



City Research Online

City St George's, University of London

Citation: Mansey, C. J. (2022). Chains of Cross-Cultural Interdependence: London's Luxury Restaurants in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, City, University of London)

This is the accepted version of the paper.

This version of the publication may differ from the final published version. To cite this item please consult the publisher's version.

Permanent repository link: <https://city-ref-test.eprints-hosting.org/id/eprint/30308/>

Copyright and Reuse: Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the author(s) and/or copyright holders. Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, unless otherwise indicated, provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way. For full details of reuse please refer to [City Research Online policy](#).

**Chains of Cross-Cultural Interdependence:
London's Luxury Restaurants in the Late
Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries**

Carina Jane Mansey

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

City, University of London

Department of Sociology

September 2022

I, Carina Jane Mansey, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

As a result of cross-cultural taste transference and newly formed interdependences, luxury restaurants emerged in Victorian London. This coincided with the rise of the independent press industry in the capital, which began producing copy that appealed to audiences who laboured and leisured in these establishments. As such, this thesis, which seeks to be a work of historical relational sociology but inclusive of theoretical and thematic material taken from a range of social disciplines, discusses the topic of these restaurants and their operations by drawing on such press content. Attitudes and opinions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are identified, so that the human figurations, specific to a novel and high-end culinary field, might be evaluated utilising the conceptualisations of Marx, Elias, Bourdieu, and Veblen.

Supported by an evaluation of food studies literature, this work proposes that the origins of the restaurant can be found in Paris. Due to the socio-political webbing that connected the two countries, the fashion of fine French dining became embedded in the English capital and the upper-class English habitus. ‘French’ food was glorified by a new generation of moneyed English gourmets, and ‘English’ food was subject to stigmatisation. The French chef came to be viewed as the epitome of the scientific artistry of food production. Conversely, English nationals were represented in the press as wasteful and innately bad at handling food. European waiters were also preferred to staff the dining rooms of these restaurants, with the English waiters described as being of the wrong class to serve high-end cuisine. While waiters who were young, single, and smart were favoured by employers, European waiters were seen to be economically more productive, and to possess superior language skills and training.

Chefs and waiters alike needed to operate in a field that seemed intent on stereotyping them, whilst also falling victim to the imposition of symbolically violent contradictory qualities and fetishes. These inequalities, coupled with low wages and precarious employment, lead to their unification and segregation both in terms of job role and nationality. Ultimately, “integration conflicts” (Elias, [1974] 2008:136) emerged as a result of the lengthening chains of European interdependence. Although war would temporarily reconfigure these chains, the English hospitality industry still holds many of the same biases as it did in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras.

Contents

Abstract	i
List of Figures	v
Acknowledgments.....	viii
Introduction.....	1
Pilot Study and Development of Research Focus.....	1
Thesis Structure	8
1. Theoretical Reflections on Consumption	13
1.1. Marx: The Consumption and Fetishisation of Commodities.....	15
1.2. Elias(ian): Consumption, Status Display, Mimetic Leisure, and the Colonisation and Repulsion Model	19
1.3. Veblen: Conspicuous Consumption, Conspicuous Leisure, Pecuniary Emulation and Invidious Comparison	27
1.4. Bourdieu: Distinction, Taste and Consumption	31
1.5. Discourse Synthesis: Marx, Elias, Veblen, and Bourdieu	44
1.6. Historical Relational Sociology: Elias and Bourdieu	47
1.7. Theoretical Reflections on Consumption: Conclusion	50
2. Sources: Their History and Methods of Data Extraction	54
2.1. Source Selection	55
2.1.1. Victorian and Edwardian Fiction.....	56
2.1.2. The Victorian and Edwardian Press	57
2.1.2.1. Expansion of News Media and Journalism	58
2.1.2.2. Expansion of the Trade Press	61
2.2. Utilisation of Sources	66
2.2.1. New Journalism: Fact, Opinion and Experience	74
2.2.2. Excluded Voices: Class, Nationality and Gender.....	77

3.	Historical Outline: The Emergence of Restaurants and Cross-Cultural Consumption.....	83
3.1.	Introduction to the Historical Outline.....	83
3.2.	The Emergence of Restaurants and Cross-Cultural Consumption	84
3.3.	Overview: Historical Outline.....	95
4.	Consumption in England Before and After the Restaurant	97
4.1.	English Food and its Consumption.....	97
4.2.	The Rise of the Grand English Hotel.....	104
4.3.	French Food and its Consumption in England	110
4.3.1.	French Menus	110
4.3.2.	French Menus: ‘Why Not English?’	118
4.4.	Overview: Consumption in England	120
5.	The Profession of Preparing Food	122
5.1.	Cooking as a Skill.....	122
5.2.	The Stereotype of the French and the English Chef.....	125
5.3.	Overview: The Profession of Preparing Food	139
6.	The Profession of Serving Food	141
6.1.	The Qualities of Waiters in London	141
6.1.1.	Age.....	144
6.1.2.	Appearance and Attachments	151
6.1.3.	Nationality	155
6.1.3.1.	Hotel and Restaurant Management.....	155
6.1.3.2.	Training	157
6.1.3.3.	Multilingual Abilities	158
6.1.3.4.	The Stereotype of the English and the Foreign Waiter ...	162
6.2.	Theoretical Analysis: Qualities of Waiting Staff in London.....	167
6.2.1.	Waiters as Feminised.....	168

