, are firmly set in the Edwardian era, with the Bertie-Wooster-type being "very prevalent when [he] was in and about London – 1911-12-13" (Wodehouse in Styran, 2015). This paper considers whether Wodehouse's depiction of a French chef employed in Edwardian England is sufficiently ethnographically accurate to argue that Wodehouse has contributed to the gastronomic field. In other words, does Wodehouse provide a historically accurate account of the French chef in Edwardian England, and does this contribute to our understanding of the field of gastronomy?

The methodology will be a qualitative thematic analysis of the stories and novels in which Anatole appears. Thematic analysis is a method “for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data” (Clarke and Braun, 2013, p.1). This analysis will lead to the identification of themes which will then be examined for historical and ethnographic accuracy.

If it can be shown that Wodehouse’s depiction of Anatole is historically and ethnographically sound, and thus contributes to the gastronomic field, it will open the possibility for an ethnographic examination of other fiction authors to see if they too have contributed to the gastronomic field. This exploration of other authors will also further underscore the links between gastronomy and literature.

## **Structure and Scope of The Thesis**

The thesis is presented in nine chapters. Chapter 1 and 2 deal with the concepts surrounding and components comprising the gastronomic field. Chapter 1 looks to examine the concepts around Ferguson’s (1998) construct of the gastronomic field as a cultural field. The concepts of Bourdieu’s field theory, gastronomy and the gastronomic field will be explored. Chapter 2 discusses the components that make up Ferguson’s gastronomic field; the significance gastronomy had achieved within French society by the middle of the nineteenth century, in conjunction with an amount of culinary discourse that surrounded this gastronomy. The chapter traces the development of French cuisine up to the mid-nineteenth century and discusses the five writers of gastronomic texts mentioned by Ferguson.

Chapter 3 seeks to introduce Wodehouse, the writer. It covers his early years as a component that acts to “clarify factors that shape the work” (Kirsch, 2014). It traces the importance of the growing magazine industry and how this impacted on Wodehouse’s targeted audience. The development of the Jeeves and Wooster series from short stories into novels, a development which allowed for the semi-permanent role Anatole played in the series, is discussed. His writing style, “convention, repetition and cliché” (Thompson, 1992, p.4-5), is covered. Given the number of references to food in Wodehouse’s writing, the author as a gastronome is considered with Clevenger arguing that he was, but “not for his personal devotion to the tummy or palate, but rather for his Art – his exquisite writing about food and dining” (2005, p.15).

The methodology used and discussed in Chapter 4 is qualitative thematic analysis. Data is collected from the short stories and books in which Anatole appears. Then thematic analysis as “a method for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data” (Clarke and Braun, 2013, p.1) is applied. The analysis results in nine codes which blend into four themes: the French chef in Edwardian England, the élite status of that French chef, Francophobia in the dialogue surrounding Anatole and Anatole’s voice and appearance. Evidence of each of these themes from within the text is explored to provide examples of each theme.

The following four chapters, Chapters 5-8, examine how historically and ethnographically sound Wodehouse’s representation of each of the themes is.

Chapter 5 discusses why French chefs became “de rigueur” (Burnett, 1989 [1966], p.70) among the wealthy in nineteenth-century England. It traces the development of French cuisine in England focusing on English translations of sixteenth and seventeenth-century French cookbooks. Other factors include changes in dietary practices, particularly a later dinner time and the rise of the dinner party which allowed for the exhibition of wealth since it was “difficult to maintain class rank without the public exhibition of one’s ability to consume in an appropriate fashion... and the role of cultivated consumer became a vital part of class identity” (Trubek, 2000, p.60). A third factor in the growing popularity of French cuisine in England was the rise of the “celebrity” chef and the books they wrote. A fourth factor was the leisured existence of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) and his behaviour at home, but also abroad as Europe opened as a tourist destination. In Europe, the reputations of restaurateur César Ritz and chef Auguste Escoffier was growing, and their move to the Savoy, one of the new hotels and restaurants opening in London, in 1889, meant that visitors to the hotel could “count upon the collaboration of the world’s greatest chef, and the world’s greatest hotelier” (Madame Ritz cited in Page and Kingsford, 1971, p.220).

The status of French chefs within English society in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is discussed in Chapter 6. Using Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, the “skills, knowledge, and behaviours that one can tap into to demonstrate cultural competence” (Cole, 2019), it will be shown that Anatole possesses institutional cultural capital in his own right, but also bestows objectified cultural capital on his employer, Bertie Wooster’s Aunt Dahlia. Examples of real-life chefs in nineteenth-century England are examined to provide evidence of this cultural capital among French chefs during this time.

Chapter 7 examines the Francophobia in the dialogue around Anatole. Its existence is explained by a level of Francophobia that existed in England early in the nineteenth century due to the proximity of the French Revolution and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. These led to a reinforcement of England national identity in the media and this concern over national identity was also reflected in the writings of, among others, Samuel Johnson, Jane Austen, William Wordsworth, Maria Edgeworth and Charles Dickens. Wodehouse would have been aware of this Francophobia in society and being a prolific reader would have come across the phenomenon in literature.

The final theme, Anatole's voice and appearance, is covered in Chapter 8. Author Barry Pain, read by Wodehouse both early and late in his life, inspired Anatole's voice with his character Alphonse. Anatole appears in only one novel *Right Ho, Jeeves* when several references are made to his moustache. Given the fame of Escoffier, it is possible to argue that Wodehouse based Anatole's appearance on the real-life chef. Another example of a real-life chef providing inspiration for a fictional chef, Alexis Soyer inspiring Thackeray's Alcides Mirobolant, is considered.

Chapter 9 examines the crossover between ethnography and fiction. It examines examples of Victorian authors aiming to be as ethnographically accurate as possible and of ethnographers, seeing the accuracy of the works, using this fiction to support their fieldwork. Having proved that the border between ethnography and fiction has been crossed, it can be argued that Ferguson's acknowledgement of Balzac's writing as ethnography stands, and can be extended to Wodehouse. It is, therefore, possible to state that Wodehouse, through what he relates about Edwardian society and food through his character, the French chef, Anatole, has contributed to the field of gastronomy.

## Chapter 1: The Gastronomic Field

The idea that P. G. Wodehouse, a fiction writer, could contribute to the understanding of the gastronomic field arose from a paper by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century France' (1998). Before examining Wodehouse's contribution, the concepts of field theory, gastronomy and Ferguson's construct of the gastronomic field in nineteenth-century France as a cultural field require some examination.

### 1.1 Field Theory

Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), "one of the foremost social philosophers of the twentieth century" (Grenfell, 2012 p.1), views society and cultural life as being situated in a series of social arenas or *fields*. Bourdieu developed field theory to explain the relationship dynamics or interconnectivity between people and groups of people without examining the individuals themselves. Hilgers and Mangez say: "More precisely, for Bourdieu, a field is a relatively autonomous domain of activity that responds to rules of functioning and institutions that are specific to it and which define the relations among the agents" (2015, p.5). Fields are structured social spaces with individuals positioned relative to each other and are characterised by individual practices, forms of authority, standards and rules. Autonomy protects the field from external influences and allows it to uphold and defend these characteristics (Fantasia, 2010, citing Bourdieu and Wacquant).

A field is both a force field protecting "those inside the field who exist in self-contained worlds with rules and a hierarchy" and a "field of force in physics ... a set of vectors which demonstrate the impact of one force upon another", underlining the individual's struggle to maintain or increase their portion of available resources (Thompson, 2014 pp.66-72). Events within the field are constrained by its boundary which limits the effect of external influences.

Typical examples of professional fields are the legal and education professions. Educational qualifications are required to become a member of these fields, and operating within the field requires conforming to the rules which apply to each field. Music and literature are examples of cultural fields with some innate talent being a requirement for membership. Individuals compete to maintain or improve their position within the field, with the accumulation of capital, in all its forms, economic, social, cultural and symbolic, the prize.



Having their own rules means fields are relatively autonomous, but a certain overlap or straddling can occur. Ferguson argues that gastronomy as a cultural field is an overlap of both the culinary field and the literary field. Before discussing this overlap, the concept of gastronomy is addressed.

## 1.2 Gastronomy

The term gastronomy, deriving from the Ancient Greek *gaster*, meaning stomach, and *nómos*, meaning the laws that govern, i.e. legislation of the stomach, was purportedly invented by Joseph Berchoux in 1801 when he used it as a title of a poem. In *La Physiologie du goût (The Physiology of Taste)*, published in 1826, French social commentator Brillat-Savarin saw gastronomy as “interdisciplinary and dynamic” (Neill *et al.*, 2017, p.92), with all the infrastructure and institutions involved in creating food included in his definition of gastronomy as:

everything which can be eaten; its immediate object, the preservation of the individual; and its methods of attaining that object, cultivation which produces foodstuffs, commerce which exchanges them, industry which prepares them, and experience which devises the meaning of turning them to best possible account (1970, p.52-53).

Echoing Brillat-Savarin, for Ferguson gastronomy is a “structured set of culinary practices and texts uniting producer and consumer” (Ferguson, 1998, p.603). The inclusion of texts in Ferguson’s definition but not in Brillat-Savarin’s suggests that the latter, writing in 1826, was likely unaware of the importance that would later be attached to his and other writers’ contribution to the development of gastronomy as “culinary practices and texts” and, to the development of the gastronomic field. Ferguson also uses the term “the pursuit of culinary excellence” (*ibid.*, p.599) to define gastronomy.

While culinary arts date back to the ancient civilizations of Greece, Rome and Egypt, Ferguson believes that gastronomy as a modern social phenomenon emerged in early nineteenth-century France when certain conditions brought the “pursuit of culinary excellence” (1998, p.599) into the public sphere as a “new social practice” (*ibid.*, p.602), and resulted in gastronomy becoming a significant part of French cultural life. These conditions were abundant supplies of a variety of foodstuffs, particularly in Paris, the rise of restaurants with professional chefs and, equally importantly, wealthy and knowledgeable consumers and

the increasing secularisation of French society which allowed food to be enjoyed for its own sake away from “religious, symbolic, or medical concerns to the gustatory” (*ibid.*, p.607).

Mennell (1996) highlights some of the terminology associated with gastronomy and discusses the epicure in England and the gourmand in France. Both these terms had connotations of gluttony, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century had begun to describe “one who cultivates a refined taste for the pleasures of the table: one who is choice and dainty in eating and drinking” (Mennell, 1996, p.267). For Mennell, a gastronome differs from these other terms in that a gastronome cultivates his own “‘refined taste for the pleasures of the table’ but also, by writing about it, helps to cultivate other people’s too” (*ibid.*, p.267). He argues that while this may not be the exact dictionary definition, it is his “own interpretation of how the word ‘gastronome’ has come to be used” (*ibid.*, p. 360). American chef and author James Beard (1903-1985), cited in Tigner and Carruth, similarly defines gastronomes as “those that have the capacity to ‘recall a taste sensation’ in *writing*” (2018, p.139). Tigner and Carruth argue that these gastronomic writers redefined *gourmandise* from its previous gluttonous connotations by “hooking it instead to gastronomy” (*ibid.*, p.145).

### 1.3 The Gastronomic Field

Ferguson takes gastronomy in nineteenth-century France as an example of a developing cultural field. The gastronomic field is formed by combining gastronomy as “the pursuit of culinary excellence” (1998, p.599), and the significance this had achieved within society by that time, with the culinary discourse of gastronomes to create gastronomy as a “structured set of culinary practices and texts uniting producer and consumer” (*ibid.*, p.603). She defines the gastronomic cultural field as “structured by the distinction between the material product – the food stuffs, the dish or the meal – and the critical, intellectual, or aesthetic by-products that discuss, review and debate the original product” (*ibid.*, p.610).

The gastronomes she cites are chef Antonin Carême (1784-1833), consumer advocate Alexandre-Laurent Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838), social commentator Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826), philosopher Charles Fourier (1772-1837) and author Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850). While Carême’s and Grimod’s culinary texts are mainly instructive, for Brillat-Savarin who wrote *La Physiologie du goût (The Physiology of Taste, 1826)*, “text was

its own end” (Ferguson, 1998, p.617). Fourier and Balzac indeed straddle fields by occupying a position in both the philosophical and literary fields, respectively, but also in the culinary field through their writings on food within their individual disciplines. The existence of these other fields meant the

emergent ‘gastronomic field’ received symbolic fortification from more firmly established cultural fields. Thus with gastronomic writing accepted as good literature, the emergent gastronomic field acquired a measure of cultural legitimacy (Fantasia, 2010, p.28-29).

## Chapter 2: The Components of the Gastronomic Field

Ferguson's gastronomic field is constructed from two elements, the significance that gastronomy had acquired by the mid-nineteenth century France and the cultural field of culinary discourse. Here we examine both.

### 2.1 Historical Development French Gastronomy

To trace the development of the significance gastronomy was to achieve in nineteenth-century France it is necessary to explore the development of the culinary arts from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the position of gastronomy in mid-nineteenth century France.

The decline of the Roman Empire was followed by the Middle Ages which lasted roughly from the fifth to the fifteenth century. While there is little documentary evidence of food consumed during this period the peasant class in all countries was marked by "structured similarities" (Mennell, 1996, p.47). The diet consisted of pottage, bread, fish or meat, supplemented by dairy or "white meat" and vegetables. From the 11th century Europe consisted of a patchwork of independent but interconnected societies with "a shared culinary philosophy, political and social connections, and social and commercial interchanges [which] meant that the noble classes across Europe dined on a single Catholic cuisine, albeit with regional differences" (Laudan, 2015, p.174). Trubek (2000) argues that the origins of French haute cuisine are to be found in the courtly home of the medieval and early modern period. This haute cuisine was characterised by great detail being taken in the presentation of food, with the medieval banquet a symbol of rank and power (Mennell, 1996). Cooking involved catering to the "humours", and involved the use of spices, separating meat and fish from their accompanying sauces, and the great attention paid to how the food was displayed. Manuscripts exist from the Late Middle Ages and suggest common sources. The most famous are *Viandier* by Taillevent (1373-80) and *Menagier de Paris* (1392-94). These manuscripts pertain to the upper classes, and highlight the generic nature of the food with "dishes prepared by methods and according to recipes which were common property across the continent." (Mennell, 1996, p.49-51). It was not until the Renaissance with the introduction of the printing press that cooks and cookbooks began to "pass from the ignoble world of craft to the prestigious domain of art" (Girand cited in Mennell, p.68).

That the Renaissance (14<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> century), with its greater refinement in tastes and manners, impacted on France is unquestionable, but the extent of that influence is uncertain. The beliefs that it was either the cook of Cathérine de Medici, or Marie de Medici, wife of Henry VI of France (ruled 1589-1610), that introduced Italian cookery to France have little evidence behind them. However, there was a significant emigration of Italy's "cultural élites" to early modern France (Mennell citing Isakovics, 1996, p.70). Where early sixteenth century Italy's culinary leadership rests is, in large part, on the influence of a collection of recipes by Martino included in Bartolomeo Sacchi's (Platine of Cremona) *Honesta Voluptate et valetudine* (*Honest and Healthy Pleasure*) published in 1475, and present in France by 1505 (Pitte, 2002, p.88). This book marks the break with the common European medieval diet, previously discussed. The late sixteenth century in Italy saw an even more marked break with medieval cooking with the publication of Scappi's *Opera* in 1570, which described technical advances such as braising, poaching, marinating and stewing. By the late sixteenth century, Italian cookbooks were not only distinctly Italian but demonstrated the most elegant cuisine in Europe (Mennell, 1996, p.70). The books showed an increased variety of dishes, less meat, more fruit, vegetables, pastries and charcuterie, while pasta dishes, already in existence, were developed further.

Cooking in France in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century remained mostly medieval, and while it included some of the new Italian influences, the preparation of meat and the recipes for sauces remained unchanged (Pitte, 2002). Pitte suggests that evolution of French gastronomic prestige occurred "through the will of the kings and their courts" (*ibid.*, p.85). This emergence of a court-society began under the rule of the Valois family and, in particular, François I (1495-1545: reigned 1515-1545) and Henri II (1519-1559: reigned 1545-1559) (Mennell, 1996, p.109).

The cultural and political prestige of the French monarchy increased throughout Europe. This growth in prestige was felt particularly during the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715: reigned 1643-1715), whom Pitte describes as a gourmand, for whom meals assumed political importance. While he dined alone, at the new palace in Versailles, he ate in public, and any courtiers that he wanted to favour were permitted to sit on stools close to the monarch. Cuisine moved away from medieval cooking as chefs in aristocratic households started to experiment with the "look, taste, and feel of the food" (Trubek, 2000, p.7) and began to create food which was to become identified as specifically French.

If gastronomy in France was rooted in its royal court, its development was recorded in culinary texts. There is no document detailing cooking techniques for the sixteenth and the start of the seventeenth century, nor were there any new recipe books. This lack of evidence suggests that the cooks employed by the aristocracy only slowly innovated old recipes without being willing to publish their efforts (Pitte, 2002, p.90). New evidence of culinary development appeared in 1651, eight years after the ascension of Louis XIV to the throne, with the publication of La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François (The French Chef)*. This book demonstrates a "clear break with medieval food and the recognisable beginnings of modern French cooking" and provides "indisputable literary evidence of the emergence of a distinctively French style of cooking" (Mennell, 1996, p.71). The book highlights seasonal foods and produces the first recipe for *bouillon* or stock which became the foundation for the sauces that so characterise French cooking. Pan and meat juices are also used in the preparation of sauces. Spices, although still in use, are significantly reduced and replaced with French seasonings such as shallots, chives and tarragon. On the technical side, La Varenne uses egg whites to clarify consommés, and thicken sauces using a roux of fat and flour, replacing the breadcrumbs of medieval cooking. (Pitte, 2002; Mennell, 1996). La Varenne later wrote *Le Pâtissier français (The French Pastry Maker, 1653)*, the first comprehensive book on French pastry. The titles of these books emphasise how French cuisine was becoming distinctively "French".

La Varenne does not stand alone in the production of cookery books reflecting a new, and specifically French, style of cooking. In the same year as *Le Cuisinier François* was published, agronomist, Nicolas Bonnefons published *Le Jardinier français (The French Gardener; 1651)* and three years later *Les Délices de la campagne (The Delights of the Countryside)*. A chef known only as L.S.R.'s *L'Art de bien traiter (The Art of Catering)* was published in 1674. 1691 saw the publication of François Massialot's (1660-1733) *Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois (The Royal and Bourgeois Chef)* and in the following year his *Nouvelle Instructions pour faire les confiture (New Instructions for Jam Making)* appeared.

These books which were aimed at other professional chefs are an indication of the growing awareness that cooking was developing into a profession that required codification. The cookbooks looked to provide rules and methods around food where previously few had existed. While directed at professional chefs, the act of publishing brought cuisine out of private kitchens into the public sphere (Ferguson, 2004). The books were bought by the

middle classes “who looked to [them] for practical advice for holiday meals” (Flandrin & Hymen, cited in Pitte, 2002, p.94).

The death of Louis XIV in 1715 marked a change in courtly behaviour with the Regent the Duc d’Orléan who replaced Louis XIV, dining in a much more refined and delicate way. This change in courtly dining eventually became evident, although not until 1735, in a new collection of cookbooks with the publication of *Le Cuisinier moderne* by Vincent La Chapelle (1690-1745). This book had initially been published as *The Modern Cook* in England in 1733 when La Chapelle was chef de cuisine to Lord Chesterfield. Despite repeating some of Massialot’s recipes, some techniques point to more modern culinary practices. La Chapelle uses a cullis or coulis, a thick meat or vegetable stock, which he thickens with a roux containing flour. He also degreases the cullis during cooking. Sauce Espagnole is used as a base for many differing sauces, and in the fifth edition of the book, published in 1742, he includes recipes from Italy, England, Germany, Russia and even India, all adapted to suit the French palate (Mennell, 1996).

The title of La Chapelle’s book points to a movement toward modern cookery. This idea of modernity in cooking became embedded by the late 1730s with the publication of Menon’s *Le Nouveau Traité de Cuisine (New Treaty on Cooking)* in 1739, and in the same year, Marin’s *Les Dons de Comus (Comus’ Gifts)*, which aimed at teaching how to serve food in the most modern fashion. Three years later Marin produced *Suite des Dons de Comus (Series of Comus’ Gifts)*, which included the recipes for the dishes discussed in his previous book.

These books were still based on courtly cooking but were being read by the bourgeois, and by the middle of the eighteenth-century, chefs had begun to adapt their writings for this audience. The most famous of these is Menon’s *La Cuisinière bourgeoise (The Female Bourgeois Cook)* translated into English as *The French Family Cook* (1746), a book aimed at female cooks at a time when only the lower middle class would have employed a woman to take charge of their kitchen (Mennell, 1996, p.82). By aiming it at this market, Menon was trying to cater to those outside of the aristocracy. However, in the preface to the book Menon states that it is his position as a chef to the aristocracy that allows him to address this lower audience saying that “he [the cook] matches his precepts to their wealth and to the nature of the foodstuffs to which the Cook is constrained” and in doing so “he ennobles plebeian foods with the seasonings by which he enhances them” (Menon cited in Ferguson, 2004, pp.41-42).

While the dishes may have been simplified, the cost of preparing the dishes would have been out to the reach of the lower-level bourgeois.

Louis XV (1710-1774) ascended the throne on his thirteenth birthday in 1723 and like the Regent before him maintained the elaborate ceremony of Louis XIV's reign but did introduce the concept of the supper, where a small number of people would gather and dine with the king. This practice was adopted at all levels of society, and Pitte (2002) states that by this time refined culinary standards had entered into usual French custom and were practised by most people and that the transmission mechanism via the highest dignitaries was now well established and continues to the present day.

Under the reign of Louis XV, the finances of France were put under pressure from the Seven Year War (1756-1763) and given that the majority of the wealthy in French society were exempt from tax this burden was placed on the rest of society. The tax burden led to social unrest which continued into the reign of Louis XVI (1754-1793) who called the Estates General, in May 1789, to discuss the financial situation. Disagreement within the meeting led to the Third Estate, individuals that were neither clergy nor nobility – i.e. the majority of the tax-paying population declaring itself the National Assembly heralding the French Revolution.

The Revolution was to be a landmark in French eating and was closely linked to the development of the restaurant.

### **The Rise of the Restaurant in France**

The first of the two components of the gastronomic field in mid-nineteenth century France, namely the growth in significance of gastronomy, has so far been traced through the haute cuisine of the royal and aristocratic courts, albeit with some cookbooks aimed at a lower class. The extension of this haute cuisine into general acceptance through the developing restaurant industry, and the commentary on the food served in these establishments, and on the establishments themselves, that followed leads to the second component of the gastronomic field, culinary discourse. The development of the restaurant and the resultant growth of gastronomic texts and culinary discourse will now be considered.

Brillat-Savarin, in 1825, stated that

A restaurateur is anyone whose business consists in offering to the public a repast which is always ready, and whose dishes are served in set portions at set prices, on the order of those



people who wish to eat them, The establishment itself is called a restaurant, and he who directs is the restaurateur. The list of dishes with their prices is called, quite simply, the carte or bill of fare, and the carte à payer or check indicates the amount of food which has been ordered and its cost to the consumer (Brillat-Savarin, 1970, p.313).

This description highlights the differences between the restaurant that had developed by late eighteenth-century France and the limited sources of public eating that had previously been available. These sources of public eating included inns, which catered mainly for travellers, street kitchens and taverns, where alcohol was sold, and simple dishes were either cooked on the premises or ordered from a nearby inn. Meals were served in the *table d'hôte* style where diners sat at a common table, and the menu was limited to what the host provided. For what Pitte (2013) refers to as a “genuine meal” one had the option of a *traiteur* who along with *rôtisseurs* and *charcutiers* had the monopoly on selling all cooked meats except *pâtés*. Mennell (1996), citing Dumas (1873), states that *traiteurs* limited their offering to dishes that contained a whole cut of meat, thereby ignoring the demand from any individual looking for an individual portion of cooked meat. However, Pitte states that individuals, albeit only “common people” still ate at these establishments (2013, p.473).

Restaurants developed from the establishments which sold a rich, restorative *bouillon* or *bouillon restaurant* (Pitte, 2013). In eighteenth-century Paris, the stock that was produced by the cooking of the meat by the *traiteur* created this *bouillon*. *Bouillon* fell outside the *traiteur's* monopoly, and institutions appeared where these *bouillons restaurant* could be bought and consumed on the premises. Spang (2000) suggests that *bouillon* along with other “dainty and salutary dish[es]” was first served by Mathurin Roze de Chantoiseau in 1766. By the late 1760s, in Paris, “restaurant” had begun to signify a public institution where these *bouillons restaurant* could be bought and consumed on the premises by those of a “delicate constitution” (Trubek, 2000, p.35). By 1771, the word “restaurant”, with its modern (rather than merely “restorative”) meaning, appeared in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, a much published Enlightenment encyclopaedia (‘Chronology’ in Brillat-Savarin, 2011), and it became institutionalised in the *Académie Française*, the official French language dictionary, in 1835 (Pitte, 2013). In 1777 de Chantoiseau reiterated the intention of the restaurant as being to provide “dainty and healthy food .... served not at a *table d'hôte*, but at any hour of the day, by the dish, and at a fixed price” (cited in Spang, 2000, p.67).