6.2.2.	Waiters as Objects of High-Class Culture and Victims of Class-Based Assumptions.....	172
6.3.	Overview: The Profession of Serving Food	174
7.	Chefs' and Waiters' Wages and Work Conditions.....	177
7.1.	Chefs' and Waiters' Wages	177
7.2.	Waiters' Financial Outgoings.....	182
7.3.	The Tip System.....	185
7.3.1.	Theoretical Analysis of the Tip System	190
7.4.	Work Conditions: Unification and Rivalry	194
7.4.1.	A Chefs' Society.....	195
7.4.2.	A Hotelkeeper' Society	198
7.4.3.	(Inter)national Organisations.....	201
7.5.	Overview: Chefs' and Waiters' Wages and Work Conditions.....	212
8.	Conclusion.....	214
8.1.	Summary and Findings.....	214
8.2.	The Hospitality Industry Today.....	224
8.3.	Recommendations for Further Research	232
	Bibliography	236

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The Colonisation and Repulsion Model, and the Concertina Effect

Source: Based on the work of Elias [1939] (2012) and Mennell (2015a).

Figure 1.2: Bourdieu's Relational Model of Class and Taste

Source: Based on the work of Bourdieu [1984] (2010).

Figure 1.3: The 'Trickle Round Model' of Tastes

Source: Trigg (2001:107).

Figure 1.4: The Interdirectional Model of Tastes

Source: Based on Figures 1.1-1.3.

Figure 2.1: Relevant Trade Press Periodicals and Years of Publication

Source: Author.

Figure 2.2: Relevant Trade Press Periodicals and Publishing Information

Source: Author.

Figure 2.3: Relevant Trade Press Periodicals and Pricing

Source: Author.

Figure 2.4: 'The New Style': Illustration of Waitress

Source: *Daily Mail*, reproduced in *The Chef* (1896:10).

Figure 5.1: Chef with *Toque Blanche*

Source: *The Chef* (1896:3).

Figure 6.1: 'Wanted Places' as Waiters

Source: *The Chef* (1896:14).

Figure 6.2: 'Wanted Places' as Waiters

Source: *The Chef* (1898:10).

Figure 6.3: ‘Situations Wanted’ as Waiters

Source: *Our Own Circular* (1898:4).

Figure 6.4: Illustrations of Waiters in Work Attire

Source: *The Caterer* (1878:8).

Figure 7.1: ‘Wanted Places’ as Waiters, and as Chefs and Cooks

Source: *The Chef* (1898:10).

Figure 7.2: Paul Vogel, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Waiters’ Society

Source: *The Waiters’ Record* (1900:2).

Figure 7.3: British Youths at the School of Instruction Taking Lessons

Source: *Daily Mirror*, reproduced in *The Restaurateur* (1912:17).

Figure 7.4: Lesson at the Waiters’ School in Paris

Source: *The Restaurateur* (1913:17).

This thesis is dedicated to all the warm-hearted folk
– colleagues and customers alike –
that I have met while working in the hospitality industry.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I wish to express my gratitude to Chris Rojek and Jean Chalaby for their patience, suggestions, and continued support. I could not have concluded this thesis without them, and I am appreciative of all the time that they have taken to supervise my work.

This thesis would not be what it is today without the valuable knowledge and recommendations that I have received at conferences, network events, seminars, summer schools, and symposiums. While I do not have room to name them all, I would especially like to extend my appreciation to the organisers, delegates and attendees of the Cambridge Body and Food Histories Conferences; Dublin Gastronomy Symposiums; Institut Européen d'Histoire et des Cultures de l'Alimentation events; Institute of Historical Research Food Histories Seminars; and International Tourism and Leisure Studies Research Network Conferences.

With respect to those whom I have met at the above, I would specifically like to offer my thanks to Anne Murcott for her positivity, honesty, and encouraging me to utilise trade press material; Graham Harding for all his guidance on working with historical resources; Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire for the inspiring literature that he suggested that I read; and Nancy Scanlon for her motivational council.

Equally, I remain indebted to the many academics and professional services staff, based at City, University of London, who have aided me and this research. I would sincerely like to thank Tabitha Poulter, who has been there for me through both the highs and lows of this degree. I am grateful for her friendship and for all that she has done for me. I also wish to acknowledge Penny Nakou and Sarah Molisso for their kindness and for being an uplifting source of encouragement. Richard Thornbury certainly deserves credit – he has been reassuring, considerate, and has supported me whenever I experienced administrative issues. Likewise, Neil Goldwasser's tailored guidance has assisted me considerably throughout the process of writing this thesis.