1782 saw the establishment of one of the first restaurants catering for more than those of a delicate disposition with the opening of La Grande Taverne de Londres by Antoine

Beauvilliers. According to Brillat-Savarin, “for fifteen years [Beauvilliers] was the leading *restaurateur* of Paris ... He was the first to have an elegant dining room, impeccably dressed waiters, a select wine cellar, and superior food ... and he seemed to pay special attention to his guests” (cited in Pitte, 2013, p.475). The Revolution facilitated the growth of restaurants by increasing the supply of chefs whose aristocratic employers were executed or exiled, and by breaking the monopoly of the guilds. The number of restaurants in Paris rose to between five and six hundred during the Empire (1804-1815) and to three thousand during the Restoration of Louis XVIII (1815-1842).

Demand for the restaurants came from the developing bourgeoisie who before the Revolution were part of the highly taxed Third Estate. The bourgeoisie emerged from the Revolution as a united and powerful middle class, “a social class that began taking shape during the Revolution and gained political, economic and social power in the thirty years or so following its conclusion” (Thompson, 2011, p.16). For this class, the restaurant was where they came to socialise as a group and to eat and judge food. Restaurants provided the trappings of the aristocracy to this new class, and the style of service, separate tables, elaborate furnishings, menu choice and flexible eating times, differentiated these establishments from other eateries. The customer, by ordering from the menu “made a highly individualistic statement” with the menu demanding “a degree of self-definition, an awareness and cultivation of personal tastes, uncalled for by the inn or cookshop” (Spang, 2007, pp.67-77). Meanwhile, a restaurateur “could now establish a reputation which carried through the new public by word of mouth, by the new gastronomic press, and by the influence of opinion leaders” (Mennell, 1996, p.143).

This gastronomic press linked dining with the concept of individuality, established criteria for evaluating chefs and restaurants, and turned restaurants into sites for “aesthetic connoisseurship” (Tigner and Carruth, 2018, p.145). The five gastronomic writers which Ferguson (1998) credits with forming the gastronomic field as a cultural field will now be discussed.

## **2.2 Culinary Discourse**

The Revolution led to a more equal democratic society in France with an emerging bourgeoisie demonstrating a growing public interest in gastronomy. The development of the

restaurant, dedicated to the production and consumption of gastronomic food, facilitated this interest. This significance that gastronomy, as a structured set of culinary practices, had attained by the nineteenth century in France is the first structural building block signalling the transformation of gastronomy into a gastronomic field. To this, Ferguson (1998) adds gastronomic texts, mainly cookbooks for professional chefs and restaurant reviews. By writing for an interested public, these provided standards for and legitimised both the consumption and production of the gastronomical experience. She also states that the writings split into two noticeable areas of speciality, namely chefs and critics, and their interchange on gastronomy added to its social prestige. Finally and most relevant for this thesis, this interchange between chefs and critics linked with adjacent fields, namely the literary field, to provide a culinary discourse that added to the social prestige of gastronomy and heralded the gastronomic field.

Ferguson divides these writers of culinary discourse into two groups, those that deal with “culinary production and consumption” and those that deal with analysing and dramatising food as “a total social phenomenon” (1998, p.626). The first group consists of Alexandre-Laurent Grimod de la Reynière, Antonin Carême and Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin.

**Alexandre-Laurent Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838)** The son of a rich *ferme générale* (tax collector) was steeped in the culinary practices of the Ancien Régime and used his annual *Almanach des Gourmands (Gourmets Almanac)* (1803-1812) to “fashion the model consumer” (Ferguson, 2002, p.95), by educating the new nineteenth-century French élite on the new post-Revolution gastronomy. The annual included restaurant reviews and opined on issues such as seasonal eating, provisioners and menu construction and the sequence of courses. He wrote the *Manuel des Amphitryons (Manual for Hosts)* in 1808 and founded the *Jury Des Dégustateurs* (Jury of Tasters), a society for evaluating new food products. The members of his society met weekly to pass judgement on the various foods presented to them with the better products getting mentioned in the *Almanach des Gourmands*.

**Marie-Antonin Carême (1784-1833)** Just as de la Reynière aimed at producing the model consumer, Carême looked to produce the perfect chef. Carême who began to simplify the medieval pageantry associated with courtly eating was turned out of home by his father aged ten and was taken in by a cookshop where he served a six-year apprenticeship before moving, aged seventeen, to the leading *pâtissier* Bailly, where he apprenticed for two years.

He was then employed as a *pâtissier* by the diplomat Prince de Talleyrand and worked with Talleyrand's *cuisinier* Boucher for twelve years (Trubek, 2000). To better establish himself, Carême moved to England in 1815 to work for the Prince Regent, but the combination of the climate and the attitude of his fellow chefs toward his celebrity caused him to return to Paris in 1818. He then worked for Tsar Alexander I, but both the climate and lack of fresh ingredients in Russia caused him to return to France. (Willan, 2000). In 1820 he moved to Vienna to work for the British ambassador for three years and then for Baron Rothchild for the next seven years. It was during this time he established himself as the “doyen of his profession” (*ibid.*, p.145) through his literary legacy. He had published both *Le Pâtissier royal (The Royal Parisian Pastry Chef)* and *Le Pâtissier pittoresque (The Picturesque Pastry Chef)* in 1815, *Le Maître d'hôtel française (The French House Stewart)* in 1822 and *Le Cuisinier parisien (The Parisian Cookbook)* in 1828. However, it was his final book *L'Art de la cuisine française au dix-neuvième siècle (The Art of Nineteenth-Century French Cooking)* published between 1833 and 1835 that crowned his fame. The last two volumes were completed by Plumerey after Carême's death in 1833. These books were both “an advance in complication and a movement toward simplicity” (Mennell, 1996, p.147) in cooking and at the same time recognise that “no previous work has so comprehensively codified” (*ibid.*, p.149) the field of cuisine.

This codification of cuisine, which Carême is credited with establishing, continued to be built on by successive chefs who claimed to both simplify and systemise their craft. These cooks will be discussed at a later stage.

**Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826)** a French lawyer and politician, sought to promote gastronomy as a subject of general interest in society. He published *La Physiologie du goût (The Physiology of Taste)* in 1826. The essays in this collection are meditations on how gastronomy is an essential part of both aristocratic and bourgeois French culture. Ferguson describes him as a commentator-analyst with his focus neither on chefs nor diners but rather to indirect consumers. By being meditative rather than instructive, the texts were an end in their own right thereby placing gastronomy “within the larger intellectual and social universe” (2004, p.97).

The second group of writers, those that analyse and dramatise food as a total social phenomenon, are Charles Fourier and Honoré de Balzac.

**Charles Fourier (1772-1837)** further intellectualised gastronomy by introducing philosophy to the subject. He viewed the gastronomic world that de la Reynière and Brillat-Savarin wrote about, and which he called “Civilization”, as unjust, because only a minority could access it while the majority had to work to provide it. He envisaged an alternative social system, “Harmony”, which would provide social equality, and invented the construct of gastrosophy, “a science which would merge gastronomy, cooking, agriculture and preserving food”. He believed that understanding these components and their interdependencies would lead to social harmony (Fleuret, 2017, p.63).

**Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850)** was a realist novelist and gourmand. A generation younger than the other writers discussed here he was aware of their works. His “gastronomic credentials” are apparent in works such as *Gastronomic Code* (1827), the *New Theory of Lunch* (1830), *Gastronomic Physiology* (1830) and an article on Brillat-Savarin in *Biographie Michaud*. (Ferguson, 2004, p.101). Prompted by the success of Brillat-Savarin’s *La Physiologie du goût (The Physiology of Taste)* Balzac wrote a number of physiologies including *La Physiologie du mariage (The Physiology of Marriage)* (1829) which was re-edited in 1832, and the edition drew a direct parallel to the Brillat-Savarin’s work. This parallel prompted a re-edition of the *Physiology of Taste* with an epilogue, *A Treatise on Modern Stimulants*, which was written by Balzac (Dubois, 2011, p.116). Ferguson discusses how, through Lucien de Rubempré’s journey in *Illusions Perdues* (1827-43), down the restaurant scale, from the first fifty franc meal to the eight sous meal in the Latin Quarter, Balzac uses the consumption of food and the restaurant as a social indicator of distinction. She also highlights his awareness of the “primal forces that appetite puts into action” (2004, p.102), and how appetite can easily overcome reason.

Ferguson describes Balzac’s fiction as the “dramatic ethnography of the nascent industrial capitalism of post-revolutionary France” (1998, p.628). McVicker argues that Balzac used scenes of nourishment to portray the “psychology of the individual and therefore society” (1954, p.45) and his interest in food was such that “it was impossible for him to conceive of a fictional society in which this element did not play a major role” (*ibid.*, p.44). He also used food as a plot development mechanism and in a stylistic manner through the use of food similes and metaphors. Boutin (2005, p.68) refers to Balzac’s “documentary impulse” and argues, like Ferguson, that his novels can be read as “literary ethnography” (2005, p.68).

These culinary discourses combine with the significance gastronomy had achieved in mid-nineteenth century France to produce what Ferguson calls the gastronomic field.

That Balzac, a realist novelist, contributed to this gastronomic field prompted consideration on whether other fiction writers could be considered as also having contributed to the gastronomic field by providing an ethnographically accurate account of their society through their novels. This resulted in this consideration of P. G. Wodehouse and his character the French chef Anatole.

## **Chapter 3: Introducing Wodehouse**

### **3.1 Wodehouse's Early Life 1881-1902**

Knowledge of an author's biography can be viewed as an "accidental, incidental pleasure" (Mallon, 2014) or as something to "clarify factors that shape the work" (Kirsch, 2014). This latter view allows the reader to garner knowledge about how the author's life may have influenced their writing and helped develop their style, tone and characters. A look at Wodehouse's early life provides useful information about his development as a writer and insights into his most famous characters Jeeves and Wooster in some of whose stories Anatole appears.

Wodehouse's father was a British magistrate based in Hong Kong, and Pelham Grenville Wodehouse was born on the 15th of October 1881 in Guilford, England, while his mother was on a return visit from the east. He spent the next two years in Hong Kong, but in 1883, along with his two older brothers, Peveril and Ernest Armine was returned to England and placed in the care of a Miss Roper in a house close to his maternal grandparents. McCrum states that Wodehouse only saw his parents for six months between the ages of three and fifteen, and that the psychological effect of this "lies at the heart of his adult personality" encouraging escape to a fantasy world (2004, p.15). In 1886 the brothers were sent to board at a small school (now Elmhurst School) for families of colonial civil servants, and three years later to Elizabeth College, in Guernsey, close to the sea air to cater for Peveril's weak chest.

In preparation for the naval career that his father had planned for him, in 1891, Wodehouse was sent to Malvern House, a school he would later credit Bertie Wooster with attending, but his poor eyesight disqualified him from active service and, to his delight, in 1894, he was sent to join Armine in Dulwich College.

Wodehouse described his time in Dulwich as "six years of unbroken bliss" (McCrum, 2004, p.27), and according to Cawthorne "in many ways, both in his heart and in his head, he never left his old school" (2013, loc. 175). While not having the status of the upper league schools of Eton or Harrow, Dulwich was imbued with the social order of the world of late Victorian England. According to McCrum, "in his fiction, Wodehouse would make this world farcical, but he understood its infinite nuances of accent, dress and antecedents in his bones" (2004, p.10), and Murphy (2013) states that Wodehouse made fun of this world when

it helped the plots, particularly of the Jeeves and Wooster stories. Richardson describes Wodehouse when in Dulwich as being “the perfect English schoolboy of the 1890s, developing a love of sport, a hatred of intellect, and a fanatical aversion to emotional display” (2016, loc. 2099). The school also contributed to his writing through its focus on the classics under its classicist Headmaster A.H. Gilkes, with Wodehouse becoming as proficient writing in Greek and Latin as in English. In his final year at Dulwich, he received 10s 6d for a short-story ‘Some Aspects of Game-Captaincy’ published in the *Public School Magazine*, and between 1902 and 1909, Wodehouse established himself as an author by writing seven novels in his school series. These were aimed at the adolescent market, and according to Murphy (2013), he used the Dulwich routine, fellow students and staff, as inspiration.

During school holidays Wodehouse and his brothers spent time with various aunts and uncles, regular character types in Wodehouse’s books, and as McCrum (2004) points out, the other adults he encountered were servants. On visits with his aunts, Wodehouse was regularly sent to have tea with the servants and became very familiar with life below-stairs in country houses. Murphy (2013) states that Wodehouse’s own notes relate a visit to cousins in 1905 during which he questioned the servants about their lives and observed the strict etiquette practised among them.

Wodehouse’s ambition was to follow his brother to Oxford, but with his father’s pension being paid in rupees, a devaluation of the currency meant he could no longer afford to send his son to university and instead arranged a job for him at a London branch of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, which Wodehouse started in September 1900. Writing in his spare time, he aimed to become sufficiently financially independent to justify leaving the bank before “getting one’s orders” - being sent out East. McCrum (2004) notes that he kept a record of his earning from his freelance writing for the years 1900-1908, suggesting a man obsessed with financial independence. While working at the bank, he had articles on sports published by *The Public School Magazine*, and in 1900 his first humorous piece, ‘Men Who Missed Their Own Weddings’, was accepted by *Tit-Bits*. By 1902, he had established himself sufficiently to be able to resign from the bank. In 1910, *Psmith in the City* was published. The story recounts this period of Wodehouse’s life.



### 3.2 The Importance of Magazines

One of the reasons for Wodehouse's success as a freelance writer was the explosion in magazine publication in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As well as publishing his short stories, many of Wodehouse's novels were serialised in magazines before being published in book form. 1836 saw the advent of serialisation with stories by both Balzac and Dickens being serialised that year. Dickens published *The Pickwick Papers* in twenty instalments, and within a month had a readership of forty thousand and had pushed "serial fiction into a place of prominence that it would retain for many decades" (Hoey, 2014). Serialisation allowed authors to test market reaction to their writing and grow their literary reputation. The Education Act of 1870 in England which required compulsory primary school education, resulted in a literate adult population. This legislation combined with new printing technology resulted in the first decade of the twentieth-century experiencing "a boom in popular journalistic and magazine publishing" (Thompson, 1992, p.22), and a "golden age for freelance journalists" (McCrum, 2004, p.47).

As noted, while working at the bank, Wodehouse had work published in *The Public School Magazine*. It was the success of this magazine that led the Newnes group to publish a competing magazine, *The Captain*, which serialised Wodehouse's school stories. The Newnes group, in 1891, began publication of *The Strand*, which initially avoided serials and was successful with 500,000 copies sold monthly. However, with the publication of a short story by Arthur Conan Doyle, 'A Scandal in Bohemia' (1891), circulation rose significantly. Thompson quotes the magazines official historian explaining the success:

In inventing a new fiction character, Doyle had devised a new fiction form, the connected series of short stories, of about five or six thousand words each, that enabled readers to share the linked excitement of a serial without being committed to following each instalment (Thompson, 1992, p.23).

Wodehouse also contributed to many magazines in America. Thompson attributes several factors to the rise of the magazine industry in America, including The Copyright Act of 1891 which, for the first time, extended some protection to foreign copyright holders, encouraging American magazines to publish international authors. Alongside this, the invention of the rotary press allowed for large scale production, the growing railway system permitted cheap distribution, and cheap second class post from 1878 did the same (Thompson, 1992, p.23). Wodehouse had works published in *Colliers* and *Cosmopolitan*, but the most important

American magazine for Wodehouse was *The Saturday Evening Post* to which he contributed prolifically in the early part of the century.

### 3.3 Jeeves and Wooster

During his lifetime, Wodehouse produced seventy-one novels, twenty-four collections of short stories, forty-two musicals and fifteen films scripts. Among his most famous characters are the cerebral valet Jeeves and his employer, the young man-about-town, Bertie Wooster, and it is in some of these short stories and novels that Anatole, the French chef, appears.

In a letter to the novelist Lawrence Durrell, Wodehouse explains the origin of Jeeves as coming about by accident when a plot involved friends of Bertie's in "bad tangle of some sort" (Wodehouse in Ratcliffe, 2013, p.416). Being unwilling to allow Bertie provide the solution Wodehouse decided to make Jeeves "a man of brains and ingenuity and have him do it" (*ibid.* p.416).

Bertie Wooster, at least in the early stories, is what Wodehouse, in a 1914 *Vanity Fair* article refers to as an "Edwardian knut", with "listlessness and a certain air of world-weariness, combined with a colo[u]red collar, a small moustache, a drooping carriage, the minimum of frontal development, and a high-power racing-car" the main requirements to being a knut. (Wodehouse in *Vanity Fair*, 1914).

The French chef Anatole features, to varying degrees, in four short stories and seven novels of the Jeeves and Wooster series, but only physically appears in one, *Right Ho, Jeeves*. When we encounter him first in *Clustering Round Young Bingo*, and before he joins Bertie's aunt and uncle, Dahlia and Tom Travers, he is in the employ of the Littles and before that he worked for an American family in Nice who had a chauffeur from Brooklyn from whom he learnt English.

### 3.4 Anatole's Time and Place

In examining whether Wodehouse has contributed to the field of gastronomy, it is necessary to confirm the exact timeframe that is being discussed. The character Jeeves first appears in a short story 'Disentangling Old Duggie', published in the US by *Colliers* in 1912 (Duggie became Percy in the English version published by *The Strand* the same year). Jeeves

is in the employ of Reggie Pepper, an early version of Bertie Wooster, and the final novel featuring the duo, *Aunt's Aren't Gentlemen*, was published sixty-three years later, in 1974. However, despite a brief experiment after the Second World War at placing the characters in contemporary settings, Wodehouse has set the series firmly in the late Edwardian period leading up to the First World War.

Wodehouse himself states this in an interview with Alistair Cooke when the author says that the Bertie Wooster type of character was “very prevalent when [he] was in and about London – 1911-12-13” (Wodehouse in Styran, 2015). In a 1971 interview, Wodehouse when asked if the world about which he wrote ever existed, replied:

‘Oh, it very definitely existed,’ replied Wodehouse with animation. ‘When I was living in London around the turn of the century, a good many of the young men dressed in morning coat, topers and spats ... Anyway, when I started writing my stories, Bertie was a recognisable type. All the rich young men had valets (Wind cited in Murphy, 2015, p.127).

The author Nigel Cawthorne, meanwhile, welcomes readers to “the world of Jeeves and Wooster. It is a ‘world of sunshine, country houses and champagne, somehow permanently stuck in the Edwardian era before the slaughter of the First World War’” (2013, p.82).

### **3.5 Wodehouse’s Audience**

Wodehouse’s “main aspiration was not to be a ‘literary’ writer but to make a living by his pen in a manner that he saw as both lucrative and enjoyable” (Einhaus, 2016, loc.513). This desire for a “substantial income [that] was never far off his mind” (McCrum, 2004, p.43) impacted on how he wrote. He was conscious of the need to meet the expectations of specific audiences, whether the readers of public-school magazines or the adult readers of his light fiction, and in his biography *Over Seventy* (1956) Wodehouse mentions moulding stories to meet the expectations of magazine editors and readers, which resulted in “mushy sentiment” (Wodehouse cited in Einhaus, loc.853). In discussing his position in the literary field, Einhaus argues that this desire to meet audience expectations places Wodehouse in the middlebrow arena, being a writer-as-craftsman rather than his contemporary modernist writers-as-artists. Bourdieu defines middlebrow as works “entirely defined by their public” (1984, p.17), and Wodehouse strove to meet this public’s requirements, writing what would sell while still practising quality writing. Part of Wodehouse’s designation as middlebrow

comes from his use of both lowbrow and highbrow cultural sources in his fiction, “offsetting his exuberant ‘popular’ plots with a dose of high-cultural references” (Einhaus, loc.559). This use of high-cultural references suggests that he relied on his reader’s knowledge of both popular and established texts, but a lack of knowledge and failing to recognise the literary allusions would not prevent the following of the plot and enjoyment of the books. Bowen notes this suggests a similarity between Wodehouse and the French Renaissance writer Rabelais (circa 1490-1554) in that both “played games with a reader who is presumed to have the same kind of intellectual background and training which they have” (1976, p.73).

### **3.6 Wodehouse’s Writing Method**

Thompson discusses how, by using the few remaining Wodehouse notes and manuscripts along with his letters, it is possible to construct a picture of how he wrote. Wodehouse created an ideas file from which he would choose an initial idea. These ideas were derived from his own previous works, works by other authors, or by asking friends and families for ideas. Having decided on a basic situation, rather than starting with an outline of the plot, he would produce large amounts of notes often beginning with his characters, and then constructing the plot to fit around these chosen characters. He would then outline the scenario, the transition between the plotting and drafting phases, by creating a lengthy, sixty thousand words or more, sketch of the plot which allowed him to write at speed once he had started. Thompson describes a scenario as being “a set of notes, with dialogue, partially handwritten and partially typed, which Wodehouse altered as he went along” (1992, p.77) while Galligan surmises that for Wodehouse:

The plot always flows from characters ... subplots mesh smoothly, and the crises that they cause arise rhythmically and naturally. The plot is both comprehensive and economical: it encompasses every detail in the novel so that there are no false leads or loose strands, and it makes do with the least possible number of arbitrary devices and coincidences (1985, p.612).

This devotion to an intricate plot is one way in which Wodehouse contrasts with his modernist writer contemporaries, as are his use of conventional genres and a belief that his work should be readable and result in definitive closure (Mooneyham, 1994, pp.119-121).

Bowen also points out similarities between Wodehouse and Rabelais concerning plotting, particularly the fact that both writers repeat their plots. Repetition will be examined further

when considering Wodehouse's style. Bowen recognises that they have a different attitude to plot but that in both "the basically hackneyed plot outline is adorned with the zaniest of inventiveness" (1976, p.66). She also notes that they both make use of stock situations which they enjoy turning on their head such as the inverted comic romance which Wodehouse uses regularly, and both appreciate plots which revolve around objects saying:

Rabelais thus uses books, bells, fougères, an abbey, a cuckold's horn, chitterlings and frozen words, where Wodehouse prefers dogs, picture, valuable books, jewellery, a cow-creamer and knock-out drops, to name a few (Bowen, 1976, p.66-67).

The intricate plot scenarios meant that when Wodehouse finally started to write, he wrote at speed, and this meant he relied on revisions to the initial drafts to introduce humour or to make a scene more dynamic. Thompson gives examples from the last Jeeves and Wooster book, *Aunts Aren't Gentlemen* (1974), the novel for which the most complete notes and drafts still exist:

He was plainly all of a doodah, and some fellows when all of a doodah enjoy telling.... This has been changed to 'He was still panting like a hart, and some fellows when panting like harts enjoy telling.....

And

This seemed to soothe him. He went on brooding, but now not so much like a murderer getting....('a murderer' becomes 'Jack the Ripper') (Thompson, 1992, pp. 82-83).

Once the plot and dialogue were complete Wodehouse then adds additional quotations and humorous lines using references such as Bartlett's book of Familiar Quotations and the Oxford Book of Quotations. These final drafts will be discussed further when examining Wodehouse's originality.

### **3.7 Wodehouse's Genres**

From 1900 to 1914 Wodehouse explored several existing genres that were associated with the popular magazines of the time. The first is the comic romance with many of his stories involving couples either becoming romantically involved or breaking up. He also inverts this genre with Bertie continually trying to avoid getting engaged. Thompson argues that this inverted comic romance is ideal in establishing a lasting series for magazines, allowing for plot repetition with enough variation to maintain an audience's ongoing interest. Another

related genre is the sophisticated stage farce whose superficial premise relies on “mistaken identity, unwarranted jealousy, theft, chases in and out of bedrooms, [and] couples switching partners” (1992, p.102). Wodehouse highlights this genre by referring to the stage in his dialogue, for example, in *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* Bertie says, “Florence clapped a hand to her throat, a thing I didn’t know anybody did off the stage” (*ibid.*, p.129).