Lastly, there are many people outside of higher education who have been a great help. I would, however, particularly like to extend my thanks to Marina Mele and Peter Baker, who deserve recognition for their care, advice, and constructive comments. Tony Puttock's direction regarding currency conversions has, additionally, been markedly valued.

Introduction

The introduction to this thesis is composed of two sections. The first concerns the original pilot study that was conducted prior to this research and the development of this project's focus. This section seeks to expound upon the original conceptualisations of this work and why modifications to the epistemological standpoint, methodological framework, and point of departure for data collection have been made. It also serves to supply a subjective grounding for some of the information provided in the abstract, which it is hoped will aid with the reading of the more traditionally formulaic second section. The second section provides an overview of the structure of the thesis by summarising each chapter, their purpose and core strands of argumentation. Both these sections are intended to complement each other and provide a foundation before relevant literature is discussed in the first chapter.

Pilot Study and Development of Research Focus

The original focus of this thesis was on renowned individuals that influenced the popularisation of dining out in England. Key figures who had a profound impact on food preparation, food policy, and food fashion were evaluated. At the time, it was hoped that the research conducted into these individuals would explain why restaurants in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland had become such a prolific entity and integral element of culinary culture. However, the limitations of this project soon became apparent. There were issues concerning the timescale that these individuals were documented from and to, and the data itself was producing findings at micro level, which were appearing as consequential rather than as part of a wider cultural process. Thus, the previous research was used as a pilot study in order to establish a better suited epistemological standpoint, methodological framework, and point of departure for data collection.

The pilot study also proved to be exceptionally useful in modifying the core topical research focus. Much material has been written on the proliferation of dining out.¹

¹ To name only a few of such texts, which all have a niche focus on this broad topic: *The McDonaldization Thesis* (Ritzer, 1998); *Starbucked* (Clark, 2007); and *Curry* (Collingham, 2005).

Additionally, there is a vast body of literature concentrating on franchising, branding, and marketing restaurants.² Furthering on from that, one could easily read about how these capitalist trading models and industries came to be.³ Yet, it was noticed that, potentially due to the proliferation of restaurants, most people take dining out for granted, and they do not really think about how or why the practice was established. People, when these renowned individuals were spoken of, were often also shocked to find out that sit-down dining was a relatively new phenomenon. That is, restaurants, in their traditional format, have only graced the English capital for around 150 years and, at that point in history, a person would have needed to be of a privileged position in order to visit one.⁴ Thus, it was concluded that the focus should not be on the proliferation of, but the early years of, luxury dining out. This decision was further supported by the lack of existing literature that has addressed early restaurant dining in the original location of interest. What is more, in those texts that have focused on such a topic, restaurant operations and their cultural, social, and economic challenges were often sidelined, with authors having chosen to focus more extensively on the food consumed in these establishments, the clientele that dined in them, and celebrated chefs.⁵

The time scale that this thesis considers reflects the developments made in light of the pilot study. Archival data was originally collected on renowned individuals from 1600 to the present day. However, the breadth of the research was proving too impractical for the purpose of this work. Additionally, as more of a need was identified for a study into early restaurant operations, it became appropriate to detail a smaller segment of history with more depth. This thesis now predominantly focusses on operations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Albeit with the

² For examples of the diversity of this literature, see Khan [1991] (2015); Hopper (2013); and Lo et al (2018).

³ For instance, Moor (2007) has written on the rise of brands; Jones and Tadajewski (2016) have edited a volume on marketing history; and Beere (2017) has published on the emergence of franchising.

⁴ There were other places where food could be purchased and consumed on-site, such as taverns, inns, cafés, some of the few remaining coffeehouses, and gentlemen's clubs. However, it is argued in this work that restaurants were not an extension of these sites, but presented a new arena of dining, which had its own doxic standards and appealed to a certain type of habitus.

⁵ For example, see Tannahill [1973] (1988); Bowden (1975); and Hope (2005).

exception of comparative comments concerning the contemporary hospitality industry, and a contextual chapter that also serves as an extended literature review, which provides an account of the emergence of the restaurant as a new site of culinary consumption in France and casts a reflective eye on the figurational changes that took place prior to the period of interest. This period was chosen because the latter years of the Victorian era saw the rise of restaurant dining in the territories now termed the ‘United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland’ and the ‘Republic of Ireland’. A practice that would flourish until World War I challenged everyday norms and reconfigured the chains of cross-cultural interdependence.