Wodehouse combines these romantic elements with another genre, the detective story. Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930) had long been one of Wodehouse’s literary heroes. They were members of the same London clubs, played cricket together, and Wodehouse tried to persuade Doyle to give a favourable review to a book written by his long-time friend Bill Townsend (McCrum, 2004). Doyle, between 1891 and 1927, contributed a total of fifty-six Sherlock Holmes stories to *The Strand* (Willis, 1998). His writing was to have a significant impact on Wodehouse and in particular on the creation of his characters Jeeves and Wooster. Wodehouse created in Jeeves, the Holmesian problem solver and in Bertie the Watsonian unreliable narrator. Thompson notes parallels in the two series, the domestic situation of the two pairs of characters, the typical time structure of the stories and the unreliable narrator in both series. Referencing Barrie Hayes, Thompson firstly points out the humour in the Sherlock Holmes stories originating from Watson’s slow uptake of Holme’s deduction but also in what he refers to as “marital tension” (1992, p.106) of two people, who care about each other, sharing accommodation. While Hayes takes Holmes to be the “husband” and Watson, the “wife”, Thompson argues that in the Jeeves/Wooster series Bertie is the “husband”, and largely because of class and the domestic duties that Jeeves provides making him the “wife”. Secondly, the temporal aspect has both stories in both series, usually starting in the morning with Holmes deciding on a mystery to solve, while for Bertie, it is usually in the morning that one of his relatives or friends arrives requiring his help. Resolution usually happens in the evening, with Holmes and Watson going for supper and Bertie receiving a nightcap from Jeeves. The final element Wodehouse takes from Doyle is the “archetypal Watsonian unreliable narrator character” (*ibid.*, p.109), which he attributes to Bertie. Thompson points out that other writers before Wodehouse had adopted Doyle’s element of a detective’s friend narrating the story but having to rely on the detective to provide the final information as to how the crime was solved.

Thompson asserts that Wodehouse is not parodying Doyle but rather “spoofing up originals by pointing up conventions and clichés that usually pass unremarked” (1992, p.10). An example of a direct reference to Doyle’s characters can be found in *Aunt’s Aren’t*

*Gentlemen*. Bertie has been accused of stealing a cat owned by a man named Cook and Jeeves is explaining why he has been accused even though Jeeves was not present and had never met Cook:

‘I think I can explain, sir.’

It seemed incredible. I felt like Doctor Watson hearing Sherlock Holmes talking about the one hundred and forty-seven varieties of tobacco ash and the time it takes parsley to settle in the butter dish.

‘This is astounding, Jeeves,’ I said. ‘Professor Moriarty wouldn’t have lasted a minute with you. You really mean the pieces of the jig-saw puzzle have come together and fallen into their place?’

‘Yes, sir.’

‘You know all?’

‘Yes, sir.’

‘Amazing!’

‘Elementary, sir. I found the habits of the Goose and Grasshopper a ready source of information’ (p.46).

Bowen mentions how both Wodehouse and Rabelais use “parod[ies] of literary traditions familiar to the reader” (1976, p.71) particularly courtly love conventions.

Having examined the genres that Wodehouse used his writing style is examined.

### **3.8 Wodehouse’s Style**

Galligan describes Wodehouse as a “master of a difficult and valuable form – farce”, saying his form is “essentially the American musical comedy of the first quarter of the twentieth century adapted for fiction” (1985, p.609-611). While the author used the genres of the detective novel, stage farce, the comic romance and the inverted comic romance, he applied specific devices to render his work original and complex. Before examining these, some consideration of Wodehouse’s narrative style is considered. Eagleton describes narratives as “hired assassins, ready to do the dirty work that their characters may flinch from” (2014, p.101). Only one Jeeves and Wooster story is told from Jeeves’ point of view, with all the rest being told by Bertie, the unreliable narrator of the Watsonian school. Bertie

seldom is aware of all that is going on, with Jeeves often manipulating events off-stage only to explain these to Bertie at the end of the story. Thompson states that this type of writing is challenging, but that Wodehouse “makes the results seem effortless, to the point where it is easy to miss noticing this complex and subtle device” (1998, p.157). Galligan (1985) also notes the restriction of this device, Bertie having to be in every scene but without the intellect to analyse characters’ motives. Wodehouse adds an additional element to this by creating elements of conflict between Jeeves and Bertie so that, unlike Holmes and Watson, Jeeves is not always working to further Bertie’s ends, and Bertie is not always just an admiring narrator of Jeeves successes.

Eagleton (2014) states that realist stories develop because some initial stability is disturbed and that the point of the realist ending is to restore order. In the Jeeves and Wooster series, Bertie is the force for openings. The plots usually start with the characters at home in the morning with the stability being disturbed by a relative or friend of Bertie’s either calling or phoning seeking his assistance. Bertie’s personal code prevents him from refusing help, and his attempts to help move the narrative along. Closure is brought to the resultant farce by Jeeves restoring stability. Because Jeeves has such a keen intellect, he could presumably bring closure quickly, so Wodehouse uses delaying devices to prolong the story. These include Jeeves going on holiday, therefore, being physically unable to help, or something, usually an article of clothing that Bertie has bought, annoying Jeeves, and he thus delays helping until he can also figure out a way of disposing of the item.

Wodehouse is deliberately not subtle in his use of repetition whether in plot or language. The engagement of Gussie Fink-Nottle and Madeline Bassett is an essential element of the plots in *Right Ho, Jeeves*, *Stiff Upper Lip*, *Jeeves*, and *The Code of the Woosters*. While it might appear that Wodehouse is plagiarising himself, Galligan argues that “a responsive reader will see him demonstrating the possibility for variation within rigidly defined limits” (1985, p. 614).

Thompson points out Wodehouse’s use of deliberate repetition in the language he employs. Jeeves’ language remains unchanged right through the series, however, “not until the novels does he become a walking combination of *Bartlett’s [Book of Quotations]* and *Roget’s [Thesaurus]*” (1998, p.286), when the longer form of the novel allowed Wodehouse to expand his style. Bertie, whose style of speaking Galligan describes as “man-about-town English as it was spoken in London before 1914, a blend of clichés, public schoolboy tags,



and upper-class slang, curiously enriched by a good deal of post-war American slang” (1985, p.610), expands his vocabulary because of the time he spends with Jeeves. This style of speaking is shown in phrases such as:

it was a little difficult to answer this, because he had looked like a small-time gangster with a painful gum-boil, but I threw together a tactful word or two which, **as Jeeves would say**, gave satisfaction, and she buzzed off (*Aunts Aren't Gentlemen*, p.73).

And

His face was flushed, his eyes were bulging, and one had the odd illusion that his hair was standing on end – like quills upon the fretful porpoentine, **as Jeeves once put it** when describing to me the reactions of Barmy Fotheringay-Phipps on seeing a dead snip, on which he had invested largely, come in sixth in the procession at the Newmarket Spring Meeting (*The Code of the Woosters*, p.129).

Bertie's expanding vocabulary is also demonstrated on occasions when Jeeves uses a word or phrase, and Bertie repeats it. This repetition can occur across several books. In *Right Ho, Jeeves*, Jeeves remarks that “the contingency is a remote one, sir” (*ibid.*, p.124). This comment is echoed by Bertie in *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* when he says he “was about to laugh indulgently and say that this was what Jeeves calls a remote contingency” (*ibid.*, p.58), and in *Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves* when he “was thankful that there was no danger of this contingency, as Jeeves would have called it, arising” (*ibid.*, p.115).

As well as repetition Wodehouse makes extensive use of cliché and quotation and uses a repertory of devices to defamiliarise this usage, which allows Jeeves and Wooster to “linger over the conventions of language” (Thompson, 1998, p.279). These defamiliarising techniques include rendering poetry as prose, breaking up a cliché and turning it into dialogue and Jeeves introducing the term “Sir” or “Madam”. In *Right Ho, Jeeves*, Jeeves uses Shakespeare's Hamlet to describe Tuppy as follows: “It seemed to [him] that Mr Glossop's face was sicklied o're with the pale cast of thought” (*ibid.*, p.123). Similarly, in *Aunts Aren't Gentlemen*, when Bertie asks the reason for a protest, Jeeves, quoting from Robert Herrick's poem ‘Present Government Grievous’ says: “I could not say, sir. It might be one thing or it might be another. Men are suspicious, prone to discontent. Subjects still loathe the present Government” (*ibid.*, p.11).

Wodehouse emphasises his use of clichés by adding “as the fellow said” or “as the expression is”. Examples include: “All wasted on me, of course. **As the fellow** said, better a

dinner of herbs when you're all buddies together than a regular blow-out when you're not" (*The Code of the Woosters*, p.110) and: "Whether or not Aunt Dahlia bridled, **as the expression is**, I couldn't say, but I think she must have done, for her next words were straight from the deep freeze" (*Much Obligated, Jeeves*, p. 96).

Thompson suggests one sentence from *The Code of the Woosters* as being "quintessentially Wodehousian" (1998, p.276) containing simile, slang and cliché:

Here, with a sniff like the tearing of a piece of calico, she buried the bean in the hands and broke into what are called uncontrollable sobs (*The Code of the Woosters*, p.167).

In fact, when it comes to *The Code of the Woosters*, Lydon says:

If literature is the web of idiom and quotation, the lingering over language, that I [Lydon] take it to be, and if the *Code of the Woosters* may be taken as descriptive of his oeuvre as a whole, that [she] is prepared to argue, not defensively, that the *Code of the Woosters* is literature (1994, p.24).

Bowen notes the use of quotation, cliché and metaphor by both Wodehouse and Rabelais, saying that both use dictionaries of quotations and in doing so seek to "deliberately underline their [the quotations] nature as clichés or topoi" (1976, p.71).

Repetition is also evident as internal clichés that develop over the series. Bertie's code, or his inability to refuse help when asked, is the starting point of every story. The constant engagements and breakups between the characters, and in particular Bertie regularly finding himself engaged through no action on his part form another internal cliché, as does the location of the novels in the country-house setting of either Aunt Dahlia's Brinkley Manor or Sir Watkyn Bassett's Totleigh Towers. One final internal cliché is the repetition of clichés across books. Thompson gives the example of the porpentine, an old term for porcupine. Its presence in *The Code of the Woosters* was seen above, and the motif reappears in *Joy in the Morning* (not one of the books in which Anatole appears), *Jeeves in the Offing*, *Much Obligated, Jeeves*, and *Aunts Aren't Gentlemen*:

Make his knotted and combined locks to part and each particular hair to stand on end like quills upon the fretful porpentine, sir (*Joy in the Morning*, loc. 2377).

If I could show you that list Boko drafted out of the things he wants me to say – I unfortunately left it in my room, where it fell from my nerveless fingers – your knotted and combined locks would part all right, believe me. You're sure it's porpentine? (*Joy in the Morning*, loc. 2415-17).

I think you may be referring to the ghost of the father of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, sir. Addressing his son, he said ‘I could a tale unfold whose lightest word would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood, make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres, thy knotted and combined locks to part and each particular hair to stand on end like quills upon the fretful porpentine’ (*Jeeves in the Offing*, p.112).

I had expected to freeze her young -or, rather, middle-aged – blood and have her perm stand on end like quills upon the fretful porpentine (*Jeeves in the Offing*, p.124).

...the mere sight of whom, circe [sic] being what they were, was enough to freeze the blood and make each particular hair stand on end like quills upon the fretful porpentine, as I have heard Jeeves put it (*Much Obliged, Jeeves*, p.179).

And when you return, I shall a tale unfold which will make you jump as if you’d sat on a fretful porpentine (*Aunts Aren’t Gentlemen*, p.174).

### **3.9 Development of the Jeeves and Wooster Series**

It was the development from short stories into the novel form that allowed for the development of the character of the French chef, Anatole. Thompson (1998) divides the Jeeves and Wooster short stories into three periods and traces the development of the narrative formula over these periods. The early period (1916-1917) sees Bertie as a relatively stupid, regularly hung-over man-about-town and Jeeves as the cerebral valet. The narratives run to the repetitive formula discussed previously, where a relative or friend of Bertie’s comes to him looking for help to solve a problem which, with Jeeves’ help, he does. In these early stories, Jeeves relies more on coincidence than intelligence for the solution, with several of the stories containing a double delay where Jeeves proposes one solution, which is unsuccessful, only to produce a second, successful solution.

The middle period (1918-1925) sees the elimination of the double delay, the introduction of new characters and families, and the development of the characters of Jeeves and Wooster. There was a three-and-a-half year gap in the series between 1918 and 1921, at which stage new characters were introduced, and their longevity was guaranteed by the device of thwarting their desires, which allowed them to reappear in other, later stories. The characters of Bertie’s relatives became more complex, and in ‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’ (1925) his Aunt Dahlia appears for the first time, married to Tom Travers, owning her magazine *Milady’s Boudoir* and acquiring “by the end, her superlative chef, Anatole” (Thompson,

1992, p.172). Bertie's character also becomes more complex, with him ceasing to be the brainless tippler of the earlier stories. He becomes more intelligent and is now willing to defy Jeeves. This development was in response to how Wodehouse grew the character of Jeeves, giving him a romantic backstory, introducing his sporting and gambling knowledge that endeared him to Bertie's friends, as well as elements of offstage life which added to the narrative, and allowed Jeeves to manipulate events without Bertie's knowledge. In this period Wodehouse uses conflict between Jeeves and Wooster to add complexity to the plots with the articles of clothing that Jeeves found offensive, as discussed previously, being one ploy used.

In the late period (1926-1930), only two major new characters, Tuppy Glossop and Bobbie Wickham, were introduced. Tuppy is the prospective son-in-law of Aunt Dahlia which allows for his continued presence in the series, while Bobbie is the first real threat to Jeeves because Bertie is attracted to her. Jeeves regularly breaks up Bertie's relationships, with his permission, and because he fears for his position were Bertie ever to marry. Jeeves is seen more as an equal and friend to Bertie and is now rewarded with promised travel rather than, as he had been in the past, money. 'Clustering Round Young Bingo', written at the end of the middle period in 1925, sees Jeeves solving multiple problems, and this trend continues into the late period, although he comes to rely less on coincidence and more on his intelligence. His off-stage activities increase, which Thompson (1992) argues, gives the stories the air of detective stories where the reader has to imagine events away from the narration.

### **3.10 The Novels**

In his notes, Wodehouse specified which ideas were for stories and which were for novels. This specificity suggests he understood the difference in the two forms. A short story typically has a small list of characters and a tight plot that leads to a high point at the end. A novel, on the other hand, is longer, can have plot twists or allow several plots to develop by using deflection and delay (Thompson, 1992, pp.205-206). Wodehouse adapted his short story formula to novels by introducing new characters who behaved in unpredictable ways, ways that even Jeeves cannot be expected to anticipate. He also introduced the country-house setting which allowed for all the characters to be in one place at the same time, as well as quick entry and exit and encouraged surprises and twists in the plot. Motifs developed, with Bertie regularly being accused of theft and often finding himself unintentionally engaged, which combined with his constant willingness to help family and friends, formed the basis for

many of the novels. Coincidence makes a return in assisting Jeeves to find solutions. Coincidence occurs mainly in the form of the Junior Ganymede Club Book into which valets write supposedly confidential information about their employers, information Jeeves uses on more than one occasion to solve problems.

To extend the novels Wodehouse uses several strategies for delay to extend the narrative. As mentioned before, Jeeves is often on holiday or missing for a time, which automatically delays closure. Increasing the number of problems, and introducing them successively, combined with unpredictable characters, also delays the solution. Bertie's rebellious nature leading to a refusal to ask Jeeves for help, at least initially, is another delaying tactic. In *Much Obligated, Jeeves*, written in 1971 when Wodehouse was in his ninetieth year and, which Thompson believes, thought would be his last Jeeves and Wooster novel, the author departs from his established formula. Jeeves literally saves Bertie's life pushing him out of the way of an oncoming car, and Bertie joins Jeeves for a drink at the Ganymede Club, a club for gentlemen's gentlemen, the only scene staged at the club. We learn Jeeves first name is Reginald and the plot revolves around Jeeves first ever error in judgement. Bertie has expressed concern that the Ganymede Book, and its secrets, could be stolen and Jeeves is adamant no member would ever steal it. The book is stolen, and a reversal of roles occurs between Jeeves and Wooster which continues until the end of the novel when the book is retrieved, and Jeeves rewards Bertie by destroying the pages about him contained in the books.

### **3.11 Wodehouse after World War II**

For the first decades of the twentieth century, Wodehouse divided his time between England and America, writing short stories for magazines, working on musicals and later, producing novels. For tax reasons, he moved to Le Touquet in France in 1934 and was there when Germany occupied France during the Second World War. In July 1940, as an enemy male under sixty, albeit just, he was interned first in Loos, then Liège and finally Tost, then part of Germany but now in Poland. (McCrum, 2004, pp. 276-286). He was released just before his sixtieth birthday in June 1941 but had to remain in Berlin. There, in order to remind his American audience of his existence, he was persuaded to issue five broadcasts on German radio. The German propaganda department released these broadcasts in Britain, in

August 1940, and the furore that followed, including talk of charging him with treason, meant he never returned to Britain again.

The controversy also delayed publication of his books. Wodehouse had started a Jeeves and Wooster novel, *Joy in the Morning* (written 1940, published 1942 in the US and 1946 in the UK), before his internment, but could not take the manuscript with him. In the camp, he produced *Money in the Bank* (written 1940-41, published 1946 in the US and 1947 in the UK). The delay between writing and publication reflects publishers concerns about the scandal that surrounded Wodehouse. Concern about how his work would appeal in a post-war society can be seen in a letter Wodehouse wrote to his long-time friend Bill Townsend April 1946 when he wondered “with some mild amusement, what the result is going to be of the impact of a book like *Money in the Bank* on the world of 1946! It is so absolutely archaic (Radcliffe, 2013, p.380).

Writing to Townsend later in the same month, Wodehouse expressed his happiness at the New York Times Book Review of *Money in the Bank* which read:

Maybe Wodehouse uses the same plot over and over again. Whatever he does, it’s moderately wonderful, a ray of pale English sunshine in a grey world.... There is, of course, the question of Mr Wodehouse’s “war guilt”. Upon mature post-war reflection, it turned out to be about equal to the war guilt of the dachshunds which were stoned by super-heated patriots during World War I (Radcliffe, 2013, p.397).

In May 1946 Wodehouse applied for and was granted a visa to move from France to America, moving there in April 1947. McCrum notes the uncertainty that accompanied his return to America: his professional life was in a “flux”, the magazine industry was in decline, and the Broadway of the 1920s and 1930s had disappeared (2004, pp.362-363). The Berlin broadcasts had shook Wodehouse and he was concerned about how his characters of Jeeves and Wooster would fit in with the post-war society. He expressed some relief that his contemporary author Agatha Christie published *The Hollow* (1946), and saw that she “was ignoring present conditions in England” (Radcliffe, 2013, p.399). However, despite this Wodehouse began experimenting with Jeeves and Wooster in *The Mating Season* (1949). The Jeeves’ character, now a butler called Phillips, was placed in a society that could still afford butlers, namely Beverly Hills. Two novels resulted from this experimentation, *Spring Fever* (1948) and *The Old Reliable* (1951). He and Guy Bolton wrote a play *Come On, Jeeves* (1952). The play is set in 1950s England with the owner of a country house, Rowcester

Abbey, needing to sell the property to a wealthy American. This play became the novel *Ring for Jeeves* (1953). However, in a letter to James Penrose Harland he says:

I absolutely agree with what you say about setting by stories in England, and I am going to do so from now on, though I think it will make the stories unsaleable to the magazines over here. I don't feel at home with an American setting (Wodehouse cited in Thompson, 1998, p.49).

In 1954, *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* was published, and the Wodehouse of *The Code of the Woosters* had returned, with his Edwardian county house settings and the regular cast of characters.

### 3.12 Wodehouse the Gastronomer

It is the threat of withholding Anatole's cooking from Bertie Wooster that enables his Aunt Dahlia to bend her nephew to her will. Wodehouse's last novel before the Second World War, *The Code of the Woosters* is filled with French haute cuisine dishes. This element of Wodehouse's writing will be discussed later. The war was to impact on how Wodehouse wrote about food, and it was only with the publication of *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* in 1954 that Anatole and his dishes reappear.

Concerning *Joy in the Morning* (written 1940, published 1942 in the US and 1946 in the UK) Wodehouse, in a letter to Bill Townsend tells of problems he is having with his editors over his depiction of food:

In *Joy in the Morning* Bertie speaks of himself as eating a steak and Boko is described as having fried eggs for breakfast, and Grimsdick of Jenkins [Wodehouse's publisher] is very agitated about this, because he says the English public is so touchy about food nowadays that stuff like this will probably cause an uproar. I have changed the fried egg to a sardine and cut out the steak, so I hope all will now be well (Wodehouse in Radcliffe, 2013, p.399).

Buckley discusses how food is treated in both *Money in the Bank* (written 1940-41, published 1946 in the US and 1947 in the UK) and *The Mating Season* (1949). *Money in the Bank* "translates Wodehouse's camp experiences into a story about a farcical health colony where deprived clients long for steak and kidney pies and other solid English fare" (Buckley, 2016, loc.5865). In the novel, the characters are preoccupied with meals and furtively consume food in potting sheds. *The Mating Season* has limited references to food, and those that there are echo the official food policy of the UK government at the time. Buckley notes

certain sentences which reflect this. Bertie “bolts his rations” (*ibid.*, loc.692), wakes to his “tea ration” (*ibid.*, loc.1115), and Bertie and Jeeves discuss the importance of food to a person’s morale with Bertie opining that “a good, spirited kipper first thing in the morning seems to put heart into you” (*ibid.*, loc.1156).

Given the definition of a gastronome as “someone who cultivates a ‘refined taste for the pleasures of the table’ but also, by writing about it, helps to cultivate other people’s too” (Mennell, 1996, p.267), is Wodehouse a gastronome? Ken Clevenger argues that Wodehouse is, “not for his personal devotion to the tummy or palate, but rather for his Art – his exquisite writing about food and dining” (2005, p.15). He lists four elements of fiction, setting a physical scene, the invocation of mental images, character development and plot advancement, and discusses how Wodehouse uses food in each element. In ‘Jeeves in the Springtime’ he sets the scene with food when Bingo Little who is in love with a waitress and wants Bertie to meet her “near the Ritz”:

He was geographically accurate. About fifty yards east of the Ritz there is one of those blighted tea-and-bun shops you see dotted about all over London, and into this, if you’ll believe me, young Bingo dived like a homing rabbit; and before I had time to say a word we were wedged in at a table, on the brink of a silent pool of coffee left there by an early luncher. (*ibid.*, p.42).

In invoking mental images, Wodehouse’s device of repetition is also evident. In *The Code of the Woosters* he describes Sir Watkyn Bassett whose “brows were knitted, like those of some diner in a restaurant who, sailing into his dozen oysters, finds that the first one to pass his lips is a wrong ’un” (*ibid.*, p.175), while *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* sees Stilton “looking definitely piqued, like a diner in a restaurant who has bitten into a bad oyster” (*ibid.*, p.357). Clevenger says that in Wodehouse’s work, “gastronomy is used to perfection to portray and define characters” (2005, p.16) and cites Bertie’s description of his own character in ‘Jeeves Makes an Omelette’:

It surprises many people, I believe, that Bertram Wooster, as a general rule a man of iron, is as wax in the hands of his Aunt Dahlia, jumping to obey her lightest behest like a performing seal going after a slice of fish. They do not know that this woman possesses a secret weapon by means of which she can always bend me to her will – viz. the threat that if I give her any of my lip, she will bar me from her dinner table and deprive me of the roasts and boiled of her French chef Anatole, God’s gift to the gastric juices. When she says Go, accordingly, I do not demur, I goeth, as the Bible puts it, and so it came about that toward the quiet evenfall of Friday the 22nd inst. I was at the wheel of the old sports model, tooling through Hants with Jeeves at my side and



weighed down with a nameless foreboding. ‘Jeeves,’ I said, ‘I am weighed down with a nameless foreboding.’ ‘Indeed, sir?’ ‘Yes. What, I ask myself, is cooking?’ (*ibid.*, p.712).

Using food to develop characters is also evident in ‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’ when Bertie describes his Uncle Tom Travers, husband to his Aunt Dahlia:

It was as good a dinner as I have ever absorbed, and it revived Uncle Thomas like a watered flower. As we sat down he was saying some things about the Government which they wouldn’t have cared to hear. With the *consommé pâté d’Italie* he said but what could you expect nowadays? With the *paupiettes de sole à la princesse* he admitted rather decently that the Government couldn’t be held responsible for the rotten weather, anyway. And shortly after the *caneton Aylesbury à la broche* he was practically giving the lads the benefit of his whole-hearted support (*ibid.*, p.206).