To briefly digress from the discussion of the pilot study, it is important at this stage to expound upon what is meant by the ‘chains of cross-cultural interdependence’. The term is derived from Norbert Elias’ “chains of interdependence” (Elias, [1939] 2000:passim). While Elias did not ever provide a standardised definition, the chains that he referred to are metaphorical and, elsewhere in his writing, are also described as “bonds” (Elias, [1939] 2000:passim). These chains connectively bind people together and can be short and immediate, long and distant, or anywhere in-between.⁶ In all instances, these chains are interpersonal – they exist between people – and are never still, constantly fluctuate, and can be subject to both incredibly subtle and substantial reconfigurations. The inclusion of the term ‘cross-cultural’ is important as it highlights a key point that this thesis seeks to emphasise: in the late nineteenth century the lengthened chains of interdependence crossed borders and boundaries in a way that had not been recorded before. Hence, this thesis does not consider the years following 1914 as World War I marked an unprecedented reconfiguration of these relatively newly established chains of interdependence, which were severed, disrupted, sabotaged, strengthened, etc., as a result of the conflict.

As will be expounded upon in the first chapter, Elias’ relational sociology, that is, a study of human relations or figurations composed of networks formed by the chains of interdependence, is now central to this thesis. While undertaking the pilot study, it

⁶ For example, the chains of interdependence that bind a child to their caregiver are generally short and immediate. Divergently, the chains of interdependence that bind me to those that aided with the assembly of the laptop that these words are typed on are long and distant.

became clear that micro-level analysis of data was simply producing findings that were appearing consequential and not applicable when answering broader research questions. That is, micro-level results were being used to try and answer macro-sociological questions. Hence, symbolic interactionism was rejected in favour of relational sociology. The reason for this is that relational sociology allows for both micro and macro to merge. It views the individual and society as one in the same, rather than two separate entities, thereby accepting synthesis so as to reconcile the micro-macro problem and the connected agency-structure duality.

Relational sociology also compliments a tradition taken up in the pilot study and this thesis: historical sociology. In a practical sense, the methods used for data collection in historical sociology rely heavily on the analysis of both primary, secondary and, occasionally, tertiary sources. In the initial stages of research, there were issues sourcing primary documentation in order to formulate an original empirical argument. However, both the popular and trade press have been used, along with other forms of archival content, as data sources. Tertiary data, from both dictionaries and encyclopaedias, is incorporated in areas, and secondary source documentation is used to support the understanding of the data. While the archival data sources documented in the main body of this work do speak of individuals and are largely written by a sole author, when analysing the data displayed in them, in line with the relational approach, a sociological eye is cast over them in order to establish the individual's chains of interdependence and their position within the field of interest, and what this could mean for coexistence and culture. Thus, the chapters that evidence data and work to analyse it identify how relations shape development, while retaining the view that individuals are an inseparable part of every social process.

Although the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland were originally the chosen location for this narrative, the English capital of London was later selected as the location for research, in order to narrow down the geographical area. Consequently, the archival data sources that are documented in this work were predominantly published in London. Whilst the union between England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the smaller outlying islands that they have administered was, historically, fragmented, which complicated terminology, the countries also had very different relationships with food. Thus, this thesis would have

been exceptionally altered if its focus was, for example, on Irish restaurant operations. Furthermore, as was posited by Trainor, “by 1700, London was Europe’s and the world’s greatest port and commercial centre”, which also acted “as the administrative centre of a kingdom as well as the British Empire” (Trainor, 2012:100). This is supported by Agathocleous, who asserted: “As Britain’s capital and economic centre, London was, of course, a symbol of the nation and the ‘heart of the empire’” (Agathocleous, 2011:xv). As such a symbolically and culturally influential geographical location that developed a trend setting culinary culture, London was also chosen as a source of rich data. That is, London hosted unique infrastructural developments that modified its residents and visitors, the city’s landscape, and its relationship with knowledge and leisurely consumption. Resultantly, many of the data sources that were utilised were published in the capital and concerned the developing luxury culinary norms. Yet, because of London’s influence, there is content discussed in this thesis that applies broadly to other areas of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.⁷

While London acted as a cultural hub, capable of setting trends that were assimilated into the lifeworlds of the kingdom’s inhabitants, the restaurants that were built there were not an inherently English invention. As detailed in the review of contemporary literature contained within Chapter 3, although there remains some dispute about the genesis of the restaurant, this work puts forward the case that the restaurant has its origins in France. One of the major arguments formulated in this thesis is, indeed, that due to the upheaval caused by France’s volatile political climate in the eighteenth and, to some extent, seventeenth centuries, eateries were developed into something that is not so different from the restaurants that can be visited in contemporary society. Notwithstanding that the objective of this thesis is to develop a narrative, with illustrative and evidential details, which will explore early restaurant operations in

⁷ This was the formal political title of the sovereign state that encompassed England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in the era of history considered in this thesis. Please note that the terms ‘Great Britain’ and ‘Britain’ were and still are used to refer to England, Wales, and Scotland and, sometimes, their smaller outlying islands, but not Ireland. The term the ‘United Kingdom’, however, did refer to England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and their smaller outlying islands in both the Victorian and Edwardian eras. However, following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, it now refers to England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and their smaller outlying islands.

London, its scope will not be restricted by focussing solely on England or the English. That is, as the pilot study indicated, European cultural flows must be examined as they significantly contributed to the relations needed for restaurants to succeed in a diversified leisure and hospitality industry.

It is clear from feedback on the pilot study that there remains some controversy around the significance that each European territory had on influencing English restaurant developments. A common critique is received from those who consider Italian cuisine to have had a larger impact on English culture than its French counterpart. While this thesis does not dispute that Italian cuisine has had a profound impact on the British restaurant industry, cultural flows of knowledge and produce, e.g., cooking techniques and the trade of foodstuffs, between Italy and England were established a lot later than those between France and England. One of the pivotal reasons for this is that England neighbours France, which means that chains of interdependence were more easily established due to proximity, and thus the cross-country fields of power intertwined. Another key justification for France's weighty influence on English dining was that Paris had acted as a fashion capital since the reign of Louis XIV. As Hopkins has stated: "By the seventeenth century...France had replaced Spain as Europe's preeminent political power... From this period, France and particularly Paris established itself as a fashion capital" (Hopkins, 2012:30), and its influence was not limited to mere clothing fashion alone.

It is proposed that the palates of the English were more willing to receive French taste because of the similarities that the nations shared in terms of the main components of dishes, e.g., meat, potatoes, and vegetables. Tastes that are now associated with Italy were more novel to the English diners, and often did not contain culinary elements that they were familiar with. In consequence, such foodstuffs did not have a mass appeal to early English luxury restaurant diners. It is also important to note that Italy was not unified until 1861, and while the country has done an exceptional job of creating a shared national culinary identity this did take time.⁸ In brief, a challenge was presented by what Dalal has referred to as the "most significant divide for Italian cuisine": the divide between the north and the south (Dalal, 2000:2). This was, and in many ways

⁸ For an in-depth discussion of Italy's culinary national identity, see Montanari (2013).

still is, a divide exaggerated by the undisputed fact that tastes in the south and the north are quite dissimilar due to differing regional landscapes, and for socio-political reasons too diverse to discuss here. Hence, in the Victorian period, an English national would not have been able to demonstrate a cohesive understanding of what ‘Italian’ food was, but, presuming that they held an upper-class vantage point, they would have been able to explain the core elements associated with French cuisine.

Following on from the above changes, this research project had a clear topical focus, epistemological standpoint, methodological framework, and point of departure for data collection. What it did not have was research questions or original hypotheses. In line with grounded theory, data source evaluation began, and themes emerged from a systematic review of press content based on inductive reasoning. That is, with the specific aim of exploring the establishment of London’s luxury restaurants and their operations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, utilising a framework in line with historical relational sociology, press content was obtained and read so as to draw out relevant themes and ideas. ‘Classed divisions and distinctions’ were overt and were going to have to be a theme in this work, notably because the early London restaurants were built for the specific purpose of supplying luxury food to an upper class. Yet, what had not been accounted for was the extent of the ‘cross-cultural interdependencies’ evidenced by the press content, the subsequent European diversity present in them, and the tensions that this caused. As such, other established themes were rejected in favour of a focus on ‘cross-cultural interdependence’ and ‘intolerance’ and their significance. A more in-depth reading and evaluation of the press content was then conducted in order to consider key sites where such cross-cultural interdependencies and intolerances played out in relation to the establishment of London’s luxury restaurants and their operations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Utilising an established theoretical framework these specific sites, which are named in the titles of Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7, were analysed so as to share new insights and interpretations regarding both luxury London restaurants, and cross-cultural relations.

Thesis Structure

The task of this section is to provide a broad summary of each of the following chapters. This is done in order to give a flavour of what will be expounded upon over the course of this thesis. As such, it does not particularise the intricate details of each chapter, and a decision has been made to try to avoid discussing theoretical nuances until the ontological and epistemological dynamics of the research framework have been delineated in Chapter 1. However, please note that chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 all end with ‘overviews’, which supply a general summation of the key observations and theoretical ideas presented in each of these chapters. 8.1 additionally offers an outline of this thesis’ main arguments and findings.

It is also important to explain that this work, as a contribution to the broad field of food studies, will advance in line with the tradition of historical sociology, while also drawing on other content taken from a range of disciplines and theoretical frameworks.⁹ In consequence, this thesis will not be compiled in a manner that conforms to the standardised format adhered to by most sociological theses. That is, in order to provide a narrative that blends the sociological with the historical and cultural, and to achieve the objective of creating an interdisciplinary work, some sections of this thesis benefit from a more ‘tailored’ than traditional approach, as detailed in the chapter descriptions below.

Following this introduction there is a section devoted to the discussion of literature that is focussed on consumption in general. It is justified because, with the advent of restaurant dining, people were consuming in ways that went far beyond subsistence. That is, it proved useful to look at the wider literature concerning why people consume, and what they gain from doing so beyond the nutritional value of their food. Thus, drawing on the work of Karl Marx (1818-1883), Norbert Elias (1897-1990), Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), and Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) the chapter outlines how food can be seen as a commodity; marker of distinction (as an expression of economic,

⁹ There are both ontological and epistemological reasons for this, which connect to those of a socio-political nature. Yet, knowledge from previous academic pursuits, bracketed as belonging to other disciplines, is utilised.

cultural and symbolic capital); and leisure pursuit. These ideas are detailed and added to, so that data might be produced by using them to analyse the primary source content that this thesis makes use of. Following on from this, the chapter expounds upon the reasoning behind the selection of these specific theorists, and overcoming the tensions of synthesising discourse. It then returns to the ideas of Elias and Bourdieu, so as to present the epistemological framework taken up in this research project. Chapter 1 concludes by providing an account of key theoretic reflections, and a summarisation of relevant terminology and definitions.