Finally, Wodehouse uses food for plot development. In *Much Obligated, Jeeves* Aunt Dahlia intends to use Anatole’s culinary skills to persuade Runkle to give Tuppy Glossop money so that he can marry Dahlia’s daughter Angela saying:

Runkle came here hoping to sell Tom an old silver what-not for his collection, and as Tom had vanished and he had come a long way I had to put him up for the night, and at dinner I suddenly had an inspiration. I thought if I got him to stay on and plied him day and night with Anatole’s cooking, he might get into mellowed mood (*ibid.*, p.59).

And later says:

The prospects look good. He mellows more with every meal. Anatole gave us his Mignonette de poulet Petit Duc last night, and he tucked into it like a tapeworm that’s been on a diet for weeks. There was no mistaking the gleam in his eyes as he downed the last mouthful. A few more dinners ought to do the trick (*ibid.*, p.59).

Clevenger sums up by concluding that Wodehouse was indeed a gastronome and that “he used his expertise to help make his writing a feast for the minds, eyes, and ears of his readers” (2005, p.17).



## **Chapter 4: Methodology**

In determining whether P.G. Wodehouse contributed to the gastronomic field through his character, the French chef, Anatole, a qualitative thematic analysis of the short stories and novels in which Anatole appears was conducted. This section will outline the steps that were followed to discover what themes emerged from the texts.

Before embarking on thematic analysis, the data had to be collected.

### **4.1 Data Collection**

Data collection involved identifying the Wodehouse short stories and novels in which Anatole appears. Tony Ring of the UK P. G. Wodehouse Society was able to provide that information from previous research he had conducted (Ring, 2018). These short stories and novels were then read with notes made of any reference to Anatole. To facilitate the collection of data, the books were also purchased on Kindle, and any mention of Anatole was copied onto a word document producing twenty-seven pages of text. With the data collected the next stage was a thematic analysis of this text.

### **4.2 Thematic Analysis**

There has been a debate as to whether thematic analysis is merely a tool used across different methods (Boyatzis, 1998) or a method in its own right (Braun and Clarke, 2006, and Clarke and Braun, 2013). Clarke and Braun define thematic analysis as “a method for identifying and analysing patterns in qualitative data” (2013, p.1) with a flexibility that is independent of epistemology and theory, but which can be applied across a range of epistemological and theoretical approaches. The benefits of thematic analysis include its ability to be applied to a variety of research questions, its ability to be used to analyse different data types, the fact it can be applied to large or small data-sets, and that it can be applied to produce theory-driven or data-driven analyses (*ibid.*, p.2).

To the original data identified from the novels, the six steps of Braun and Clarkes thematic analysis were applied.

The first step required familiarisation with the data. Familiarisation involved reading and re-reading the data while making a note of any early impressions or patterns that emerged.

The second step involved generating initial codes. Codes “identify a feature of the data that appears interesting” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.18). The approach used was manifest, examining the literal meaning of the texts, and focusing only on what was obvious within the text. A manifest analysis differs from a latent analysis which seeks to delve deeper into the meaning of the text (Priest *et al.*, 2002). A manifest analysis was chosen because, as a writer, Wodehouse simply sought to entertain, seeing his writing as “a sort of musical comedy without music” rather than “going right deep down into life” ” (Wodehouse cited in Heddendorf, 2010, p.411).

The data were searched for references to two specific phenomena, why a French chef was in the employ of an English Edwardian family, and why the French chef had an élite status within that society. This second question arose from the paper ‘A Migrant Culture on Display: The French Migrant and French Gastronomy in London (19<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries)’ (Kelly, 2016). In it, Kelly takes French gastronomy and culinary know-how as an example of material culture and cultural capital. She discusses the development of French cuisine, particularly in London, in the nineteenth century and how the English élite used the consumption of French food as a way to differentiate itself. In doing so the aristocracy, in turn, conferred an élite status on the producers of this food, namely French chefs, with neither group subordinate to the other. She argues that this created a “new cultural fabric...[which reached] a peak in the prosperity of the late nineteenth-early twentieth-century London” (Kelly, 2016, p.7). Trubek also notes that it was the chefs that made French haute cuisine a sign of the social status of the élite of Europe and that chefs “made it a marker of their own status as élite culinary professionals” (2000, p.10). Writing about England in the nineteenth-century she states that it was “not just French cuisine, but also French chefs that the consumers desired” (*ibid.*, p.50). While the chefs they discuss are mainly employed in the restaurant industry, this thesis argues that the same élite status should apply to French chefs in private employment.

In looking for themes, a preconceived awareness of the subject such as those mentioned can be an advantage once it does not affect the interpretation of the results. However, the intention was also to search for any other themes that arose during this analysis – the “serendipity effect” (Carney, 1967, p.28). These turned out to be elements of Francophobia in the dialogue surrounding Anatole, and Anatole’s voice and appearance. Data that appeared relevant were colour coded with an initial nine code groups evolving.

The nine codes were as follows:

- A French chef proficient in French cuisine
- A French chef who can cook English Food
- A chef worth stealing
- Anatole resigns
- Anatole used to blackmail Bertie/ used as a wager/ potentially being offered in exchange for a cow creamer
- Anatole's cooking as a device to placate Tom to obtain money for Dahlia
- Anatole's voice
- Anatole's appearance
- Derogatory comments about the French

The third step is to search these codes for themes. A theme is a “coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question” (Clarke and Braun, 2013, p.3). At this stage, the nine initial code groups were reduced to the final four themes with Anatole's ability to cook English food being included in his position as a French chef in Edwardian England. Also, the various times that Anatole was poached was combined with him being used as a wager in a bet, used to blackmail Bertie, to get money from Tom, and resigning into the theme of *élite* status or cultural capital. Derogatory comments about the French in dialogue surrounding Anatole provided the third theme, while his voice and appearance were combined to form a fourth theme.

Table 1. shows the themes that emerged from some examples of the identified codes, namely the French chef in Edwardian England, the *élite* status of that French chef, Francophobia in the dialogue surrounding Anatole and Anatole's voice and appearance. As discussed the first two themes were anticipated with the third and fourth resulting from the “serendipity effect” (Carney, 1967, p.28).

**Table 1. Initial Codes Developing into Themes**

<p><b>Theme:</b> French chef in Edwardian England  <b>Codes</b>          Anatole had surpassed himself. It was as good a dinner as I have ever absorbed          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French cooking</b>)</p> <p>I mean to say – old Anatole, I mean – what I'm driving at is that he's a cook in a million          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French cooking</b>)</p> <p>..the best cook in England. You have not forgotten Anatole?          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French cooking</b>)</p> <p>Anatole at this juncture suddenly developed a cooking streak which put all his previous efforts in the shade          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French cooking</b>)</p> <p>Anatole had always been a magnet that drew me to Brinkley Court with my tongue hanging out. Many of my happiest moments had been those which I had spent champing this great man's roasts and ragouts          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French and English cooking</b>)</p> <p>And owing to the outstanding virtuosity of Anatole, her French cook, the browsing at her trough is always of a nature to lure the gourmet          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French cooking</b>)</p> <p>Anatole, that wizard of the pots and pans, had come through with one of his supremest efforts          (&gt; <b>French chef proficient in French cooking</b>)</p>	<p><b>Theme:</b> Cultural Capital  <b>Codes</b>          ...with the assistance of Jeeves, lured Mrs Bingo Little's French cook, Anatole, away from Mrs B. L. and into her own employment          (&gt;<b>A chef worth stealing</b>)</p> <p>...if Tom gives up a couple of thousand now, practically without a murmur, the imagination reels at what he'll do with Anatole cooking regularly for him. He'll be signing cheques in his sleep          (&gt;<b>Used to get money from Tom</b>)</p> <p>I've betted Anatole against Jane Snettisham's kitchen-maid          (&gt;<b>Used as a wager</b>)</p> <p>The cruise was postponed for a month owing to the illness of Mr Travers' chef, Anatole, who contracted influenza. Mr Travers refused to sail without him          (&gt;<b>Tom will not travel without Anatole</b>)</p> <p>You will do it, young Bertie, or never darken my doors again. And you know what that means. No more of Anatole's dinners for you          (&gt;<b>Used to blackmail Bertie</b>)</p> <p>And would you care to hear how he repaid me for all the loving care I lavished on him while he was my guest? Sneaked round behind my back and tried to steal Anatole          (&gt;<b>A chef worth stealing</b>)</p> <p>It contained an offer to swap the cow-creamer for Anatole, and Tom is seriously considering it!          (&gt;<b>Bartered</b>)</p>	<p><b>Theme:</b> Francophobia  <b>Codes</b>          A most amazing Johnnie who dishes a wicked ragoût          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>How she could have inspired affection in anyone, even a French cook, beat me          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>And Anatole, as is the too frequent practice of these Frenchmen, had made love to her. In fact, they were, so I understood it, sir, formally affianced until Anatole disappeared one morning          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>A volatile man, sir. Like so many of these Frenchmen          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>What did you expect a sensitive, temperamental French cook to do, if you went about urging everybody to refuse all food?          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>...Anatole's impulsive Provençal temperament. These Gauls, I should have remembered, can't take it. Their tendency to fly off the handle at the slightest provocation is well known          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>Monsieur Anatole is in bed." "Temperamental blighters, these Frenchmen"          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p> <p>That was Anatole, Aunt Dahlia's chef." "French?" "To the core." "That explains why I couldn't make him understand. What asses these Frenchmen are          (&gt;<b>Francophobia</b>)</p>	<p><b>Theme:</b> Voice and Appearance  <b>Codes</b>          ...no doubt he picked up a good deal from Bingo. Before that, he had been a couple of years with an American family at Nice and had studied under their chauffeur, one of the Maloneys of Brooklyn          (&gt;<b>Anatole's voice</b>)</p> <p>"Hot dog! You ask me what is it? Listen. Make some attention a little. Me, I have hit the hay, but I do not sleep so good"          (&gt;<b>Anatole's voice</b>)</p> <p>This wizard of the cooking-stove is a tubby little man with a moustache of the outsize or soup-strainer type, and you can generally take a line through it as to the state of his emotions. When all is well, it turns up at the ends like a sergeant-major's. When the soul is bruised, it droops          (&gt;<b>Anatole's appearance</b>)</p> <p>He threw another look up at Gussie, and did Exercise 2— the one where you clutch the moustache, give it a tug and then start catching flies          (&gt;<b>Anatole's appearance</b>)</p> <p>Here Uncle Tom made a noise like a cork coming out of a bottle, and Anatole, whose moustache had hit a new low, said something about "some apes" and, if I am not mistaken, a "rogommier"— whatever that is          (&gt;<b>Anatole's voice and appearance</b>)</p>
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The fourth step was to review the themes. Here the aim was to ensure that the themes made sense and that the data supported the themes. The main concern was to ensure that the combination of so many codes into the theme of *élite* status or cultural capital was justified. It was concluded that each of the codes included did relate to the concept of cultural capital and the combination was therefore justified. The fifth step of the Braun and Clarke approach is to define themes, which given the relatively limited data set was concluded at the end of step four.

The final step of the Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis is writing up. What follows is an exploration of each of the themes within the stories, and the next four chapters examine each of these themes in detail to discover if Wodehouse's depiction of Anatole is realistic enough to be considered ethnographic. If so, then it can be claimed that Wodehouse, like Balzac, has contributed to the gastronomic field.

### **4.3 Themes Found Within the Stories**

The first themes that appeared from the analysis were, as expected, Anatole as a French chef educated in *haute cuisine* employed in a private home in England, and the fact that he is of considerable social value to his employers.

#### **Anatole as a French Chef Employed in Edwardian England**

Anatole first appears in 'Clustering Round Young Bingo' and is in the employ of Bingo and Rosie Little. The story provides the first indication of the quality and prestige of Anatole's cooking, with Bertie describing him as "a Frenchman of the most extraordinary vim and skill", serving "*consommé pâté d'Italie.... paupiettes de sole à la princesse...and caneton Aylesbury à la broche*" (p.227-231).

In the story, Rosie has written an article for *Milady's Boudoir*, a magazine owned by Bertie's Aunt Dahlia, called 'How I Keep the Love of my Husband-Baby', which Bingo finds embarrassing. Aunt Dahlia is looking for a new cook to satisfy her husband, Tom Traver's, delicate digestive system, afflicted by years making his millions in the East, so that he will continue to fund her magazine. Jeeves suggests that if Bingo permits Dahlia to poach Anatole

that the breach in etiquette will result in Rosie refusing to contribute her article thus solving both problems. By the end of the story, Anatole is in the employ of the Travers and is a semi-regular character in the Jeeves and Wooster series. The development of the Jeeves and Wooster series from short stories to novel allowed for this semi-regular status. This short story also suggests at the prevalence of magazines in England at the time, an important factor in Wodehouse's early success.

Throughout the series Anatole is referred to as "the best cook in England" ('The Love that Purifies', p.161), "an outstanding cook" ('The Spot of Art', p.114), a "monarch of his profession" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.34) and "Gods' gift to the gastric juices" ('Jeeves Makes an Omelette', p.711) (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, 1971, p15) (*Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*, p.31) (*Aunt's Aren't Gentlemen*, p.112). In *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* Bertie gives the following description of the effects of Anatole's cooking:

I have touched so far only lightly on this Anatole, and I take the opportunity now of saying that his was an output which had to be tasted to be believed, mere words being inadequate to convey the full facts with regard to his amazing virtuosity. After one of Anatole's lunches has melted in the mouth, you unbutton the waistcoat and loll back, breathing heavily and feeling that life has no more to offer, and then, before you know where you are, along comes one of his dinners, with even more on the ball, the whole lay-out constituting something about as near Heaven as any reasonable man could wish. (*Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit.*, pp.74-75).

The most comprehensive menu is provided in the *Code of the Woosters* when Bertie faces time in prison for supposedly stealing a policeman's hat, and Bertie and Dahlia envisage the perfect, Anatole created, meal for when he is released. The menu is recreated in Table 2.



**Table 2: Menu in The Code of the Woosters**

<b>Wodehouse Menu</b>	<b>Wodehouse Menu</b>
<i>Caviar Frais</i>	Fresh Caviar
<i>Cantaloup</i>	Cantaloupe Melon
<i>Consommé aux Pommes D'Amour</i>	Consommé with Provençal Tomatoes
<i>Sylphides à la crème d'Écrevisses</i>	Sylphides (?) with a Crayfish cream sauce
<i>Mignonette de poulet petit Duc</i>	Little Duke Chicken Breast
<i>Suprême de fois gras au champagne</i>	Goose Liver with Champagne
<i>Nonats de la Méditerranée au Fenouil</i>	Whitebait with Fennel
<i>Selle d'Agneau aux laitues a la Grecque</i>	Saddle of Lamb with Lettuce
<i>Points d'asperges à la Mistinguette</i>	Asparagus Tips
<i>Neige aux Perles des Alpes</i>	Snow Eggs with Chartreuse bonbons
<i>Timbale de ris de veau Toulousaine</i>	Veal sweetbreads in pastry with mushrooms, truffles and Allemande sauce
<i>Salade d'endive et de céleri</i>	Endive and Celery Salad
<i>Le Plum Pudding,</i>	Plum Pudding
<i>L'Étoile au Berger</i>	Star-shaped Benedictine flavoured mousse served in raspberry ice-cream with spun sugar
<i>Bénédictins Blancs</i>	?
<i>Bombe Néro</i>	Sponge, caramel, ice cream and chocolate truffles coated in meringue, served with a cup of flaming rum
<i>Friandises</i>	Small delicate sweets and pastries
<i>Diablotins</i>	Small poached Gnocchi sprinkled with cayenne and grated cheese and gratinated
<i>Fruits</i>	Fruits
<i>(The Code of the Woosters, pp.274-76)</i>	

Many of these dishes appear more than once throughout the series as highlighted in Table 3.

**Table 3: Duplicate of Dishes from the Code of the Woosters Menu**

Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit (2008, [1954])	Jeeves in the Offing (2008 [1960])	Much Obligated Jeeves (1971)	Stiff Upper Lip Jeeves (1992 [1963])	Jeeves Makes an Omelette (2004 [1958])
<i>Caviar Frais (p.101)</i>				
<i>Consommé aux Pommes D'Amour (p.101)</i>				
<i>Sylphides à la crème d'Écrevisses (p.101)</i>	<i>Sylphides à la crème d'Écrevisses (p.99)</i>	<i>Sylphides à la crème d'Écrevisses (p.71)</i>		<i>Sylphides à la crème d'Écrevisses (p.726)</i>
	<i>Mignonette de poulet petit Duc (p.23)</i>	<i>Mignonette de poulet petit Duc (p.59)</i>	<i>Mignonette de poulet petit Duc (p.47)</i>	
	<i>Suprême de fois gras au champagne (p.23)</i>	<i>Suprême de fois gras au champagne (p.115)</i>	<i>Suprême de fois gras au champagne (p.84)</i>	
<i>Nonats de la Méditerranée au Fenoui (p.190)</i>				
		<i>Neige aux Perles des Alpes (p.115)</i>	<i>Neige aux Perles des Alpes (p.84)</i>	
<i>Timbale de ris de veau Toulousaine (p.75)</i>	<i>Timbale de ris de veau Toulousaine (p.99)</i>	<i>Timbale de ris de veau Toulousaine (p.71)</i>	<i>Timbale de ris de veau Toulousaine (p.47)</i>	<i>Timbale de ris de veau Toulousaine (p.726)</i>

As well as cooking French dishes, Anatole can also cook English fare, a skill appreciated by his diners. In *Right Ho, Jeeves*, after Berties has persuaded Tuppy to abstain from eating dinner to prove his love for Angela, he comforts him with the idea that when everyone had gone to bed, he will be able to raid the larder. Tuppy remembers that there is cold steak and

kidney pie left over from lunch, calls it “one of Anatole's ripest”, (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.70), and says

the thing that I admire so enormously about Anatole is that, though a Frenchman, he does not, like so many of these chefs, confine himself exclusively to French dishes, but is always willing and ready to weigh in with some good old simple English fare such as this steak-and-kidney pie to which I have alluded (*ibid.*, p.70).

Although not cooked by Anatole, steak and kidney pie also appears in *Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*. Madeline has made Gussie become a vegetarian having to forgo Anatole's *Mignonettes de poulet petit due* and *Timbales de ris de veau Toulousaine*. Bertie again offers encouragement by saying “but courage, Gussie. Think of the cold steak and kidney pie” (*Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*, p.47).

### **Anatole and his Élite Status**

From the time Aunt Dahlia hires Anatole she recognises the potential of using his culinary skills to control people. Of the four short stories and seven novels in which Anatole features there are six in which his status and social value are pivotal to the plots, but in all, he is a valued tool used by Aunt Dahlia to control both Bertie and her husband, Tom. She bends Bertie to her will by threatening him, either explicitly or implicitly, with being barred from Anatole's cooking and this is sufficient to prompt Bertie to agree to his Aunt Dahlia's schemes. As he says “blackmail, of course, but the gentler sex love blackmail. Not once but on several occasions has my Aunt Dahlia bent me to her will by threatening that if I didn't play ball she would bar me from her table, thus dashing Anatole's lunches and dinners from my lips”. (*Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*, p.62). The second advantage Anatole gives Dahlia on an ongoing basis is keeping her husband Tom, and his delicate digestive system, in an agreeable form, thus making it easier for her to extract the money needed to keep her magazine *Milady's Boudoir* operational. Having eaten a meal prepared by Anatole while he was still employed by the Littles, Tom provided money for the magazine with Dahlia claiming “Why, if Tom gives up a couple of thousand now, practically without a murmur, the imagination reels at what he'll do with Anatole cooking regularly for him. He'll be signing cheques in his sleep.” (‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’, p.251). The importance of Anatole to Tom's dietary well-being is highlighted in ‘The Spot of Art’, when Tom delays a planned cruise for a month because Anatole develops the flu and Tom will not travel without him.

Of the stories and novels in which Anatole plays a pivotal role, there is some plot repetition, an integral element of Wodehouse's writing style. As already noted in 'Clustering Round Young Bingo' Aunt Dahlia herself, with Jeeves' help acquired Anatole from the Littles. In *The Code of the Woosters*, *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit* and *Much Obligated Jeeves* various guests at Brinkley Court, the country home of Tom and Dahlia, attempt to acquire Anatole. In *The Code of the Woosters*, Uncle Tom also considers exchanging Anatole for a silver cow-creamer which Sir Watkyn Bassett owns, and Sir Watkyn offers to drop charges against Bertie in exchange for Anatole.

Sir Watkyn Bassett is an acquaintance of Uncle Tom's and fellow silver collector. In the *Code of the Woosters*, Aunt Dahlia mentions a recent visit he paid to Brinkley Court during which he tried to poach Anatole. However "Anatole proved staunch – after [Dahlia] had doubled his wages" to which Bertie demands "Double them again.... Keep on doubling them. Pour out money like water rather than lose that superb master of the roasts and hashes" (*The Code of the Woosters*, p.17-18). Later in the book, Uncle Tom receives a letter from Sir Watkyn offering to exchange a silver cow-creamer for Anatole, and Aunt Dahlia believes that he is considering the offer. As the story develops Bertie is accused by Sir Watkyn and Constable Oates of stealing the silver cow-creamer, which Aunt Dahlia actually stole, and a policeman's helmet, which Stiffy had stolen, and Sir Watkyn is considering imposing a prison sentence. Again Watkyn says he will forgo pressing charges against Bertie in exchange for Anatole, a proposition Bertie declines saying he will go to prison "if [his] going means that that supreme maestro will continue working at the old stand" (*ibid.*, p.273). Bertie persuades Watkyn that an international gang stole the creamer and, as always, Jeeves saves the day by blackmailing Spode into confessing to stealing the helmet, and Anatole remains at Brinkley Court.

Aunt Dahlia intends to use Anatole's culinary skills to persuade newspaper owner Mr Trotter to buy *Milady's Boudoir* in *Jeeves and the Feudal Spirit*. Trotter is accompanied by his wife and step-son Percy. Mrs Trotter aspires to become Lady Trotter, and when she discovers that Dahlia is hoping that Mr Trotter will buy the magazine, she insists that Anatole is part of the package, seeing his skills as helping her plan for her husband's knighthood. Jeeves again rides to the rescue. Mr Trotter's digestive system is not suited to Anatole's cuisine, and Jeeves cures his indigestion, at the same time hinting that Mrs Trotter is looking to hire Anatole. The Junior Ganymede Club is a club for valets which contains a book in which the valets list personality traits and details of their employers, and Jeeves discovered

that Mr Trotter, because of his first name, Lemuel, does not want a knighthood. Worried about Mrs Trotter's plan, Mr Trotter agrees to buy the magazine but refuses to hire Anatole.

In a story reminiscent of *Code of the Woosters* Bertie is again accused of stealing in *Much Obliged, Jeeves*, this time a silver porringer which L. P. Runkle has brought to Brinkley Court to sell to Tom Travers. Runkle once employed Tuppy Glossop's father whose invention made Runkle very rich but he paid nothing to Glossop. Aunt Dahlia wants to, using Anatole's skills, persuade Runkle to provide Tuppy with some money so he can marry her daughter Angela. Runkle refuses, and Dahlia steals the porringer. Bertie attempts to return it but is caught and hides the porringer in his bureau drawer. Runkle's valet Bingley finds the porringer in Bertie's drawer, and Runkle accuses Bertie of theft, but will not press charges if Dahlia agrees to give him Anatole. Jeeves reveals secrets about Runkle, again from the Junior Ganymede Club's book, which results in no charges against Bertie, Anatole remaining at Brinkley Court and Runkle giving Tuppy the money to marry Angela.

In 'The Love that Purifies' Aunt Dahlia uses Anatole as a wager in a bet. Friends of the Travers, Lord and Lady Snettisham and Andstruther are staying at Brinkley Court. The Travers son Bonzo and his cousin Thomas (Thos.) are also present, and Andstruther has offered a prize of five pounds for the boy behaves best. Aunt Dahlia and Lady Snettisham have a bet on the contest with Lady Snettisham backing Thos. and Aunt Dahlia backing Bonzo. The stakes are Anatole versus Lady Snettisham's kitchen maid, which Bertie describes as "pretty long odds you gave her, didn't you? I mean, Anatole is famed far and wide as a hash-slinger without peer .....Uncle Thomas will have a fit when he comes back and finds Anatole gone" ('The Love that Purifies', p.165). The young Thos. is unusually well behaved, and it takes Jeeves to discover it is his love for the actress Greta Garbo (1905-1990) that has prompted his good behaviour. Jeeves persuades another friend of the boys, Sebastian, to insult the actress and this results in water thrown by Thos. and intended for Sebastian, hitting Andstruther thus giving the prize to Bonzo and saving Anatole for the Travers.