The second chapter introduces the sources used for data collection, the historical context in which they were published, the methods employed to extract data from them, and the strengths and limitations of working with historical sources. This chapter begins by addressing data source selection and access processes, before turning to a discussion of the historical press material that has been utilised to extract data from. It also provides a contextual history of news media, journalism, and the trade press in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The second section of this chapter supplies specifics regarding the periodicals considered in this thesis and the practical implications of working with historical material. Lastly, this chapter acknowledges and expands on the fact that those who wrote for or to the publications that this thesis relies upon are unable to represent a range of intersectional experiences.

As is common in historical theses, Chapter 3 acts as a contextual introduction. It seeks to provide a historical outline of the socio-political and cultural reasons for restaurants' emergence to ground the succeeding four 'findings' chapters. Yet, it also serves to review food studies literature that has previously been published on the specific topic of restaurant consumption and to introduce readers to the press content referred to in the prior chapter. To begin, power and culture in Victorian England are discussed before France is turned to in order to account for the emergence of restaurants. The French Revolution, the tale of the first restaurateur, the medicalisation of food, and dining in the Napoleonic era are themes that are considered. The conclusion seeks to address France's culinary influence and its symbolic association with culinary worth. England is then returned to so as to acknowledge the ways that the landscape and technologies of the country developed under industrial capitalism so as to cater for the transference of France's culinary culture.

Chapter 4 seeks to look specifically at consumption practices in England, with a focus on London, before, during, and after the rise of the restaurant. Broken into three parts, this chapter turns firstly to an exploration of Victorian press content to establish conclusions about English fare and views on it. Thus, enabling the consideration of assorted attitudes and a contrast to be drawn between English and French consumption. Secondly, London's grand hotels and their restaurants are considered. Employing concrete illustrative material and journal excerpts, this section explores the construction of these establishments and sentiments relating to their popularity. Thirdly, the food served in these sites of consumption is considered. Focussing on the work of one of England's first food writers, menus and restaurant reviews are analysed along with their socio-cultural implications. The debate concerning the publication of menus in French is then theoretically scrutinised.

The fifth chapter focuses on the profession of food preparation. Picking up on themes considered in the prior chapter, and drawing on trade press content, it opens with a discussion concerning the scientific artistry of cookery and the status ascribed to those who made a living providing meals. Central to this narrative is the topic of violence, which is symbolic in nature. Such violence was seen to take place in luxury culinary establishments because they were portrayed as sites of leisurely consumption, where people were paid to provide a service, no matter the skill level that this service required. The second section of the chapter then turns to consider a variety of publications from the period of interest in order to explore the ways that French and English cooks and chefs were positively and negatively stereotyped by the English. Here, the core characteristics ascribed to the men who worked in the culinary arts are analysed alongside the socio-cultural tensions that led to feelings of intolerance and acceptance.

Following on from the discussion of those that prepared food in the restaurants of the luxury hotels, it is the task of Chapter 6 to focus on those that served them. The chapter's main aims are to outline the qualities of these waiters, before turning to theory to analyse them. It begins by detailing the 'Wanted Places' listings from three journals, so that 'age', 'appearance and attachments', and 'nationality' might be considered. From these listings and other late 1800s and early 1900s literature, it becomes evident

that young, smartly dressed, tall, and single waiting staff were preferred for employment. The issue of nationality is more complex and negotiates the idea that hotel and restaurant management were guilty of ethnic nepotism, which may have been exacerbated by the fact that foreign waiting staff received training and had the required multilingual abilities before they came to London to find work. Subsequently, the stereotype of both the foreign waiter and the English waiter are discussed, which, as with chefs, concludes that there was both cause for concern and celebration in many an Englishman's habitus when it came to considering the presumed superiority of foreign waiters in the capital. The theoretical analysis that follows seeks to consider these contradictions and the aforementioned qualities. It argues that waiters were subject to processes of objectification and fetishisation by focussing on the feminisation of waiting staff and how the class system and hierarchical restaurant system meant they needed to embody a range of conflicting values.

Chapter 7 departs from looking at the qualities that chefs and waiters needed to embody and provides an overview of their wages and work conditions. It begins with an evaluation of the monetary sums that both chefs and waiters were likely to receive for their labours and the complications concerning such payments. The following section goes on to look more specifically at the finances of waiters and other expenses that they were likely to incur due to their occupation. Both these sections build on ideas concerning the tip system, which is subsequently focussed on in more detail in the third part of the chapter. Attitudes towards tipping are considered, which is followed by a theoretical analysis of the system that elucidates upon its social dynamics and the tensions that it created. This chapter then concludes by examining unification and rivalry between chefs, hotelkeepers, and others employed in the business. Here, the reasoning behind the formation of societies, clubs, schools, and unions, which aimed to improve the quality of life of those that stood united, against rival workers or otherwise, is considered.