Aunt Dahlia risked losing Anatole through resignation twice in *Right Ho, Jeeves*. Bertie travels to Brinkley Court to comfort his Aunt Dahlia whose daughter, Angela, has broken off her engagement to Tuppy Glossop, and Dahlia has also lost £500 gambling in Cannes and has to ask her husband Tom for the money to continue her magazine *Milady's Boudoir*. Also present are Bertie's friend, Gussie Fink-Nottle who is in love with Angela's friend Madeline Bassett who is also at Brinkley. Bertie persuades Dahlia, Tuppy and Gussie to abstain from

Anatole's dinner, Dahlia to show Tom how worried she is about her loss and the magazine, Tuppy in an attempt to win Angela back, and Gussie to show how much he loves Madeline. As a result of food being returned uneaten Anatole resigns, with Dahlia telling Bertie that she heard "that when the first two courses came back to the kitchen practically untouched, his feelings were so hurt that he cried like a child. And when the rest of the dinner followed, he came to the conclusion that the whole thing was a studied and calculated insult, and decided to hand in his portfolio" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.107).

Meanwhile, Bertie laces Gussie's orange juice with gin to give him the courage to propose to Madeline and his proposal is accepted, but she breaks off the engagement because of the drunken speech he gives at a school prize-giving. Gussie then proposes to Angela thus upsetting Tuppy. Dahlia eventually persuades Anatole to stay, but when in bed the chef is faced with Gussie staring at him through the skylight and promptly resigns again. Gussie was on the roof escaping Tuppy who has found out about his proposal to Angela chased Gussie onto the roof. Anatole declares "if such rannygazoo is to arrive, [he does] not remain any longer in this house no more. [He will] buzz off and do not stay planted" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.202). Bertie turns to Jeeves for help who tells him to ring the fire alarm so that Tuppy can appear heroic to Angela, and Gussie to Madeline in escorting them outside. This plan does not work immediately, but on discovering themselves locked out, Bertie is sent to get the key from Aunt Dahlia's butler Steppings who is at a servants ball nine miles away only to be told that Jeeves had the key all along. On his return both parties are reunited, Anatole has agreed to stay, and Tom has written Dahlia a cheque for £500, all having bonded in mutual anger at Bertie.

### **Francophobia**

The two expected themes, the role of Anatole as a French chef employed in Edwardian England, and his social value to his employers, are evident in the finding above, but another category under the serendipity effect is an element of Francophobia, anti-French sentiment, in the dialogue surrounding Anatole.

In 'Clustering Round Young Bingo', where we first meet Anatole, he is referred to as a "most amazing Johnnie" (p.227). The term derives from Johnny Crapaud (Ethmonline, 2019) which according to *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary* (2019) is a disparaging term for the French. Crapaud is the French for a toad.

In the story, as well as looking for a chef for Dahlia, Jeeves has been asked to by Rosie Little to find her a new housemaid. Dahlia would happily trade her housemaid for Anatole, but cannot because if her housemaid leaves then so will her chauffeur. Also, Anatole initially refuses to leave the Littles because he is in love with their parlour maid, a girl who Bertie wonders how she could have inspired affection in anyone, even a French cook, beats me” (‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’, p.243). Jeeves solves the problem by persuading the Travers housemaid to move to the Littles, which causes Anatole to resign because, as Jeeves explains to Bertie

the girl, in a previous situation some little time back, had been a colleague of Anatole, sir. And Anatole, as is the too frequent practice of these Frenchmen, had made love to her. In fact, they were, so I understood it, sir, formally affianced until Anatole disappeared one morning, leaving no address, and passed out of the poor girl’s life. You will readily appreciate that this discovery simplified matters considerably. The girl no longer had any affection for Anatole, but the prospect of being under the same roof with two young persons, both of whom he had led to assume—

Great Scott! Yes, I see! It was rather like putting in a ferret to start a rabbit.

The principle was much the same, sir. Anatole was out of the house and in Mrs Travers’s service within half an hour of the receipt of the information that the young person was about to arrive. A volatile man, sir. Like so many of these Frenchmen. (p.252).

It was seen in *Right Ho, Jeeves* Bertie has persuaded Dahlia Gussy and Tuppy to abstain from eating causing Anatole to resign. Bertie blames himself for not taking account of “Anatole's impulsive Provençal temperament. These Gauls, [he] should have remembered, can't take it. Their tendency to fly off the handle at the slightest provocation is well known” (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.109). Later, when Anatole withdraws his resignation, Bertie states “temperamental blighters, these Frenchmen” (*ibid.*, p.180). When Gussie is rescued from the roof where he upset Anatole by staring through the skylight, he asks Bertie whose room it was, and when Bertie tells him, he says “that explains why I couldn't make him understand. What asses these Frenchmen are. They don't seem able to grasp the simplest thing. You'd have thought if a chap saw a chap on a skylight, the chap would realize the chap wanted to be let in. But no, he just stood there” (*ibid.*, p.205).

Anatole’s loyalty is questioned in *Much Obligated, Jeeves*. Runkle has agreed to not to press charges against Bertie for stealing the silver porringer if Dahlia parts with Anatole. Bertie questions whether Anatole would actually go to work for Runkle to which Dahlia replies

He'd go to anyone if the price was right.

None of that faithful old retainer stuff?

None. His outlook is entirely practical. That's the French in him.

I wonder you've been able to keep him so long. He must have had other offers.

I've always topped them. If it was simply another case of outbidding the opposition, I wouldn't be worrying (*Much Obliged, Jeeves*, p.186).

Anatole's cooking is typically used to persuade Tom to either pay off Dahlia's gambling debts or bail out *Milady's Boudoir*. However, in *Aunts Aren't Gentlemen*, the last novel in the series, Bertie suggests that having to pay off Dahlia's gambling debt would, in this case, mean "upsetting the latter's gastric juices for one didn't know how long, which would mean him pushing his plate away untasted night after night, which would mean Anatole, temperamental like all geniuses, getting deeply offended and handing in his resignation" (*Aunt's Aren't Gentlemen*, p.161).

### **Anatole – Voice and Appearance**

As stated, Anatole features in four short stories and seven novels but makes an appearance in only one, *Right Ho, Jeeves*, when Tuppy is discovered peering into his bedroom through the skylight. Bertie provides the following description of the chef:

This wizard of the cooking-stove is a tubby little man with a moustache of the outsize or soup-strainer type, and you can generally take a line through it as to the state of his emotions. When all is well, it turns up at the ends like a sergeant-major's. When the soul is bruised, it droops. It was drooping now, striking a sinister note (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.200).

It is during this scene that Anatole's speaks. Bertie reminds us that he learnt English while with the Littles and previously from the Brooklyn chauffeur of the Maloney family in Nice, "so, what with Bingo and what with Maloney, he is, as I say, fluent but a bit mixed" (*ibid.*, p.201). Once Dahlia and Bertie have arrived into Anatole's bedroom he launches into three tirades of French-flavoured English:

Hot dog! You ask me what is it? Listen. Make some attention a little. Me, I have hit the hay, but I do not sleep so good, and presently I wake and up I look, and there is one who make faces against me through the dashed window. Is that a pretty affair? Is that convenient? If you think I like it, you jolly well mistake yourself. I am so mad as a wet hen. And why not? I am



somebody, isn't it? This is a bedroom, what-what, not a house for some apes? Then for what do blighters sit on my window so cool as a few cucumbers, making some faces? (*ibid.*, p.201).

Wait yet a little. I am not finish. I say I see this type on my window, making a few faces. But what then? Does he buzz off when I shout a cry, and leave me peaceable? Not on your life. He remain planted there, not giving any damns, and sit regarding me like a cat watching a duck. He make faces against me and again he make faces against me, and the more I command that he should get to hell out of here, the more he do not get to hell out of here. He cry something towards me, and demand what is his desire, but he do not explain. Oh, no, that arrives never. He does but shrug his head. What damn silliness! Is this amusing for me? You think I like it? I am not content with such folly. I think the poor mutt's loony. *Je me fiche de ce type infect. C'est idiot de faire comme ça l'oiseau.... Allez-vous-en, louffier....* Tell the boob to go away. He is mad as some March hatters (*ibid.*, p.201-202).

All right? Nom d'un nom d'un nom! The hell you say it's all right! Of what use to pull stuff like that? Wait one half-moment. Not yet quite so quick, my old sport. It is by no means all right. See yet again a little. It is some very different dishes of fish. I can take a few smooths with a rough, it is true, but I do not find it agreeable when one play larks against me on my windows. That cannot do. A nice thing, no. I am a serious man. I do not wish a few larks on my windows. I enjoy larks on my windows worse as any. It is very little all right. If such ranngazoo is to arrive, I do not remain any longer in this house no more. I buzz off and do not stay planted (*ibid.*, p.202).

The next four chapters take each of these themes and examines how historically accurate they are. If they are an accurate reflection of English society and food in Edwardian England, then Wodehouse's work can be considered ethnographic. If his writing is an ethnographic representation, then it can be argued that Wodehouse, like Balzac, has contributed to the gastronomic field.



## **Chapter 5: Theme 1 - Anatole-A French Chef in Edwardian England**

As expected, the first theme extracted from the analysis is that Anatole is a chef trained in French cuisine and employed by a family in Edwardian England. French dishes abound in Wodehouse's stories, and this section aims to examine how French cuisine came to be such a desired element of Edwardian life. Factors include changes in dining practices in late Victorian and Edwardian England, and a growing appreciation of French food, which was facilitated by some earlier cookbooks as well as "celebrity" chefs of the period and their cookbooks. One chef, in particular, Auguste Escoffier, influenced the growing appreciation of French cuisine in England by both catering to English tourists on the continent, and later, in London, at the Savoy Hotel. Escoffier's influence on Wodehouse will be examined in detail further on.

### **5.1 Changing Dining Practices**

By the first half of the nineteenth-century, French cookery and service had become "de rigueur" (Burnett, 1989 [1966], p.70) in the fashionable circles in England. This appreciation of French food was limited to the wealthy, urban population at this time, while the rural population were suspicious of these "fancy French dishes" (*ibid.*, p.69). While the quality of French food had been recognised by the end of the previous century, the friction between England and France caused by the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) led to "anti-Gallic" feeling and delayed adoption of French cuisine in England (*ibid.*, p.70). The audience for French food was to grow as the century progressed helped by economic development and a growing middle class.

From the middle of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the English economy was characterised by ongoing industrial expansion and growing wealth for those that controlled the means of production. Agriculture remained economically important. There was, however, some reduction in the prosperity associated with agriculture during the depression in the 1880s. Economic growth resulted in an emerging middle class which derived its wealth from commerce, industry and the professions, all with a disposable income that allowed for "conspicuous expenditure" (Burnett, 1989 [1966], p.192). This new middle class aspired to imitate the conduct of the landed aristocracy and copied the changes the English dietary pattern was undergoing during this period. The first of these was changing

mealtimes, with breakfast becoming an earlier and lighter meal, while lunch became more substantial, with the husband either returning home to dine with his family, or eating at his club while his wife ate a light meal of meat, fish or left-overs at home. Afternoon tea became a requirement due to dinner being served later in the evening, with half past seven the usual time by the middle of the century. This later hour was due to the later sitting of parliament and extended city working hours, was facilitated by the introduction of gaslight and encouraged by the fact that Queen Victoria enjoyed a late dinner (Burnett, 1989 [1966]). Dinners provided opportunities to display wealth and refinement, and thus social status, and it would be “difficult to maintain class rank without the public exhibition of one’s ability to consume in an appropriate fashion... and the role of cultivated consumer became a vital part of class identity” (Trubek, 2000, p.60).

Edward VII ruled England from 1901 to 1910 following the death of his mother Queen Victoria (his coronation took place on the 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1902), but the Edwardian period covers the years 1901-1914 and ends with the outbreak of the First World War (Gardiner, 2003, p.10). This era includes the period in which, according to Wodehouse himself, the Jeeves-and-Wooster series (Wodehouse in Styran, 2015). When King Edward VII officially came to the throne in 1902, he was sixty years old. For his sixty years as Prince of Wales, he was largely infantilised by his mother, Queen Victoria, who limited his official responsibilities. His life, therefore, was mainly spent in “an endless round of pleasure, comprising parties, balls, theatre visits, dinners, country-houses weekends, gambling, cards, horse racing [and] illicit love affairs” (Gardiner, 2002, p.75). He was a “monarch for the plutocracy” (*ibid.*, p.220), surrounding himself with men who had made their money in finance or trade. This “smart set” had a fixed leisure routine:

Yacht racing at Cowes in August; in September the Prince went abroad, usually to one of the fashionable German or Austrian spa resorts; in October he would be deer-stalking in Scotland, and from November until early spring would be based at Sandringham hosting shoots and doing the rounds of other people’s country house sporting parties. In May he would be in London for three months for the season, having spent a month or so on the Riviera in early spring. And then the restless carousel started up again (*ibid.*, pp. 223-224).

This lifestyle was to continue during his reign as Edward VII. However, during the Edwardian period, the composition of meals began to change with the number of courses being reduced and growing knowledge about nutrition leading to a reduction in meat consumption and a greater emphasis on vegetables and fresh fruit. French food was not

entirely accepted, even by the aristocracy, with both English and French cuisine often appearing side by side with French dishes being *entrées* (Mars, 2013). *Entrées* were “made dishes” served before the English roast (Burnett, 1989 [1966], p.199). The changes in meals meant there was an increased focus on these *entrée* as “the test of excellence in Edwardian dining” (*ibid.*, p.200), a test of the skill of the chef in serving elaborate creations. Captain Gronow (1794-1865), known for his volumes of reminiscences, recalls the meals of his youth as “wonderfully solid, hot and stimulating.... The French or side dishes consisted of very mild but very abortive attempts at continental cooking” (cited in Mars, 2013, p.227). In contrast and suggesting at the development of French cuisine in England, Chef Herman Senn wrote in 1907 that “*entrées* are generally looked upon as the most essential part of the dinner.... There may be dinners without Hors d’oeuvre, even without Soup, and without a Remove or *Relevé* (main meat course), but there can be no well-balanced dinner without an *Entrée* course” (cited in Burnett, 1998 [1966], p.202).

Another dietary development, which had started in the Victorian period but flourished in the Edwardian period, was dining out in restaurants and hotels which became a “new and fashionable entertainment for the upper class” (Burnett, 1998 [1966], p.202). The restaurant had hardly arrived in London in 1850. In 1851, the guidebook *London at Table: How, When and Where to Dine and Order a Dinner, and Where to Avoid Dining*, published to coincide with the Great Exhibition of that year, only recommends a few, mostly French, restaurants, Rouget’s, Grillon’s Howchins, Ellis’s and Fenton’s (*ibid.*) Some restaurants catered for both English and French tastes such as the Wellington Restaurant in Piccadilly, which opened in 1853, where

the kitchens are two in number, each quite independent of the other. In one the English chef rules the roast [sic]; and in the other, one of the cleverest and most accomplished artistes that Paris can produce prepares, with the aid of his subs, ‘petits diners’, which the travelled English allow to excel the dinners served in the restaurants of the French capital (advertisement for The Wellington cited in Mars, 2013, p.229).

But the “great age of dining out” (Burnett, 1989 [1966], p.202) began with the opening of the Savoy Hotel in London in 1889. The importance of the Savoy Hotel will be discussed in detail later.

By the Edwardian period, French cuisine had become accepted in England both in the homes of the wealthy and in the new hotels and restaurants, which were frequented by the

King and his “smart set”. The professional and middle classes, emulated this royal acceptance, only modified by their means. Another factor which promoted the acceptance of French cuisine in the nineteenth and early twentieth century England was the growth of the “celebrity” chef and the cookbooks they wrote.

## 5.2 Early French Cookbooks in England

Mars (2013) discusses that some awareness of French cuisine existed in England from the seventeenth century evident in some early English cookbooks and translations of French texts. Robert May (1588- ca 1664), author of *The Accomplisht Cook* (1660), had trained in Paris in the household of the first President of Paris, and John Murrell’s *A New Booke of Cookerie* (1615) was “all set forth according to the now, new, English and French Fashion” (Mars, 2013, p.218). French cookbooks that had been translated into English included La Varenne’s *Le Cuisinier François*, which was published in France in 1651 and translated into English in 1653 as *The French Cook*, Massialot’s *Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois*, published in France in 1691 and in England in 1702 as *Court and Country Cooking*, and Menon’s *La Cuisinière bourgeoise*, translated into English as *The French Family Cook* in 1746. In contrast, Frenchman Vincent La Chapelle, who was the chef to the earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) wrote *The Modern Cook* in English in 1733, and this was translated into French in 1735.

## 5.3 Celebrity Chefs in England and their Cookbooks

The nineteenth and early twentieth century also saw the rise of the, mainly French, “celebrity” chefs who worked and wrote in England. These include Marie-Antoine Carême (1783-1833), Louis Eustache Ude (ca 1769-1846), Alexis Soyer (1809-1858), Charles Elmé Francetelli (1805-1876), Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935), Alfred Suzanne (1829-1916) and X. Marcel Boulestin (1878-1943). As chefs, they contributed to the gastronomic field but also contributed through their cookbooks, which, in turn, expanded the gastronomic field by being directed at a variety of audiences.

Carême was one of the gastronomic writers that Ferguson included in the culinary discourse element of the gastronomic field, and his contribution was discussed in Chapter 2. As noted, Carême began to codify cuisine and examining these other chefs in England shows

that each claims to expand on Carême's efforts in establishing systems and improving efficiency. A brief discussion of these chefs and their cookbooks follows.

### **Louis Eustache Ude**

Ude was the most prominent of the French chefs who worked permanently in England in the early nineteenth century (Mennell, 1996). He started cooking in the kitchens of Louis XVI where his father was a cook. His interest in cooking was limited at this stage, and he left and worked for a jeweller, an engraver, a printer, as a travelling salesman, a stockbroker and then in a casino before finally returning as *maître d'hôtel* for Napoleon's mother. After two years, he travelled to England where he spent the rest of his career, working initially as the chef to the Earl of Sefton, a renowned epicure. He spent twenty years with the Earl, resigning, it is reported, because the Earl's eldest son put salt into a soup Ude had prepared (V&A Collection, 2019). He then worked for the Duke of York, the second son of King George III, and upon the death of the Duke in 1827 he was hired by the Crockford Club where he "made [it] as famous for its dining tables as its gambling tables" (Mennell, 1996, p.150). He remained at the Crockford Club until 1839 when he resigned over a salary dispute and was replaced by Charles Elmé Francetelli. While working for the Earl of Sefton, in 1813, Ude wrote *The French Cook* and later added the additional subtitle "*a system of fashionable, practical, and economical Cookery, adapted to the use of English families*". The book was written in what Mennell refers to as "something approaching English" (1996, p.150) and while it contained some English recipes, was aimed at educating the English audience in the art of haute cuisine. The book was extremely popular and by 1841 was in its fourteenth edition (Mars, 2013).

### **Alexis Soyer**

Soyer abandoned his studies of the priesthood aged twelve in 1821 and went to Paris to study cooking, working there for nine years, after which he moved to London. There are various reasons given for his departure. Trubek (2000) mentions insurgents attacking his kitchen during the Revolution of 1830; American gastronome James Beard believes he merely followed other French chefs enticed by England's growing interest in fine food and the attractive salaries paid to French chefs, while Willan (2000) cites some difficulty with a lady. Willan calls the 1830s the "golden age" of the London club and Soyer was invited to become the chef at the newly established Reform Club, which

opened in 1841, where he remained until 1850. Tasked with designing his own kitchen, Soyer invented gadgets such as a steam-run mechanical spit, controllable gas stoves and refrigerators which were cooled by iced water. Widowed in 1842, it took him until 1846 to publish his first book *The Gastronomic Regenerator: A Simplified and Entirely New System of Cookery With Nearly Two Thousand Practical Receipts Suited to the Income of All Classes*, with recipes adapted for the English palate. During his time at the Reform Club, he continued inventing, including a domestic version of his ovens and an egg cooking machine. He also developed Soyer's Sauce which was bought by the food production company, Crosse and Blackwell and Soyer's Relish. If a family could not afford a French chef "Soyer could add relish to their meals" (Mars, 2013, p.226). Soyer demonstrated a philanthropic side. He produced cheap soup recipes which he shared via letters and travelled to Ireland during the Famine to set up soup kitchens, managing to feed twenty-six thousand people a day for half the previous cost. In 1849 he published *The Modern Housewife*, which has been described as a "hurriedly composed, unoriginal work" (Willan, 2000, p.161) but demonstrated his continued concern with the food of ordinary people. He resigned from the Reform Club in 1850 to take a lease on a mansion close to the location of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and open a restaurant. This venture failed due to bad financial management, and the loss of his alcohol licence due to rowdiness. He returned to catering, and in 1854 produced *A Shilling Cookery for the People*, aimed at those who could not afford expensive ingredients or equipment. The book was an immediate success, selling 110,000 in its first four months (Willan, 2000). During the Crimean War (1853-56), he travelled to Russia to reorganise Florence Nightingale's hospital and field kitchens. The combination of his books and humanitarian actions made him "well-known to the English public, and thus he became the 'representative' French chef of his time in England (Trubek, 2000, p.46), thereby imprinting the efficient French chef into public consciousness.

### **Charles Elmé Francetelli**

Described by Mars as "Carême's real influence in London" (2013, p.225), Francetelli was born in England of Italian descent and was educated in France where he studied under Carême before returning to England. There he worked for various members of the nobility and then at the St James Club, also known as Crockford's, which he left in 1840 to become *maître d'hôtel* and chief cook in ordinary to Queen Victoria. After two years he returned to Crockford's, and in 1846 he became managing steward at the new Coventry House Club until it closed in 1854, at which time he went, in Soyer's footsteps, to the Reform Club where he



stayed until 1861. After seven years as Manager of the St James Hotel, he took over management of the Freemason's Tavern in 1870 and stayed until 1876. Francetelli wrote *The Modern Cook* in 1846, an “essentially French-style treatise, starting in systematic fashion with 104 sauces” (Mennell, 1996, p.153), much more in the style of Carême than were Soyer's books. The popularity of this book is attested to by the fact that in 1877, the twenty-third edition was published (Mars, 2013, p.225). Reflecting Soyer's concern about food for ordinary people, Francetelli published *A Plain Cookery for the Working Classes* in 1861. However, Mennell argues that the book had only minimal concessions to English taste while Burnett suggests “there is little evidence that the English working man was dissuaded of his antipathy towards soups and ‘messes’ by such recipes” (1989 [1966]). p.166).

It is worth noting that the book titles of the first two authors, Ude and Soyer, contain the word “system” while Mennell uses it to describe Francatelli's *The Modern Cook*. This systemisation continues the codification of the profession of chef that began with Carême.

### **Alfred Suzanne**

Suzanne was born in Normandy in 1829 and left France for Ireland in 1847 to work for the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Over the subsequent forty years, he worked in Ireland and England for employers that included the Earl of Wilton and the Duke of Bedford, before retiring in 1887 (Trubek, 2000). In 1894 he published *La Cuisine anglaise* notable for probably being the only cookbook written in French for a French audience but on English cooking (Mennell, 1996). The book served to assist French chefs in England to better cater for the tastes of their English employers who, according to Suzanne “always has a penchant for his national cuisine which he can only ill disguise” (Suzanne cited in Mennell, 1996, p.176).

### **X. Marcel Boulestin**

Boulestin was born in Poitiers in 1878 and began his career as a journalist before entering national service after which he moved to Paris as secretary to the writer Henri Gauthier-Villars. In 1905 he moved to London, and in 1911 began an interior design business which was interrupted by the first World War. During the War, he served as an interpreter for the British expedition force in France. After the war, he opened another interior design business which failed. He then survived by giving French lessons and cooking for dinner parties. His book, *Simple French Cooking for English Homes*, was commissioned by the publishing director Heinemann and was published in 1923. It was aimed at the more austere post-war

period comprising simple French bourgeois family food whose attributes were “excellence, simplicity and cheapness, [unlike the] nondescript dishes boasting pretentious names” served in hotels and restaurants (Norman, 2011, p. vii). This cooking to reflect the economic times is something, as previously discussed, Wodehouse struggled with after World War II when he wondered how to portray food in his books.

Apart from Soyer’s failed attempt at opening a restaurant, all of the chefs above worked either for the nobility or for gentlemen’s clubs. Other than in these situations and a few private hotels, at this time there were few other places in London, outside of the home, to enjoy high-quality French cuisine. This lack of quality was to change with the opening of the Savoy Hotel in 1889. The hotel was owned by D’Oyly Carte, under the management of César Ritz, with the kitchens in the control of Auguste Escoffier and heralded the era of “grand commercial dining” (Symons, 2001, p.292). Those that could afford it also experienced French food on visits to the continent, so before discussing Ritz, Escoffier and the Savoy, a brief history of the growth in tourism from England to the continent is considered.

## **5.4 Tourism**

At the end of the eighteenth century, a few wealthy English had settled in the Riviera where they rented or built villas with a large entourage of staff (Pitte, 2010). By the early nineteenth century, however, transport systems in Europe had begun to open up, which among other things, improved the mobility of tourists and brought about new trends in tourism. Steam navigation on waterways was introduced to Scotland in 1812, followed by Germany in 1820 and to Lake Geneva in Switzerland by 1823. Railways which Gry (2010) refers to as the “midwife at the birth of modern tourism”, also allowed for greater mobility. The first tracks appeared in England in 1825, followed by France in 1828, Germany in 1835, Italy in 1839 and Switzerland between 1844 and 1847. Rail travel became particularly popular toward the end of the nineteenth century with the introduction of mountain railways. The Vitznau-Riga railway in Switzerland was the first to open in 1871. These improved means of transport and the corresponding increase in tourists led to the building of luxury hotels to accommodate them when they visited different areas of Europe at different times of the year.

The London Season coincided with the sitting of Parliament, from February to July, when families came from their country estates to London. The Season started at the end of the hunting season in February and while winding down from July, was definitely over by the twelfth of August, “the glorious twelfth”, when the grouse hunting season started. Those that did not shoot would travel to the continent to partake of the spas to recover from the excesses of the London season. One of the more popular destinations were Germany with spa towns including Baden-Baden, Marienbad and Carlsbad (Holland, 2007a), and Lucerne in Switzerland. Christmas was usually spent in England, after which the south of France season began, which lasted until mid-May. The Riviera, from Marseilles to Monte Carlo, boasted sunshine and dry warmth for those suffering poor health, while Monte Carlo attracted travellers interested in gambling (Holland, 2007b). In *Right Ho, Jeeves* Bertie travels to Cannes for two months with his Aunt Dahlia and cousin Angela. As discussed, one of the delay devices Wodehouse used was Bertie buying an item of clothing of which Jeeves disapproves. In Cannes, he purchased a white dinner jacket and, in anticipating Jeeves’ reaction to it, gives an idea of holidays in Cannes, saying:

I don't know if you were at Cannes this summer. If you were, you will recall that anybody with any pretensions to being the life and soul of the party was accustomed to attend binges at the Casino in the ordinary evening-wear trouserings topped to the north by a white mess-jacket with brass buttons. And ever since I had stepped aboard the Blue Train at Cannes station, I had been wondering on and off how mine would go with Jeeves (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.14).

For part of their working lives, and before joining the Savoy Hotel, both César Ritz and Auguste Escoffier travelled between the spa town of Lucerne and the Riviera town of Monte Carlo. Their lives will now be examined.

## 5.5 César Ritz

Ritz was born in 1850 in Niederwald, (Switzerland). When he was fifteen, his father paid three hundred francs for him to serve as an apprentice wine waiter in L’Hôtel des Trois Couronnes in Brig, in the Rhône Valley. It does not appear, at this stage, that Ritz was particularly interested in the hospitality industry, although he spent the next few years working in various establishments in Paris. However, this attitude changed when working in Gotts restaurant, the most prestigious establishment that he had worked it up to this point,

and where he made his way up to become the restaurant manager. To further his career, he was content to take lesser positions in better establishments. He took the role of an assistant waiter in Voisins restaurant which was frequented by clientele such as the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) and actress Sarah Bernhardt. He briefly left Paris during the Franco-Prussian war but returned in 1872 as a floor waiter in the Hotel Splendide, then considered the best hotel in France. As society moved to Vienna for the International Exhibition in 1873, Ritz followed. He then began to work the Seasons, spending his time between the Riviera and Switzerland, building a reputation as a hotel manager who paid exceptional attention to his guests' needs. From 1877 to 1888, he spent the summers in the Grand National in Lucerne, and from 1880 to 1888, he spent the winters in the Grand Hotel in Monte Carlo. In 1883 Ritz hired Auguste Escoffier, and for the next six years, they divided their time between Lucerne and Monte Carlo. The success of these hotels proved to Ritz that to attract the best clientele a hotel must combine the best management with the most exceptional food (Page and Kingsford, 1971).

By now, Ritz was building an international reputation. However, always wanting to manage his own business, in the winter of 1879 he went into partnership at the Roches Noires at Trouville, an eventually failing venture that was to cost him all his savings. He returned to the Grand National and worked there until 1887. That year saw changes in both hotels, with the Grand Hotel Monte Carlo being sold and Ritz disinclined to work for strangers, while in Lucerne, the sons of the owner of the Grand National had taken over its running and no longer required Ritz's services. These changes persuaded Ritz to strike out on his own. He received a letter from a Mr Otto Kah, a resident of Baden-Baden in Bavaria, telling him that the Restaurant de la Conversation was for sale, and not only would Mr Kah lend Ritz the money to purchase the restaurant, but he would also ensure that his bid was successful. Ritz also acquired the Hotel de Provence in Cannes. Unable to afford Escoffier's salary, the partnership broke up. Guests at the opening night of Restaurant de la Conversation included Kaiser Wilhelm, and at Cannes, the Prince of Wales came to stay for Easter. Ritz had also taken responsibility for the Hotel Minerva in Baden-Baden. One guest at the Minerva, theatrical impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte, who was in the process of building the Savoy Hotel in London, offered him the job as general manager in London. Ritz refused but agreed to lend his cachet to the hotel by attending, for a considerable sum of money, the opening of the hotel in August 1889. After six months the Savoy was in financial difficulties, and when offered the position of general manager again later that year, Ritz accepted it with a

substantial salary and the guarantee that he could spend six months of each year attending to his other business in Cannes and Baden-Baden. With the more generous budget of the Savoy Hotel, the Ritz-Escoffier partnership was re-established, with Escoffier joining him at the hotel later that year. The collaboration of Ritz and Escoffier at the Savoy meant that

gradually even conservative people who had never dined in public were lured away from their clubs, and frequently preferred to give some of their most elegant dinner parties at the Savoy, where they could count upon the collaboration of the world's greatest chef, and the world's greatest hotelier (Madame Ritz cited in Page and Kingsford, 1971, p.220).

This world's greatest chef will now be considered.

## 5.6 Georges Auguste Escoffier

Little is known about the personal life of Auguste Escoffier as he wrote little in his books other than what "immediately concerned the kitchen" (Page and Kingsford, 1971, p.171). He was born in October 1846 in Villeneuve near Antibes on the French Mediterranean coast. Aged thirteen he was sent to Nice to work at his uncle's Le Restaurant Française. He spent six years training in Nice at his uncle's restaurant, and later in the Hotel Belle Vue. The owner of the Petit Moulin Rouge in Paris offered him a job, where he worked under Chef Ulyss Rohan, a vulgar and abusive man whose treatment of Escoffier made him vow that if he were ever in charge of a kitchen, he would change the working conditions. He left in 1870 for five months service in the 28<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment and returned to Le Petit Moulin Rouge as a saucier. He remained there until the Siege of Paris in 1870 when he was drafted as *chef de cuisine* to the Rhine army headquarters in Metz. In the autumn of 1871, he returned to Nice for the winter Season, working as head chef in the Hotel de Luxembourg. The following spring he returned to Paris and spent six years as head chef of Le Petit Moulin Rouge also working at La Maison Chevet and La Maison Maire, restaurants of some standing. From 1879 to 1882, he divided his time between Paris and Le Faisan Doré in Cannes. In 1883, he met César Ritz and their six-year partnership in Europe began, travelling between the Grand Hotel in Monte Carlo and the Grand National Hotel in Lucerne (Page and Kingsford, 1971). During this time Escoffier began to simplify some of the dishes he served, seeing this as a development rather than a decline in the art of cooking. At all times his cooking was based on the foundation laid by Carême (Willan, 2000). In 1889 Escoffier followed Ritz to London and became the head chef in the Savoy Hotel. His legacy includes the reorganisation of the

kitchen system from one where sections of the kitchen worked largely independent of each other to the *parties* or *brigade* system where each section was dependant on the work of the others. The *pâtissier* produced pastry for all sections; the *garde-manager* supervised the cold dishes and the supplies for the whole kitchen, hot dishes were the responsibility of the *entremettier* or the *rôtisseur*, while second in command to Escoffier was the *saucier*. This *parties* system allowed for the quick assembly of dishes and allowed Escoffier to supervise the finished dish (Willan, 2000). This reorganisation of the kitchen, while probably rooted in Escoffier's experience in the army, was following "the same trends as were unfolding in the industrialising economy at large" (Mennell, 1996, p.159). The general acceptance of service à la russe by this time also allowed for the simplification of menus. The simplification of menus is demonstrated in *Le Guide Culinaire* (1903), primarily the work of Escoffier but with contributions from other chefs including Suzanne (Mennell, 1996, p.160). In it, Carême's *fonds* are still represented with hundreds of sauce recipes, but there is increased use of lighter *fumets*, the essence and juices of dishes, used to enhance rather than conceal the natural flavour of dishes. An abridged version of *Le Guide Culinaire, A Guide to Modern Cookery* was published in English in 1907.

Ritz and Escoffier remained at the Savoy Hotel until 1897 when, as subsequently discovered by food columnist Paul Levy, they were both fired for fraud. The hotel, in an attempt to maintain its reputation, and contain the secrets of some of its guests, including the Prince of Wales, did not press charges (Willan, 2000). Ritz opened the Ritz Hotel in Paris in 1898 and the following year returned to London to launch the Carlton Hotel accompanied by Escoffier, who remained there for twenty years (Page and Kingsford, 1971).

Examining *Le Guide Culinaire*, Escoffier's influence on Wodehouse is clear. In Chapter 4 the menu from *The Code of the Woosters* was discussed, as was the repetition of some of these dishes across different books. Table 4 shows four menus taken from *Le Guide Culinaire*, and allowing for seasonal differences in salads and methods of cooking asparagus tips, all the dishes in *The Code of the Woosters* menu are taken from these four menus.

**Table 4: Escoffier Menus Highlighting the Origin of Wodehouse’s Menu**

<p><i>Hors-d'oeuvre Moscovite</i></p> <p><b>Melon Cantaloup</b></p> <p><i>Tortue Claire</i></p> <p><i>Velouté aux Pommes d'Amour</i></p> <p><i>Paupiette de sole à l'Ancienne</i></p> <p><b>Timbale de Ris de Veau Toulousaine</b></p> <p><i>Poularde Rose Marie</i></p> <p><b>Selle d'Agneau aux laitues à la Grecque</b></p> <p><i>Petits pois de l'Anglaise</i></p> <p><i>Punch glacé</i></p> <p><i>Caille en cocotte</i></p> <p><b>Salade Romaine</b></p> <p><i>Asperges d'Argenteuil</i></p> <p><i>Terrine de Canard Rouennaise</i></p> <p><b>Bombe Néro</b></p> <p><b>Friandises</b></p> <p><b>Diablotins</b></p> <p><b>Fruits</b></p> <p>(Escoffier, (1907 [1903]) p.845)</p>	<p><b>Caviar de Sterlet</b></p> <p><i>Crêpes Moscovite</i></p> <p><b>Consommé aux Pommes d'Amour</b></p> <p><b>Sylphides à la crème d'Écrevisses</b></p> <p><b>Mignonnette de poulet Petit-Duc.</b></p> <p><i>Velouté Favori</i></p> <p><i>Cailles dodues escorées d'Ortolans</i></p> <p><i>Nymphes roses—Désirs de Mascotte.</i></p> <p><b>Pointes d'Asperges à l'huile Vierge.</b></p> <p><i>Charmes de Vénus voiles à l'Oriente.</i></p> <p><i>Plaisirs des Dames.</i></p> <p><i>Eioiles Filantes—Frvoliés,</i></p> <p>(Escoffier, (1907 [1903]) p.845)</p>
<p><i>Crepe aux oeufs de Sterlet</i></p> <p><i>Conosmmé Santa-Maria</i></p> <p><i>Velouté aux Pauliettes dorées</i></p> <p><i>Caille à l'Orientale</i></p> <p><i>Jeune Cevreuil aux Cerises</i></p> <p><i>Crème de Marrons</i></p> <p><b>Supreme de Foie gras au Champagne</b></p>	<p><i>Hors-d'oeuvre</i></p> <p><i>Huitres au raifort</i></p> <p><i>Poutargue au Gènes.</i></p> <p><i>Figues fraî ches</i></p> <p><i>Cocky Leekie</i></p> <p><i>Velouté aux fleurs de courgette</i></p> <p><i>Truite au bleu</i></p>

<p><b>Neige aux Perles des Alpes</b> <i>Chapon accompagné d'Ortolans Ste. Alliance</i> <b>Salade</b> Nazaraeth <i>Asperges de France</i> <b>Le plum pudding</b> des Trois Mages <b>L'Étoile au Berger</b> <b>Bénédictins Blancs</b></p> <p>(Escoffier, (1907 [1903]) p.842)</p>	<p><b>Nonats de la Méditerranée au Fenouil</b> <i>Poularde à l'Aurore.</i> <i>Selle de Chevreuil à la Bohimienne</i> <i>Pommes aigrettes à la gelée de groseille</i> <i>Suprêmes d'Écrevisse au Champagne.</i> <i>Pastèque en Sorbet</i> <i>Perdreau aux raisins</i> <i>Salade Créole</i> <i>Coeur d'artichaut Petit-Duc</i> <i>Mousse Favorite</i> <i>Délices au Caramel</i> <i>Pêches Rose Chérie.</i> (Escoffier, (1907 [1903]) p.846)</p>
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Wodehouse grew up in the “Edwardian London of the great hotels, brilliantly lit restaurants, gentlemen’s clubs and department stores [which] shaped Wodehouse as much as Dulwich [his school] had done” (McCrum, 2004, p.60). In this society, a French chef was a desirable commodity, and Wodehouse’s introduction of Anatole as a French chef employed by an English family in Edwardian England shows his awareness of that society, and the place of the French chef within it. The French chef as an important commodity leads to the second theme, namely, that French chefs in Edwardian England, and before, both possessed, and bestowed cultural capital.





## Chapter 6: Theme 2 - Anatole and Cultural Capital

### 6.1 Cultural Capital

The first anticipated theme, Anatole as a French chef employed in Edwardian England implies that he is trained in *haute cuisine*. As suggested by Kelly (2016) and Trubek (2000), this training confers an élite status on him by those who consume his product. This status is of particular value to his employer Aunt Dahlia. Bertie is persuaded to do her bidding by the threat of denying him access to Anatole's food. By pandering to Tom's delicate digestive system, Anatole's culinary skills help her get money from Tom to pay gambling debts or to keep *Milady's Boudoir* afloat. There are occasions when she uses Anatole's cooking in attempting to manipulate the Trotters and the Runkles, only for them to try to lure him away. There are several times Sir Watkyn Bassett tries to hire him, and Dahlia uses him as a wager in a bet with Lady Snettisham. These two types of status, one inherent in Anatole and the other conferred onto Dahlia by employing him, suggests that Anatole both is and has what Bourdieu (1986) refers to as cultural capital. Cultural capital is the "skills, knowledge, and behaviours that one can tap into to demonstrate cultural competence" (Cole, 2019).

For Bourdieu the social world is comprised of accumulated history and its structure is represented by the distribution of the different forms of capital. While recognising the prominence of economic capital, which is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights" (1986, p.16), he says that any understanding of the social world requires a comprehension of practices that cannot be socially recognised as economic. In 'The Forms of Capital' he posits two other forms of capital – cultural and social:

*cultural capital*, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications; and *social capital*, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility (1986, p.16).

The concept of cultural capital is most relevant in examining Anatole and his élite status.

Bourdieu encapsulated the concept of cultural capital when studying differing academic achievements among children from different social classes. He argues that any economic examination of the trade-off between academic investment and academic ability does not take account of the domestic environment of the students, and the "domestic transmission of

cultural capital” (p.17) in families who are themselves educated, and thus allow the student to start with a relative advantage, which facilitates future success and further accumulation of capital.

Bourdieu does not present a precise definition of cultural capital but states it may exist in three forms: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalised state.

Embodied cultural capital is developed from birth, and is largely out of the control of the individual. It is the incorporation of cultural practices and traditions that are both consciously and unconsciously acquired over time, and primarily from the family. It influences how an individual thinks and how their character develops. By being acquired over time, embodied cultural capital allows the individual to be more attuned to similar influences, which in turn adds to their embodied cultural capital. Bourdieu argues that embodied cultural capital is not transferable, but can be increased with further self-improvement and the conscious expenditure of time (not necessarily money) to increase knowledge and, as such, is “external wealth [or personal cost in time] converted into the integral part of the person” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.18). This self-improvement leads to cultural competency which has a scarcity value and therefore “yields profits of distinction to its owner” (*ibid*, p.18). The value of the time spent acquiring cultural capital, however, provides a link with economic capital. A child who grows up in a home where music is important will unconsciously develop an inherent awareness and appreciation of music. This appreciation, in turn, could direct them toward the study of, a career in, or even just a leisure-time interest in the subject. Each of these increases the existing embodied cultural capital and leads to cultural competency and distinction, and any career would prove the link with economic capital. We know nothing of Anatole’s early development, so it is not possible to state that he has embodied capital. From a database created from the biographies of sixty nineteenth century chefs, Trubek (2000) lists specific characteristics common to these French chefs. They were usually born and raised in the provinces and, beginning at the age of thirteen to sixteen gained their education in the culinary profession through the apprenticeships system generally in a large town. From there they would work their way up the hierarchy of the kitchen. There was then the option to travel abroad, which is how presumably Anatole would have come to England.

While not being able to comment on whether Anatole possessed embodied cultural capital, it is possible to state that Anatole possesses institutionalised cultural capital. This type of cultural capital relates to academic qualifications and credentials which create a “certificate

of cultural competence” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.20) which allows the holder to measure themselves within society. These qualifications can be used to convert cultural capital into economic capital. Any training Anatole undertook in *haute cuisine* confers institutional cultural capital on him. This cultural capital provides him with a status that allows him to maximise his economic value. In *Much Obligated, Jeeves* Dahlia states that, for instance, to retain his services she tops any other salary offer made to him.

Objectified cultural capital is represented by material goods. Being material goods means that cultural capital can be acquired both materially, which Bourdieu argues presupposes economic capital, i.e. the financial ability to acquire the goods, and symbolically, which presupposes cultural capital, i.e. the ability to recognise the status being conferred by the good. However, Bourdieu states that objectified cultural capital can also be obtained by acquiring “the services of the holder of this capital” (1986, p.20). Dahlia acquiring the services of Anatole, a highly trained and skilled holder of *haute cuisine* cultural capital, defines him as objectified cultural capital.

Bourdieu later defined *symbolic capital* as “the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (1989, p.17). So by possessing institutional cultural capital, Anatole also has symbolic capital, and by hiring his cultural capital in its objectified form Dahlia also acquired symbolic capital. It is this symbolic capital that the Totters, Mrs Runkle, Sir Watkyn Bassett and Lady Snettisham seek to obtain by acquiring Anatole’s services.

## 6.2 French Chefs in England

By the late Victorian period having a French chef or at least one trained in French cuisine was a requirement of any family with social aspirations (Burnett, (1989 [1966], p.193; Gardiner, 2003, p.82).

This desirability existed in a limited fashion earlier in the century with Samuel and Sarah Adams, in *The Complete Servant* (1824), noting:

The man Cook, now becomes a requisite member in the establishment of a man of fashion, is in all respects the same as that of a female Cook. He is generally a foreigner, or if an Englishman, possesses a peculiar tact in manufacturing many fashionable foreign delicacies, or of introducing certain seasonings and flavours in his dishes, which render them more

inviting to the palate of his employer, than those produced by the simply healthful modes of modern English Cooks (p.368).

And that:

In France, all culinary business is conducted by men, and there are, at least, as many men cooks as considerable kitchens; but in England, men cooks are kept only in about 3 or 400 great and wealthy families, and in about 40 or 50 London hotels. But it is usual in smaller establishments to engage a man cook for a day or two before an entertainment (p.369).

From the three or four hundred “men cooks” mentioned by the Adams in 1824, by 1890, five thousand French chefs were employed in Britain (Trubek, 2000, p.47). Trubek mentions Monsieur Augustin at the Russian Embassy, Monsieur Menessier at the Danish Embassy and Monsieur Barre at the Austrian Embassy. She also states that the Rothchild family employed four French chefs, and other aristocrats that employed French chefs included Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Salisbury. Abraham Hayward, a noted gourmet, writing in 1835, lists the most eminent cooks of the time in England as:

Pierre Moret of the Royal Household; Aberlin, chef to the Duke of Devonshire; Crépin of the Duchess of Sutherland’s household; Durand, Paraire, Gérin, Mesmer; Labalme, cook to the Duke of Beaufort; Bory, cook to the Duke of Buccleuch; Auguste Halinger, cook to Baron de Rothschild; the brothers Mailliez; Brûnet, cook to the Duke of Montrose; Lambert, to Mr. Charles Townley; Valentine, to Lord Poltimore; Hopwood, to Lord Foley; George Perkins, to the Marquis of Bristol; Louis Besnard, to Mr. Maxse; Frottier, to the Duke of Cambridge; Perren, to the Marquis of Londonderry; Bernard to Lord Willoughby d’Eresby; Geurault, to Mr. H.T. Hope; Chaudeau, to the Marquis of Lansdowne; Rotival, to Lord Wilton; Douetil, to the Duke of Cleveland; Palanque to the Carlton Club; and Comte to Brookes’s (Burnett (1989 [1966], pp. 73-4).

While not all the chefs are French, the majority are, and the fact that most are in the employ of the aristocracy suggests that Anatole’s employers, the Travers, were people of some means, with Tom having made his fortune in the East.

The Adams make the point that employing a French chef could prove economical as

the art of Cookery, or *gourmanderie* is reduced to a regular science in France, where an egg may be cooked half a hundred ways, so those who can afford large families of servants, and give frequent entertainments, consider a man-cook as economical, because he produces an inexhaustible variety without any waste of materials, and that elegance and piquancy of flavours which are necessary to stimulate the appetites of the luxurious (1824, p.368-9).

By the mid- to the late- nineteenth century, having a French chef was also associated with Paris and the luxuries of the Second Empire in the mid- to the late- nineteenth century, such as oysters, game, truffles fine chocolate and champagne (Burnett, 1989 [1966]).

French chefs were aware of their cultural capital and could resign if they underappreciated. The Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), who held a banquet to celebrate his victory at the Battle of Waterloo each year from 1820 to his death in 1852, had a French chef, Felix, who regularly resigned if he felt his food was not appreciated (Evans, 2011). Anatole's resigns twice in *Right Ho, Jeeves*. The first time, and similar to Felix, is because Bertie has persuaded both Aunt Dahlia and Tuppy Glossop to abstains from eating dinner, and the perceived insult was enough to make him "hand in his portfolio" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.107), the second is when Tuppy peers at him through his skylight window.

Conflict between employer and chef could also arise due to the "mutual incomprehension" (Evans, 2011, loc.409) regarding food preferences between the English employer and the French chef. Monsieur Perez who was employed in Lyme Park, now part of the UK National Trust, but the home of the Baron Newton family until 1946, frequently expressed frustration at a lack of appreciation of his French creations.

Bertie and Tuppy appreciate Anatole's ability "to weigh in with some good old simple English fare such as this steak-and-kidney pie" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.70). This combined with references to Anatole as "a superb master of the roasts and hashes" (*Code of the Woosters*, p.17) and "a man of the roasts and boiled" (*sic*) ('Jeeves Makes an Omelette', p.711), along with mention of "this great man's roasts" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.24), suggest that Wodehouse was aware of this potential desire by employers of French chefs for English food, at least occasionally.

Within the household, the French chef would have been part of the "Upper Ten" of the household which also included the house steward or butler, the housekeeper, the valet and the lady's maid, (Evans, 2011, loc.271). However, "the specialist nature of [the chef's] job distanced them from the privileged intimacy enjoyed by the very closest of servants" (loc. 257-260).

The Adams note of the Man-Cook that

his situation is one of great labour and fatigue, which, with the superior skill requisite for excellence in his art, procures him a liberal salary, frequently twice or thrice the sum given to the most experienced female English Cook (1824, p.368).

Without mentioning an exact amount, Wodehouse refers to Anatole's salary. When Sir Watkyn Bassett attempted to hire Anatole away from the Dahlia he "proved staunch – after [she] had doubled his wages" to which Bertie replies "Double them again... Keep on doubling them. Pour out money like water rather than lose that superb master of the roasts and hashes" (*The Code of the Woosters*, p.17). Only when Bertie faces charges for stealing the silver porringer, charges that will be dropped if Dahlia permits Runkle to hire Anatole, does she admit that she could lose him, whereas her solution to threats of him leaving had been to "always top[ped] them [his wages]. If it was simply another case of outbidding the opposition, I wouldn't be worrying" (*Much Obligated, Jeeves*, p.186).