The last chapter of this thesis has three divergent aims and is therefore broken in to three sections. It firstly begins by providing a summarisation of the seven chapters that have preceded it, which seeks to highlight core findings, before reflecting on the original contribution to knowledge that this thesis has offered. The second section focusses on how today's hospitality industry shares parallels with that of the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More specifically, it addresses how the same interdependencies and intolerances are observable today. It then looks at the crisis the contemporary industry is facing and, utilising what has been learnt from the historical data, suggests potential resolutions. This thesis closes by detailing recommendations for further research. While many a recommendation could have been made, four that have stood out are considered in detail. Two specifically historical recommendations are expounded upon, which concern women's navigation of Victorian and Edwardian food culture, and colonialism's and imperialism's influence on the field of the culinary. One suggestion for comparative research, which would further compare today's industry operations with the operations of the establishments discussed in this thesis, is put forward. Lastly, it is advised that there needs to be more empirical research into the current hospitality crisis.

1. Theoretical Reflections on Consumption

The aim of this work is to explore early luxury restaurant operations. Yet, before the complexities of the field of luxury dining are unravelled in more detail, it is of use to think about the superficial reason for the existence of restaurants, i.e., to provide food and drink to diners for a fee, which the diners are to consume on the premises. Thus, at the most basic level, restaurants are sites of *consumption*, and it follows that literature concerning this area needs to be explored.

Consumption has been a widely discussed topic in social sciences literature, especially as in contemporary society “consumption on a truly mass scale has begun to appear as a foundational, rather than merely epiphenomenal, characteristic of society” (Corrigan, [1997] 2011:1). However, since this work seeks to focus on the early eras of restaurant dining, theorists that have written on consumption processes in twenty-first-century neoliberal capitalist culture will not be considered in detail as it is deemed more fitting to focus on the work of scholars who were writing in/about the period that data will be drawn from and/or who have provided frameworks that can be operationalised to analyse industrial capitalist consumption processes.

After an extensive evaluation of such literature, the ideas drawn from the work of four specific theorists, Karl Marx (1818-1883), Norbert Elias (1897-1990), Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), and Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), were selected as most appropriate for utilisation in this thesis. The work of these four specific theorists will be reviewed in this chapter, and an outline of their inclusion advanced. Secondary sources will also be discussed in tandem in the relevant sections, so as to further aid with the operationalisation of the four key theorists’ conceptualisations. An explanation of the four sociologists’ epistemological frameworks will be briefly provided. This will be followed by an account of the theoretical tools supplied by them or relevant scholars that have developed their work, which are useful for data analysis. That is not to deny the fact that these four social scientists have contributed other important content or that other scholars writing in/about the periods of interest have also produced thought-provoking theorisations. However, as will be discussed in the

relevant sections, ideas put forward by Marx, Elias, Veblen, and Bourdieu, while containing conflicting nuances, do complement each other.

Albeit the work of Elias is most influential to this thesis, the other theorists, especially Bourdieu, provide useful concepts that enable for a richer analysis of data. Likewise, it should be noted that other theoretical material, while not utilised frequently enough in this work to have been explored in detail in this chapter, will also be referred to in this thesis. This is intentional. Lessons were learnt from the pilot study, and it is desired that this thesis is not labelled as belonging to and/or limited to a specific doctrine or grand narrative. That is, multiple theorists and theoretical concepts will be operationalised so as to not allow for this thesis to be categorised as ‘Marxist’, ‘(post)structuralist’ or strictly ‘Eliasian’. As will be discussed further in 1.5, blending the ideas of multiple scholars not only allows for a unique contribution to knowledge, but also for a more rewarding and robust theoretical analysis of data.

It is acknowledged that this chapter is almost exclusively limited to a review of publications authored by Western European academics, with the exception of Veblen, who was born to European immigrant parents in the United States of America. This is because the research objectives of this project ties it to the history of Western European social change. It was therefore deemed helpful to address the work of people who were documenting such changes from a European standpoint. More importantly, the key four chosen theorists considered in this chapter undertake historical comparative research and/or were aligned with historical sociology as a discipline and practice.¹⁰ It is argued that the most influential writing on general processes of consumption have come from historical sociological scholarship. Consumption has been looked at in differing time periods in order to suggest how it has changed and how these changes have had an impact on the societies that scholars found themselves part of, which is a task that this thesis also tries to undertake.