There are historical examples of individual chefs earning quite considerable sums of money. Ménagier, the French chef of Queen Victoria's Windsor residence was paid £400 per year with a living-out allowance of a further £100 (Burnett (1989, [1966])). The chef at Petworth, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, was earning £120 per year and had a significant retinue working for him including a roasting chef, a pastry chef and several kitchen maids and scullery boys. At the same time, chefs at Penrhyn Castle were paid £150 per year and were also assisted by numerous staff (Evans, 2011). While recognising that significant differences could occur among individual chefs, using primary source material from homes such as Castle Howard and Nostell Priory and various secondary sources, Day (2013) has produced a guide of the wages of various roles within the household. Table 5 outlines the more senior male members. The table shows the increasing relative importance of the chef in the early part of the twentieth century as reflected in his increasing salary relative to the other senior male employees, with only the estate steward earning more than the chef by the beginning of the twentieth century. Gardiner (2003) associates this increase in relative salary to competition for the services of French chefs.

**Table 5. Average Annual Wages for Various Positions 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>-Century**

	18 <sup>th</sup> -Century	19 <sup>th</sup> -Century	20 <sup>th</sup> -Century
Estate Steward	£40	£120	£200
House Steward	£35	£80	£100
Chef/Man-cook	£30	£80	£150
Valet	£20	£50	£120
Butler	£10	£50	£70

(Source: Day, 2013)

As seen, such was the cultural capital associated with employing a French chef the risk of poaching was constant. When Anatole makes his first appearance in the Jeeves and Wooster series in ‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’ he is employed by Bingo and Rosie Little, but by the end of the story, with Jeeves’ intervention, he has joined the Travers household. Part of Jeeves’ plan is that by poaching Anatole from the Littles, the breach of etiquette would be such that Rosie would not allow Dahlia publish her article in *Milady’s Boudoir*, part of Jeeves’ overall plan. Poaching staff was “frowned on in polite circles” but a shortage of servants in the early twentieth century meant “scruples were occasionally overlooked” (Evans, 2011, loc.2398). Social commentator and journalist Beverly Nichols (1898-1983) notes:

Those were days when women really did ensnare each other’s chefs and kidnap each other’s head-gardeners, and offer the most shameless bribes to each other’s ‘treasures’. (The word ‘treasure’ is charmingly period. In the upper classes it implied the perfect Jeeves or the ideal nanny. In the middle classes it usually referred to a housemaid or a cook) ( Beverly Nichols (1958), cited by Evans, (2011, loc.2401).



## Chapter 7: Theme 3 - Francophobia in Wodehouse

The third theme to emerge, and the first via the “serendipity effect” (Carney, 1967, p.28), was an element of Francophobia or anti-French sentiment in the dialogue surrounding Anatole. Anatole is referred to as a “Johnnie” (‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’, p.227), and a “Gaul” (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.109). He is described as having an “impulsive Provençal temperament” (*ibid.*, p. 109), being unable to “grasp the simplest thing” (*ibid.*, p.205) and liable to “fly off the handle” (*ibid.*, p.109). We are told that he was once engaged and Bertie wonders how the girl could inspire affection “even [from] a French cook” (‘Clustering Round Young Bingo’, p.243), and then while engaged, he “disappeared one morning” (*ibid.*, p.252).

There is nothing in Wodehouse’s biography to suggest that Wodehouse was Francophobic. He moved to France, mainly for financial reasons, before the Second World War, where he employed “a German butler, an Alsatian footman, a Serbian cook, a French chauffeur, an Italian maid and an English odd-job man” (Cawthorne, 2013, p.23). However, it is interesting to examine how such derogatory terminology and sentiment entered the psyche of nineteenth-century England, and from there transferred into English literature. This psyche may explain Wodehouse’s use of such phrases in his dialogue.

The growth of Francophobia in Britain in the nineteenth century was primarily related to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1792-1803 and 1803-1815 respectively, that followed the French Revolution. Wanting to cement the status of the new post-Revolutionary government and spread the Revolution to other countries, the Legislative Assembly, led by Jacques Brissot (1754-1793), declared war on Prussia and Austria in 1792, and the following year on Great Britain along with Spain and the Netherlands (Schneid, 2017). For the next twenty-three years, until Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo in 1815, Britain was under constant threat of invasion by France. The combination of the Revolution itself and subsequent fear of invasion inspired a large amount of propaganda aimed at differentiating what was “British” from what was “French”, and created a “Gallic stereotype” (Newman, 1975, p.386). Newman highlights one handbill, from 1793, *The Contrast*, which emphasises these differences.



Fig. 1 The Contrast: (Source: British Museum).

Such literature presented Britain as the anthesis of France. The British were sincere, experienced constitutional liberties, were manly and Protestant. These characteristics compared with the French who were characterised as submissive, oppressed, effeminate and Catholic (Semmel, 2004, p.4-5). During this time John Bull replaced Britannia as the national caricature emphasising the British perception of its masculinity.

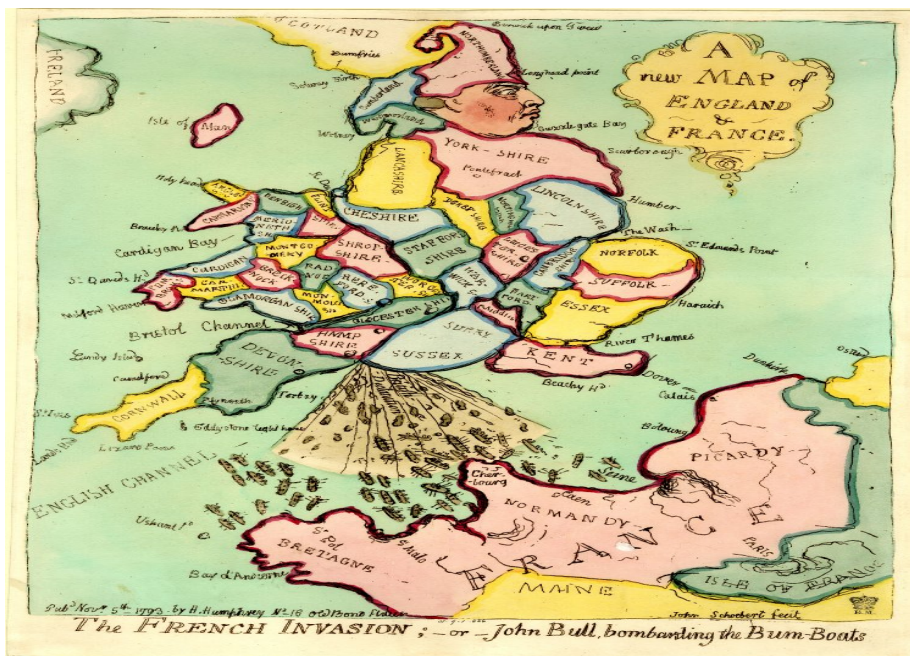


Fig. 2. The French Invasion: John Bull Bombarding the Bum Boats: (Source: British Museum).

Food was also used to highlight the differences between the two nations. Onions and soup *maigre*, which the French were believed to subsist on, could not compare with “the beef and ale John Bull enjoyed” (Semmel, 2004, p.5). Food was also used to spread fear about a French invasion. “English Porter, and English Bread and cheese, would be out of Fashion” while French foods, “instead of heartening and strengthening you, would reduce you presently to the Thinness and Skinniness of Frenchmen” (19<sup>th</sup>-century pamphlets cited in *ibid.*, p.62).

Francophobia in nineteenth-century England was not confined to pamphlets, handbills and newspapers but also appeared in the literature of the day. Hellstrom suggests that Jane Austen in *Emma*, through the heroines’ love rivals, shows her awareness of both the revolutionary time in which it was written and the Francophobia that existed at that time. The two love rivals for Emma’s attention are George Knightley and Frank Churchill, and “Churchill embodies the depravity of France and Knightley the goodness of England” (1965, p.611). Knightley, his name suggesting an English Knight, is a farmer and magistrate, the two traditions that the Tory government were fighting to maintain against the more revolutionary Jacobians (*ibid.*, p.615), while Knightley describes Churchill or “Frank” as “proud, luxurious and, selfish” (*ibid.*, p.610, quoting Austen, 1957). The novel revolves around Emma’s initial attraction to Churchill or “French ‘depravity’”, leading to an acceptance of “English virtue” in Knightley (*ibid.*, p.610).

Hellstrom also highlights other examples of Francophobia in literature, particularly those familiar to, or contemporaneous with, Austen. Dr Johnson, one of Austen’s favourite authors, wrote *London: A Poem* (1738), which contains the following verses describing a Frenchman, which Hellstrom argues could serve as a model for Frank Churchill:

Obsequious, artful, voluble and gay,  
On *Britain's* fond Credulity they prey.  
No gainful Trade their Industry can 'scape,  
They sing, they dance, clean Shoes, or cure a Clap;  
All Sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,  
And bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes.

.....  
Studious to please, and ready to submit,  
The supple *Gaul* was born a Parasite:  
Still to his Int'rest true, where'er he goes,

Wit, Brav'ry, Worth, his lavish Tongue bestows;  
In ev'ry Face a Thousand Graces shine,  
From ev'ry Tongue flows Harmony divine.  
These Arts in vain our rugged Natives try,  
Strain out with fault'ring Diffidence a Lye,  
And get a Kick for awkward Flattery.

.....

For Arts like these preferr'd, admir'd, carest,  
They first invade your Table, then your Breast;  
Explore your Secrets with insidious Art,  
Watch the weak Hour, and ransack all the Heart;  
Then soon your ill-plac'd Confidence repay,  
Commence your Lords, and govern or betray (Hellstrom, 1964, p.612).

Hellstrom also quotes poet William Wordsworth (1770-1850) who, in 1811, in a letter to army officer and military engineer Captain Charles Pasley (1780-1861), wrote of the French character:

In estimating the resources of the two empires [England and France], as to revenue, you appear to make little of not allowance for what I deem of prime and paramount importance, the characters of the two nations and the two Governments. Was there ever an instance, since the world began, of the peaceful arts thriving under a despotism so oppressive as that of France is and must continue to be, and among *a people so unsettled, so depraved, and so undisciplined in civil arts and habits* as the French nation must now be? (*ibid.*, p.608, Hellstrom's italics).

Writing about the English, Wordsworth said:

Now, when I look at the condition of our Country, and compare it with that of France, and reflect upon the length of time, and the infinite combination of favourable circumstances which have been necessary to produce *the laws, the regulations the customs, the moral character, and the physical enginery of all sorts*, through means, and by aid of which labour is carried out in this happy Land; and when I think of the wealth and population (concentrated too in so small a space) which we must have at command for military purposes, I confess I have not much dread, looking either at war or peace, of any power which France, with respect to us, is likely to attain for years, I may say for generations (*ibid.*, p.609-610, Hellstrom's italics).

Finally, Hellstrom cites the author Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), a contemporary of Austen's whose novel *Patronage* (1814) Austen almost certainly read while she was writing *Emma*. *Patronage* "consistently undercuts the French and completely, (though not blindly), celebrates the English" (Havens, 2017, p.144). Edgeworth attributes similar traits to the French and English as Austen and Wordsworth, saying:

Yet with these French manners, there were English morals – with this French ease, gayety, and politeness; English sincerity, confidence, and safety. – No *simagrée* [airs and graces], no *espionage*, no intrigue political or gallant; none of that profligacy, which not only disgraced, but destroyed the *reality* of pleasure in Parisian at it's [sic] most brilliant era (quoted in Hellstrom, 1965, p.613).

As the nineteenth century developed, social unrest increased in England, encapsulated in the rise of the Chartist movement (1838-1857). Their demands were voting rights for all men aged over twenty-one, removal of the property qualification to become a member of parliament, all members of parliament to be salaried, constituencies of equal size, and general elections to be held annually. While these were not new working-class demands, the Chartist movement was a much broader campaign than had happened previously (Chase, 2007). When Charles Dickens wrote *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), he highlighted the contrast between the social unrest that led to the Revolution in France with the political stability of England in the face of Chartist unrest (Oladjehou and Yekini, 2017, p.1). Dickens' attitude toward the Revolution appears conflicted. He condemns the aristocracy, but as the Revolution develops, he also condemns the violence of the revolutionaries (Sarpparaje, 2014, p.127). Kiran-Raw (1998) points out that throughout the novel Britain is shown as a safe haven. After the character Lucie Manette travels from England to be reunited with her father after his eighteen years in the Bastille she tells him that they will "go to England to be at peace and at rest". When renouncing his title as a member of the Evémonde family, Charles Darnay refers to England as his "refuge". At Tellson's Bank, Jarvis Lorry complains how the Revolution has caused difficulties in communicating between the London and Paris branches of the Bank, saying: "At another time, our parcels would come and go, as easily as in business-like Old England; but now, everything is stopped". The feeling of pride in England is summed up by Miss Pross, governess to Lucie Manette who says: "The short and the long of it is, that I am a subject of His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Third... and as such, my maxim is, Confound their politics, Frustrate their knavish tricks, On him our hopes we fix, God save the

King!" Dickens' interpretation of the French Revolution in *A Tale of Two Cities* "has strongly shaped British views of national identity and political legitimacy" (Sarpparaje, 2014, p.126).

The examples above demonstrate that the French Revolution and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars impacted the psyche of the British people, and also nineteenth-century English literature. P.G. Wodehouse was born toward the end of this century in 1881. In his later years, his letters suggest that he had little time for the works of Austen and Dickens. In 1964, aged eighty-four, writing to his musical collaborator Guy Bolton, Wodehouse asks:

How do you feel about literary classics? I have come to the conclusion that there must be something wrong with me, because I can't read them. I tried Jane Austen and was bored stiff, and last night I had a go a Balzac's *Père Goriot* and had to give it up (Radcliffe, 2013, p.516-17).

As for Dickens, writing to novelist Denis Mackail in 1954 Wodehouse similarly says "Do you hate Dickens's stuff? I can't read it" (Radcliff, 2013, p.468).

However, from his early years, Wodehouse was an avid reader, and his "adolescent library included Browning's and Tennyson's poetry, some Dickens, Kipling, Conan Doyle, Jerome K. Jerome" (McCrum, 2004, p.30). His writing style with its multitude of literary references points to him being exceptionally well read. It is evident that he had read Dickens because, in one of the early school stories *Tales of St Austin's*, Wodehouse writes:

'Bradshaw,' I said, as I reached page 103 without having read a line, 'do you know any likely bits?'

Bradshaw looked up from his book. He was attempting to get a general idea of Thucydides' style by reading *Pickwick*.

'What?' he said.

I obliged with a repetition of my remark.

'Likely bits? Oh, you mean for the Thucydides. I don't know. Mellish never sets the bits any decent ordinary individual would set. I should take my chance if I were you.'

'What are you going to do?'

'I'm going to read *Pickwick*. *Thicksides* doesn't come within a mile of it.' I thought so too. (loc. 563-569).

If realist literature is a reflection of the society it depicts, then it is evident that Francophobic sentiment was common in England in the nineteenth century. Wodehouse read widely, and it is therefore not unsurprising that adopts this sentiment in the dialogue he uses around Anatole. Further examples of how Wodehouse used the literature of the time in developing Anatole's character will be examined in Chapter 8 when Anatole's appearance and voice are examined.

## Chapter 8: Theme 4 - Anatole's Voice and Appearance

The final theme to emerge from the texts was, despite him only actually appearing once in the Wodehouse canon, Anatole's voice and appearance. This chapter aims to examine any influences that may have played a part in Wodehouse's characterisation of the French chef.

### 8.1 Anatole's Voice

Wodehouse freely admitted to taking inspiration from other authors he read, and it was one of these, Barry Pain (1864-1928) that inspired Anatole's voice. Pain was a comic writer and journalist, and a favourite author of Wodehouse. He read Pain early in his life and, as this letter to Richard Usborne in 1955, answering questions for Usborne's biography of Wodehouse, suggests that he read him in his later years:

When was the first number of *Chums*? Was it 1892? Anyway it contained – in addition to Max Pemberton's *Iron Pirate* – a school story by Barry Pain called 'Two' (published in book form as *Graeme and Cyril*). It made an enormous impression on me. It had practically no plot but the atmosphere was wonderful. I was rereading it only the other day and it's great stuff (Wodehouse in Radcliffe, 2013, p.481).

*Chums: An Illustrated Paper for Boys* first appeared in 1892 and was published until 1941. It was modelled on the *Boys Own Paper* and aimed at a schoolboy audience. Initially, it had difficulty poaching readers from the *Boys Own Paper*, but two serials helped establish it. One was *The Iron Pirate* by Max Pemberton, in 1892, which was mentioned by Wodehouse, and *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson in 1894. Wodehouse contributed *The Lucky Stone* in 1908 under the pseudo name Basil Windham (John, 2016).

Anatole is only heard from directly once, in *Right Ho, Jeeves* when Gussie Fink-Nottle appears at the skylight in Anatole's bedroom and the first words he speaks are:

Hot dog! You ask me what is it? Listen. Make some attention a little. Me, I have hit the hay, but I do not sleep so good, and presently I wake up I look, and there is one who makes faces

at me through the dashed window. Is that a pretty affair? Is that convenient? If you think I like it, you jolly well mistake yourself. I am so mad as a wet hen. And why not? I am somebody, isn't it? This is a bedroom, and what-what, not a house for some apes? (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.201).

Both Landman (1992) and Murphy (2013) highlight the second paragraph of Pain's *Confessions of Alphonse* (1917), and the similarities in speech between Anatole and Pain's character, Alphonse, a French/Swiss waiter:

My friends, listen. Make attention a little. I am a man that knows on which side is the buttered toast. If you think you see some green ion my eyes, you do the bloomer. I know my interest. It is that one day I—I who speak to you shall be the proprietor of the restaurant (Pain cited in Landman, 1992, p.9).

Wodehouse also used Alphonse as inspiration in *The Luck of the Bodkins* (1935). Alphonse, speaking of his time working at the Restaurant Merveilleux says:

I know now when an Englishman is going to say some words of French even before he begins: there comes always a look of anxious shame into his eyes. That means he is going to say *omelette aux fines herbes* or something a little like it. And the worse an Englishman speak French, the more he pays you for understanding and not laughing (Pain cited in Landman, 1992, p.9).

Echoing this description, Wodehouse's opening line of *The Luck of the Bodkins* (1935) reads as follows:

Into the face of the young man who sat on the terrace of the Hotel Magnifique at Cannes that had crept a look of furtive shame, the shifty, hangdog look which announces that an Englishman is about to talk French (Wodehouse cited in Landman, 1992, p.9).

Anatole gets so enraged in the bedroom scene in *Right Ho, Jeeves* that he resorts his native tongue:

You think I like it? I am not content with such folly. I think the poor mutt's loony. *Je me fiche de ce type infect. C'est idiot de faire comme ça l'oiseau.... Allez-vous-en, louffier....* Tell the boob to go away. He is mad as some March hatters (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.202).

In discussing Wodehouse as a linguist, Bowen states that he had a good ear for French people speaking English. However, she also highlights examples, in some of his other works, of Englishmen attempting to speak French. In the short story collection *Eggs, Beans and Crumpets* (1940) Bingo Little asks the hotel concierge “esker-vous avez dans votre hotel ...



un oiseau avec beaucoup de .... Oh hell, what's the French for pimples?" (Do you have in your hotel ... a bird with a lot of....) (Wodehouse cited in Bowen, 2005, p.4). *The Luck of the Bodkins* begins with the character Monty practising his French on the French waiter, "Er, garçon, esker-vous avez un spot de l'encre et un pièce de papier – note-papier, vous savez – et une enveloppe et une plume?" (Waiter, do you have a spot of ink and a piece of paper – note paper, you understand – and an envelope and a pen?) (Wodehouse cited in Bowen, 2005, p.4).

Bowen states that if a linguist can be "someone with a phenomenal ear who likes nothing better than to play with how language sounds, and how to transfer that sound to the page, then [she] believes [Wodehouse] qualifies" (2005, p.5).

Wodehouse's linguistic ability coupled with the inspiration derived from Pain's Alphonse combined to provide the voice of Anatole. What inspired his physical appearance is now considered.

## 8.2 Anatole's Appearance

Just as Anatole's voice is heard only once, he appears in the novels only once also, in the same scene in *Right Ho, Jeeves*. Bertie describes him thus:

This wizard of the cooking-stove is a tubby little man with a moustache of the outsize or soup-strainer type, and you can generally take a line through it as to the state of his emotions. When all is well, it turns up at the ends like a sergeant-major's. When the soul is bruised, it droops. It was drooping now, striking a sinister note (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.200).

Anatole's moustache is referred to twice more when Anatole "threw another look up at Gussie, and did Exercise 2— the one where you clutch the moustache, give it a tug and then start catching flies" (*ibid.*, p. 201) and, later in the book, when "Uncle Tom made a noise like a cork coming out of a bottle, and Anatole, whose moustache had hit a new low, said something about 'some apes and, if I am not mistaken, a 'rogommier'<sup>1</sup>— whatever that is" (*ibid.*, p.225).

Repetition in the description of Anatole's moustache is characteristic of Wodehouse's writing style. Earlier it was seen that Wodehouse used Auguste Escoffier's *Le Guide*

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<sup>1</sup> Rogommier is the French slang term for a drunkard

*Culinaire* (1903 [1907]) to create the menu in *The Code of the Woosters*, as well as some of these dishes in other books. James describes Escoffier as “clean shaven except for a rather bushy 'Prussian' (he would have preferred 'French') moustache, carefully combed but unwaxed, and his receding dark hair was beginning to grey” (2002, p.169), while Barr says he was “imperturbable, soft-spoken, and wore a carefully trimmed, professorial moustache. He was a small man, and quite handsome” (2018, p.42). Both biographers focus on Escoffier’s distinctive moustache and given the influence of Escoffier on Wodehouse’s menus, it is probable that he based Anatole’s physical characteristics on the famous real-life chef.



Fig 3. Auguste Escoffier: (Source: Musée Escoffier de l’Art Culinaire).

Escoffier was not the first real-life chef to inspire a fictional chef in literature. William Makepeace Thackeray, in his novel *Pendennis* (1849), based his character, the French chef Alcide Mirobolant, on Alexis Soyer. The author and chef were friends since meeting in the Reform Club in 1837. “Alcide”, which Garval (n.d.) argues is a play on Soyer’s first name Alexis, translates from French as “dazzling”.

In *Pendennis* Thackeray describes Mirobolant wearing

his light green frock or paletot, his crimson velvet waistcoat, with blue glass buttons, his pantalon Ecossois, of a very large and decided check pattern, his orange satin neckcloth, and his jean-boots, with tips of shiny leather,— these, with a gold-embroidered cap, and a richly gilt cane, or other varieties of ornament of a similar tendency ... Parisian ton [*sic*] (Thackeray, 1850, p.114).

This description compares with journalist George Augustus Sala’s portrayal of Soyer as being a man of such status that

he had no call to be a quack; there was no earthly reason why he should inundate the newspapers with puffs, and wear impossible trousers, or cloth-of-gold waistcoats, cut diagonally (Sala, cited in Garval, n.d., p.1).

Figure 4 is Thackeray's own illustration of Mirobolant which is physically very similar to figure 5 which is a portrait of Alexis Soyer from the English National Portrait Gallery's collection.



Fig.4. Thackeray's Illustration of Mirobolant

(Source: Garval, n.d. p.19)



Fig. 5. Alexis Soyer

(Source: National Portrait Gallery)

Another similarity between Soyer and Mirobolant is the fact that Soyer married an Englishwoman, while Mirobolant's expresses his "determination to marry an Anglaise" (Thackeray, 1850, p.116). Mirobolant worries that his abilities as a cook are not appreciated by the English, saying his "genius would use itself in the company of these rustics— the poesy of my art cannot be understood by these carnivorous insularies (*ibid.*, p.116). Garval also believes Thackeray is parodying the story of Soyer narrowly missing being lynched by a revolutionary mob as he fled the palace kitchen in Paris by making Mirobolant a *Chevalier de Julliet* who "killed four gardes-du-corps with his own point in the barricades" (Thackeray, 1850, p.133).

Wodehouse read both Pain and Thackeray (McCrum, 2004), and as previously discussed, regularly took inspiration from other writers. He was also very aware of Auguste Escoffier as evidenced by the food featured in his books. It has been seen that Pain was a significant

influence on the voice of Anatole and it can be argued that Escoffier's image influenced Wodehouse's physical description of his fictional French chef, Anatole.

## **Chapter 9: Ethnography and Fiction – Border or Blurred Lines?**

Ferguson describes Balzac's contribution to the gastronomic field, through his realist fiction, as the "dramatic ethnography of the nascent industrial capitalism of post-revolutionary France" (1998, p.628). Boutin agrees that Balzac has a "documentary impulse", and that his novels can be read as "literary ethnography" (2005, p.68). This chapter aims to examine the relationship between realist fiction and ethnography. In establishing a relationship between the two genres the contention that Balzac's and Wodehouse's work can be considered ethnographic will be proven.

### **9.1 The Relationship Between Anthropology and Ethnography**

Before discussing how ethnographically accurate Wodehouse is, the relationship between anthropology and ethnography is discussed. Anthropology is the "study of people throughout the world, their evolutionary history, how they behave, adapt to different environments, communicate and socialise with one another" (Royal Anthropologist Institute, 2019). Ethnography is "a methodology first associated with social or cultural anthropology" (Bernstein, 2016), and is defined as qualitative research method that focuses on the "recording and analysis of a culture or society, usually based on participant-observation and resulting in a written account of a people, place or institution" (Coleman and Simpson, 2019).

### **9.2 Authors as Anthropologists**

Focusing on the broader discipline of anthropology, Nic Craith and Kockel discuss the "blurring boundaries" (2014, p.689) between literature and anthropology. They argue that "there is much to gain from cross-disciplinary perspectives and intercultural interactions" (*ibid.*, p.695) between realist authors and anthropologists. Their focus is on nineteenth-century Victorian writers who engaged with anthropology. They state that writers such as William Makepeace Thackeray, George Elliot, George Meredith and Charles Dickens sought to portray a "realistic social life experience" (*ibid.*, p.690), endeavoured to describe life "authentically and without idealization" (*ibid.*, p.690), and that these authors regarded their novels as "objective (i.e. scientific) accounts of human behaviour" (*ibid.*, p.690). As evidence, they note George Eliot's (1819-1880) reflection on wanting to present everyday life accurately in her novel *Adam Bede* (1859):

But you must have perceived long ago that I have no such lofty vocation, and that I aspire to give no more than a faithful account of men and things as they have mirrored themselves in my mind. The mirror is doubtless defective; the outlines will sometimes be disturbed; the reflection faint or confused; but I feel as much bound to tell you, as precisely as I can, what that reflection is, as if I were in the witness-box, narrating my experience on oath (Eliot, cited in Nic Craith and Kockel, 2014, p.690).

Walter Scott (1771-1832) and his theory of cultural evolution in his study of inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands is also discussed. Quoting anthropologist Noble, they argue that “under Scott’s influence, moreover, novels became a unique medium that could integrate the poetry of primitive cultural forms with the naturalistic interpretive lens of the anthropologist, a productive fusion of romance and scientific social analysis” (Noble, 2010, cited in Nic Craith and Kockel, 2014, p.690).

### **9.3 Anthropologists and Realist Fiction Authors**

While the previous discussion focused on realist fiction writers wanting to be perceived as anthropologically accurate, anthropologists have also used realist fiction to enhance their work. Anthropologist Nigel Rapport uses the literature of E. M. Forster (1879-1970) to supplement his fieldwork on life in the Northern English village of Wanet, to produce a holistic picture of the culture and society that existed there, and, in doing so, highlights similarities between realist fiction and anthropology. He says:

Foster inspires me with his close observation, his wise commentary, his stylish narration. Furthermore, he attempts to make that imaginative leap with the heads and bodies of those he describes so as to present an understanding of how they, as individuals, as English people interpret the world: whilst all the time admitting that these seemingly general manifestations of “English interaction” and the “English mind” are really the constructions of one individual Englishman. Anthropology can do no more than this it seems to me and should do no less (Rapport, 1994, p.43).

Similarly, anthropologists Handler and Segal (1999) draw on the literature of Jane Austen (1775-1817) to prove their thesis that relations between people are always contingent (subject to change) and cultural rather than obvious and natural. They note that contingency is a central component of Austen’s writing style with characters continually engaging in social partnerships and complex scenarios. They praise her for the way in which she “inter-relates

different viewpoints, thereby enabling the reader to learn the subtleties and range of understandings of the British experience” (Nic Craith and Kockel, 2014, p.691), and demonstrate this, along with an element of irony, with the opening lines of *Pride and Prejudice* (1813):

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife.

However little known the feelings or views of such a man may be on first entering a neighbourhood this truth is so fixed in the minds of the surrounding families that he is considered as the rightful property of some one or other of their daughters (Austen, 1918, p.1).

#### **9.4 The Debate between a Border or Blurred Lines**

As suggested by Nic Craith and Kockel (2014) earlier, there is a discussion within the ethnographic discipline about the blurring border between ethnography and fiction. Narayan acknowledges that a border exists between the two genres and recognises that “there is fiction in which the author believes him- or herself well versed enough in the worldview of the people described to write from within their perspective” (1999, p.141). She argues that crossing the border may be “mutually enriching for both ethnography and fiction” (*ibid.*, p.143), allowing ethnographic writings to become “richer more nuanced, evocative and readable texts”, and fiction, though an understanding of how structural forces shape personal detail “may potentially make for more powerful and engaged creations” (*ibid.*, p.143). However, she warns that ethnography risks losing clarity if it becomes too like fiction and “undermine[s] the importance of close, respectful, attention to the lives of other actual people that characterise fieldwork” (*ibid.*, p.143). In crossing the border, fiction risks losing the “power of a good story in favour of becoming a forum for mechanically transmitting facts” (*ibid.*, p.144), and also losing “the imaginative freedom to playfully mix and recombine elements of the known world” (*ibid.*, p.144).

In contrast, Behar (2007) argues that ethnography need to develop its artistic side. She claims that ethnography became a “blurred genre” (2007, p.145) when it became an academic discipline, and moved from simply “thick description” (*ibid.*, p.148) to requiring this description be backed up with theoretical references. She suggests that fear of losing the trappings of academia prevents ethnographers from bringing art into their work, but argues

that the failure to do so will mean “the art of ethnography will be taken over by creative writers and artists... [who] will be sure to call it anything but ethnography” (*ibid.*, p.154). She suggests three ways in which art can be introduced into ethnography: first, introducing characters and settings while including general background and historical information; second, quoting people in a way that flows gracefully, and third combining the ethnographers “participating selves and observing selves into the story”, and in doing so telling about someone’s world while being part of it.

## 9.5 Wodehouse as Ethnographer

The elements that Behar suggests for bringing art to ethnography are evident in Wodehouse’s writing. Bertie frequently introduces characters by reminding the reader of their roles in previous books, his characters speak in keeping with their positions, and he uses Bertie’s first-person narrative to relate the stories. Also, McCrum argues that Wodehouse is close “in spirit to Jane Austen, who famously worked on a ‘little bit (two inches wide) of ivory’ [Austen’s description of her writing]” (2004, p.418). This reference, most likely, refers to the Victorian art of miniature painting on pieces of ivory and describes Austen’s detailed writing method. McCrum also notes that Austen’s inspiration was drawn from her near-contemporary environment and compares this to Wodehouse and his writing about the “recently vanished society” (*ibid.*, p.418).

Within the modern fields of anthropology and ethnography, there is a debate on if and how to cross the recognised blurred boundary that exists between these disciplines and realist fictional literature. However, it has been shown that these blurred boundaries have been crossed with, in the example used here, Victorian fiction authors attempting to be as realistically or anthropologically accurate as possible, and anthropologists taking these writings as realistic enough to use to supplement their original fieldwork. Therefore, it can be argued that Ferguson’s (1998) and Boutin’s (2005) recognition of Balzac’s writing as ethnographic stands. Given that Wodehouse wrote in detail about what he knew of his “recent vanished society” (McCrum, 2004, p.418), his writings can also be considered ethnographic. It is, therefore, possible to argue that Wodehouse, through what he relates about Edwardian society and food through his character, the French chef, Anatole, has contributed to the field of gastronomy.





## Chapter 10: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to develop the argument that the author P. G. Wodehouse, through his character, the French chef, Anatole, contributed to the field of gastronomy.

The premise for the thesis came from a paper written in 1998 by Pricilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19<sup>th</sup> Century France'. In this paper, Ferguson argues that gastronomy, as a field, emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century in France through a combination of the significance gastronomy had achieved within France by that period, and the gastronomic texts or culinary discourse that surrounded the development of this significance, seen particularly in conjunction with the growth in restaurants and dining out. The writers of culinary texts she cited were gourmands and social writers Alexandre-Laurent Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838) and Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826), chef and cookbook writer Marie-Antonin Carême (1784-1833), philosopher Charles Fourier (1772-1837) and realist fiction writer Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850). Ferguson described Balzac's fiction as the "dramatic ethnography of the nascent industrial capitalism of post-revolutionary France" (1998, p.628). It was this definition, and thus Ferguson's argument that a realist fiction writer could make a contribution to the field of gastronomy, by linking the literary field with gastronomy, that prompted the investigation into P. G. Wodehouse and Anatole and what they could ethnographically tell about a French chef in Edwardian Britain, thus also contributing to the gastronomic field.

In Chapter 1 the concept of the gastronomic field was discussed. Fields were defined as structured spaces with individuals positioned relative to each other, characterised by individual practices, forms of authority, standards and rules. Gastronomy was described as a "structured set of culinary practices and texts uniting producer and consumer" (Ferguson, 1998, p.603). It was the inclusion of culinary texts within Ferguson's definition that led to her placing the emergence of the gastronomic field in mid-nineteenth century France. For her, the gastronomic field was "structured by the distinction between the material product – the food stuffs, the dish or the meal – and the critical, intellectual, or aesthetic by-products that discuss, review and debate the original product" (*ibid.*, p.610).

In Chapter 2 the components of the gastronomic field were examined. The significance gastronomy had achieved in France by the middle of the nineteenth century was traced from its roots in the Middle Ages, through the Renaissance, and into France by the sixteenth century centred in the royal and aristocratic courts. As the French monarchy gained

prominence in Europe, its cuisine moved from still being mainly medieval to becoming recognisable as distinctively French. The development of the cuisine was recorded in culinary texts such as La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François* (*The French Chef*, 1651) which demonstrated a "clear break with medieval food and the recognisable beginnings of modern French cooking" and provided "indisputable literary evidence of the emergence of a distinctively French style of cooking" (Mennell, 1996, p.71). Other cookbook writers included Bonnefons, Massialot, Menon and Marin, and by the middle of the eighteenth century were, at least attempting, to aim their works at a wider, more bourgeois audience. By the reign of Louis XV (1710-1774) refined culinary standards had entered into usual French custom, and were practised by most people (Pitte, 2002). This inclusion was facilitated by the growth of the restaurant which began before the Revolution (1789), but was encouraged by the number of chefs who left private employment following the Revolution, and the growth of the bourgeois as a post-Revolution class with power and money. The growth in restaurants was accompanied by the development of gastronomic texts; these texts that combine with the significance of gastronomy to form the gastronomic field. Grimod de la Reynière through his *Almanach des Gourmands* (1803-1812) sought to "fashion the model consumer" (Ferguson, 2002, p.95), Carême sought to create the perfect chef through the codification of cuisine, Brillat-Savarin attempted to make gastronomy a subject for general discussion, Fourier further intellectualised gastronomy by introducing philosophy to the subject, while Balzac wrote about dining and food in his fiction.

Having explained the concept and construction of the gastronomic field Chapter 3 looked to shed some light on P. G. Wodehouse, his early life, and how he wrote. The biography of his early years was examined to "clarify factors that shape the work" (Kirsch, 2014). Growing up in England without his parents, his happiest period was the six years he spent in Dulwich College where he was well educated in the classics and wrote for the school magazine. During holiday periods his aunts would take him to visit their friends where he would be sent to take tea with the downstairs staff learning how that part of a country home operated and relations among the servants. Unable to attend university due to some financial constraints that his father experienced he joined the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank. Determined not to stay there he wrote in his spare time and submitted pieces to many of the large and growing numbers of magazines that were emerging at the time. By 1902 he was in a financially secure enough from writing resign from the bank.

During his lifetime, Wodehouse produced seventy-one novels, twenty-four collections of short stories, forty-two musicals and fifteen films scripts. Among his most famous characters are the cerebral valet Jeeves and his employer, the young man-about-town, Bertie Wooster, and it is in some of these short stories and novels that Anatole, the French chef, appears. Wodehouse placed these stories firmly in the pre-World War I Edwardian period saying that the Bertie Wooster type of character was “very prevalent when [he] was in and about London – 1911-12-13” (Wodehouse in Styran, 2015). In creating the stories, Wodehouse merges several genres, the detective novel, based on Conan Doyle’s Sherlock Holmes, the country house farce, the romantic comedy and the inverted romantic comedy. His writing is characterised by repetition, both of plot lines and language, and the use of clichés. The Jeeves and Wooster stories developed from short stories into novels, and it was this longer medium that allowed Anatole to become a semi-regular character in the series. Wodehouse’s style consists of an opening, where Bertie is asked for help, while the closure is brought about by Jeeves, with the use of various delaying tactics that prevent an earlier closure and move the narrative along. His use of both highbrow and lowbrow cultural references offset “his exuberant ‘popular’ plots with a dose of high-cultural references” (Einhaus, 2016, loc.559) suggesting a middlebrow audience who may or may not understand the highbrow reference, but whose enjoyment of the book is not curtailed by lack of understanding. References to food are prevalent in Wodehouse’s writing, and Clevenger argues that Wodehouse is a gastronome “not for his personal devotion to the tummy or palate, but rather for his Art – his exquisite writing about food and dining” (2005, p.15). Chapter 4 looked at gathering information about one element of Wodehouse’s writing on food, and the purpose of this thesis, namely the French chef, Anatole.

The methodology used to gather information on Anatole was qualitative thematic analysis based on Clarke and Braun’s (2006) and Braun and Clarke’s (2013) methodology. Data were collected by both reading the stories and novels in which Anatole appears, and downloading this information from Kindle versions of the texts onto a spreadsheet. Then began the familiarisation process where the spreadsheet was read, and re-read until codes started to emerge. Initially, two anticipated themes were looked for, namely why a French chef was in the employ of an English Edwardian family, and why the French chef had an élite status within that society. Nine codes were identified and, in the third step of the Clarke and Braun methodology, they were blended into four themes. As expected, the French chef in Edwardian England and the élite status of that French chef were evident, but the other themes

that emerged were Francophobia in the dialogue surrounding Anatole, and Anatole's voice and appearance. The themes were then reviewed, and the definition of the themes confirmed. The remainder of Chapter 4 was the presentation of examples from the texts of each of the four themes. Anatole was described variously as "the best cook in England" ('The Love that Purifies', p.161), "an outstanding cook" ('The Spot of Art', p.114), a "monarch of his profession" (*Right Ho, Jeeves*, p.34) and "Gods' gift to the gastric juices" ('Jeeves Makes an Omelette', p.711; *Right Ho, Jeeves*, 1971, p15; *Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*, p.31; *Aunt's Aren't Gentlemen*, p.112). The French menu from *The Code of the Woosters* was noted, as was the repetition of some of these dishes across the series. Mention was also made of Anatole's ability to cook English food. His elite status was demonstrated by Dahlia blackmailing Bertie into doing her will by threatening to withhold Anatole's cooking, with Bertie saying, "not once but on several occasions has my Aunt Dahlia bent me to her will by threatening that if I didn't play ball she would bar me from her table, thus dashing Anatole's lunches and dinners from my lips" (*Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*, p.62). Dahlia relies on Anatole's cooking keeping her husband, Tom happy so that he will fund her magazine *Milady's Boudoir*. Various acquaintances of Tom and Dahlia, Sir Watkyn Bassett, Runkle and Mrs Trotter, attempt to acquire Anatole's services, while Dahlia uses him as a wager in a bet with Lady Snettisham, and Tom considers trading him for a silver cow-creamer. Francophobia was evident in the dialogue that surrounded Anatole with his referred as to "most amazing Johnnie" ('Clustering Round Young Bingo, p.227), and "a volatile man, sir. Like so many of these Frenchmen" (*ibid*, p.252). There was only one occasion in which Anatole is seen and heard. In *Right Ho, Jeeves*, Tuppy appears at his skylight window, and Bertie describes him focusing largely on his moustache "of the outsize or soup-strainer type" (p.200). Bertie describes his voice thus: "So, what with Bingo and what with Maloney, he is, as I say, fluent but a bit mixed" (*ibid.*, p.201), and in the passage, Anatole speaks for the only time in the series.

Having extracted examples of the themes from the texts the next four chapters looked to see if Wodehouse's depiction of these themes is historically sound enough to be considered ethnographic, and justify the claim that he contributed to the gastronomic field.

The first theme to be examined was Anatole as a French chef in Edwardian England. Chapter 5 discussed how employing a French chef became "de rigueur" (Burnett,1989 [1966], p.70) among the affluent English classes by the middle of the nineteenth century. French cooking had been introduced to England in the seventeenth century via translations of French cookbooks such as La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François* (1651, translated into English

in 1653), Massialot's *Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois*, (1691 and translated in 1702), and Menon's *La Cuisinière bourgeoise*, translated into English in 1746. Frenchman Vincent La Chapelle, who was the chef to the earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) wrote *The Modern Cook* in English in 1733, and this was translated into French in 1735.

Changes in dietary practices in the Victorian period, with particular emphasis on the dinner party, elevated the status of the French chef, with his skill most evident in the side or *entrée* dishes. Another factor that provided status for the French chef was the rise of the "celebrity" chef during the nineteenth-century period. These chefs included Ude, who worked for several aristocratic families and later at the Crockford Club. He produced *The French Cook* in 1813. Soyer established the kitchens at the Reform Club and published *The Gastronomic Regenerator: A Simplified and Entirely New System of Cookery With Nearly Two Thousand Practical Receipts Suited to the Income of All Classes* in 1846 and *A Shilling Cookery for the People* in 1854. Francetelli also worked at the Crockford Club, later as a chef to Queen Victoria and then at the Reform Club. He wrote *The Modern Cook* in 1846, an "essentially French-style treatise, starting in systematic fashion with 104 sauces" (Mennell, 1996, p.153). Suzanne worked for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other English and Irish aristocratic families and in 1894 published *La Cuisine anglaise* notable for probably being the only book written in French for a French audience but on English cooking (Mennell, 1996). Finally, Boulestin published *Simple French Cooking for English Homes* in 1923. It was a book aimed at the more austere post-war period comprising simple French bourgeois family food.

What all of these chefs and cookbooks had in common is that they sought to simplify the codification of cuisine that had begun under Carême, thereby contributing to the gastronomic field as chefs and authors in their own right, but also by attempting to expand the gastronomic field by extending the audience to whom French food appealed, namely English society at all levels.

Another significant influence on the popularity of French food in England from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century was the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII. Generally excluded from affairs of state by his mother, Queen Victoria, Edward developed a reputation as a gourmand and was renowned for his leisured lifestyle based around the social Seasons. During his time as Prince of Wales, Europe opened up as a tourist destination with travel to destinations such as the south of France part of the "smart set's" fixed leisure

routine. On the continent, Ritz and Escoffier had acquired reputations among the English as a great restaurateur and chef respectively. In London dining out in restaurants and hotels became a “new and fashionable entertainment for the upper class” (Burnett, 1998 [1966], p.202), and the “great age of dining out” (*ibid.*, p.202) began with the opening of the Savoy Hotel in London in 1889, with Ritz front of house, and Escoffier in the kitchen where he introduced his brigade system. Escoffier published *Le Guide Culinaire* in 1903, and an abridged version was translated into English in 1907. Every dish that appears on the menu in *The Code of the Woosters* is a replica of dishes from *Le Guide Culinaire* suggesting Wodehouse was very aware of the status of Escoffier as a French chef in Edwardian England and reflected this status onto Anatole.

The nature of this status was examined in Chapter 6. Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital as the “skills, knowledge, and behaviours that one can tap into to demonstrate cultural competence” (Cole, 2019) was discussed. It was seen that through his training in French cuisine Anatole possessed institutional cultural capital. Another form of cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, is usually represented by material goods, but Bourdieu argues that objectified cultural capital can also be obtained by acquiring “the services of the holder of this capital” (1986, p.20). Dahlia employed Anatole, and thus acquired his services. This acquisition of services defines the chef as objectified cultural capital. The remainder of the chapter looked at real-life examples of French chefs in England. According to Sarah and Samuel Adams, in 1824, there were between three hundred and fifty and four hundred and fifty “men cooks” in England. This figure grew to five thousand French chefs by 1890 (Trubek, 2010) as the factors discussed in Chapter 5 increased demand for them. The relative superior position of the French chef within the household was examined, with the Adams stating they commanded “twice or thrice the sum given to the most experienced female English Cook” (1824, p.368), while Day (2013) demonstrated that as the century progressed the French chef’s earning rose relative to other male members of the household.

The third theme that emerged was an element of Francophobia in the dialogue that surrounded Anatole and this was discussed in Chapter 7. The existence of Francophobia was explained by an element of insecurity in the English identity during the nineteenth century caused by the proximity in time of the French Revolution, the fear of invasion by Napoleon, and the rise of the Chartist movement demanding changes to the political system. Francophobia appeared in leaflets and pamphlets and included references to food, with French foods “instead of heartening and strengthening you, would reduce you presently to the

Thinness and Skinniness of Frenchmen” (19<sup>th</sup>-century pamphlets cited in Semmel, 2004, p.62). This Francophobia also occurred in nineteenth-century literature, with authors including Jane Austen, William Wordsworth, Maria Edgeworth and Charles Dickens either directly addressing English superiority in texts, or using characters to highlight the differences in character between the English and French. Wodehouse, born in 1881, would have been aware of this Francophobic sentiment in society, and being a prolific reader would have come across the phenomenon in literature. This awareness explains the inclusion of Francophobia the dialogue surrounding Anatole.

The final theme, examined in Chapter 8, was Anatole’s voice and appearance. Anatole appears and speaks in only one novel *Right Ho, Jeeves*. Wodehouse freely admitted that he took inspiration from other authors, and both Landman (1992) and Murphy (2013) note the similarity between Anatole’s French/English voice and that of Alphonse, the Swiss/French waiter character of Barry Pain, an author Wodehouse read both early and late in his life. Bowen, in calling Wodehouse a linguist, also noted Wodehouse’s ability to depict English people speaking French too, and concluded that if a linguist can be “someone with a phenomenal ear who likes nothing better than to play with how language sounds, and how to transfer that sound to the page, then [she] believes [Wodehouse] qualifies” (Bowen, 2010, p.5). In *Right Ho, Jeeves* Bertie describes Anatole as a “tubby little man with a moustache of the outsize or soup-strainer type” (p.200). While discussing Bertie’s menu in *The Code of the Woosters*, it was noted that all of the dishes on the menu came from Escoffier’s *Le Guide Culinaire* (1907). Escoffier’s biographers described his moustache as “bushy 'Prussian' (he would have preferred 'French')” (James, 2002, p.169) and “carefully trimmed, professorial” (Barr, 2018, p.42). Given Wodehouse’s evident familiarity with the very recognisable character of Escoffier, it is probable that Wodehouse based Anatole’s appearance on the real-life French chef.

The final Chapter, 9, aimed to examine how ethnographically accurate realist fiction can be. In so doing, the intention was to focus on Ferguson’s description of Balzac’s writing and consider if the term ethnography could be applied to Wodehouse’s work and thus confirm that he contributed to the gastronomic field. Ethnography was defined as social anthropology, the qualitative research method that focuses on “recording and analysis of a culture or society, usually based on participant-observation and resulting in a written account of a people, place or institution” (Coleman and Simpson, 2019). It was seen that Victorian realist writers sought to provide as accurate an account of real life as possible, providing a “realistic



social life experience”, describing life “authentically and without idealization” and seeing their work as “objective (i.e. scientific) accounts of human behaviour” (Nic Craith and Kockel, 2004, p.690). Correspondingly, anthropologist Rapport used the realist fiction of E. M. Foster to augment his real-life fieldwork in describing life in the Northern English village of Wanet. In discussing the blurred border between ethnography and fiction Narayan, while acknowledging the danger of crossing the border between the genres, recognised that “there is fiction in which the author believes him- or herself well versed enough in the worldview of the people described to write from within their perspective” (1999, p.141). Behar argued that ethnography needs to develop a more artistic perspective or risks being written by “creative writers and artists... [who] will be sure to call it anything but ethnography” (2007, p.154). She suggested ways in which this introduction of an artistic element could be done, elements that Wodehouse used in his writing about his “recently vanished society” (McCrum, 2004, p.418). Having proved that the border between ethnography and fiction has been crossed, it can be argued that Ferguson’s acknowledgement of Balzac’s writing as ethnography stands, and can be extended to Wodehouse. It is, therefore, possible to state that Wodehouse, through what he relates about Edwardian society and food through his character, the French chef, Anatole, has contributed to the field of gastronomy



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