On a related note, as this thesis is interdisciplinary it tries to be as comprehensive as possible regarding the information that it contains. Therefore, this chapter does not presume a prior knowledge of social theory and seeks to explain the epistemological

¹⁰ This includes Bourdieu. For further information, see Calhoun (2013).

and theoretical conceptualisations that it outlines, rather than simply making an assessment about their strengths and limitations. The ideas of the theorists will also be illustrated in the relevant sections and linked to data analysis, and topic-specific thesis statements will be recognised when relevant. Each section can stand alone, but in some cases, terminology used by a different theorist than the one predominantly discussed in the section will be cross-referenced, as this chapter does seek to formulate a holistic review of theories of consumption.

Brief comments should also be made about the latter sections of this chapter. 1.5 is designed to further explain the specific selection of theorists drawn upon and their individual significance to this thesis. It also seeks to discuss discourse synthesis as a process that has been applied in order to advance the understanding of data. 1.6 will return to ideas outlined in 1.2 and 1.4, which focus on the two relational sociologists, Elias and Bourdieu. This is so as to supply supplementary information about this thesis' own epistemological grounding as a work of historical relational sociology. 1.6 will act as a conclusion to this chapter and will summarise key terminology while demarcating the relevant material to be used for data analysis.

1.1. Marx: The Consumption and Fetishisation of Commodities

As Ritzer has stated: “Marx had a great deal to say about consumption” (Ritzer, 2001:110). In Marx's discussion of the modes of production, i.e., epochs characterised by “distinctive ways of producing” (Alexander et al, [2012] 2016:594), he bracketed how consumption practices had changed throughout the course of human history. This section will explore Marx's key ideas about consumption and his terminology, which has been adopted by countless other theorists, and will be integrated into the narrative of this work.

‘Commodity’ is a word that Marx did not coin, but it was superabundant in his literature, and remains strongly linked to the study of consumption. For Allan: “The simple definition of *commodity* is an economic good” (Allan, emphasis in original, 2013:84). Although some may agree that this definition rings true in a neoliberal capitalist society – if the view is taken that all processes are now, more than ever, *market* processes – commodities have existed in societies that did not have an

established economy. To exemplify, in the first mode of production, primitive communism, a berry, spear or animal skin would have been seen as a commodity because it had a *use value*, i.e., it had a usefulness, a “utility”, a “value” that would “become a reality only by use or consumption” (Marx, [1867] 2015:27), and was able to supply sustenance, aid an individual in their hunt, or protect them from the elements. More simply then, throughout the ages commodities have always had some form of *worth*, economic or otherwise. This worth can be linked to a physical and/or abstract ‘need’. As Marx posited: “A commodity appears at first sight an extremely obvious, trivial thing. But its analysis brings out that it is a very strange thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties” (Marx, [1867] 1990:163).

The analysis that he spoke of locates what is referred to as ‘fetishism’. Fetishism is akin to totemism, i.e., a totem being understood as a physical entity believed to be a deity or imbued with supernatural properties. As was put by Felluga: “Fetishism in anthropology refers to the primitive belief that godly powers can inhere in inanimate things (e.g., in totems). Marx borrows this concept to make sense of what he terms ‘commodity fetishism’” (Felluga, 2015:51). As archaeology has proven, totems are found in all of the modes of production that Marx outlined. To a certain extent, Marx’s use of the term ‘fetishism’ was figurative. That is, Marx attached the term to ‘commodity’ to shatter the “illusion in human consciousness which originated in the commodity economy and which assigned to things characteristics which have their source in the social relations among people in the process of production” (Rubin, [1928] 2008:2). As soon as people were engaged in social relations that determined the process of production, they began to create commodities that fed back into said social relations. Put more simply, as soon as humans started creating physical objects, they created fetishes in the form of “objects endowed with qualities pertaining to human relationships” (Iacono, 2016:1).

It is easier to see what is meant by commodity fetishism in contemporary capitalism, as commercial brands and celebrities can be imbued with qualities and values in an efficient manner. To illustrate, if two restaurants served identical food that had an identical use value, but one was a family-run establishment and the other was owned by a *Michelin*-starred celebrity chef, the choice a customer makes about which to dine

in is framed in terms of social relations.¹¹ In the one that is owned by the chef, the food is turned into a commodity that conveys distinction, i.e., it is imbued with the values and qualities carried by the chef, even if they had no hand in preparing it. By purchasing this food with an understanding of the celebrity's 'identity', the consumer, literally, buys into such an 'identity' and becomes a subject of commodity fetishism. That being said, in primitive communism it is certainly comprehensible that foodstuff, spears, and skins were all given abstract worth too, but there was not an emphasis on monetary expenditure in order to literally buy into the fetishisation of commodities.

Whether people pray to a totem, believed to be imbued with spiritual power, or they idealise a celebrity and, by extension, commodities associated with their brand, for Marx, the physical items that hold this power are 'man'-made. The physical totem was created, and so too were the branded products, and it is here that the process of alienation becomes visible. People "become alienated because their own relations of production assume a material shape which is independent of their control and their conscious individual action" (Marx, [1867] 1990:187). The labour that went into the creation of the totem and the product becomes subsumed by the material objects' abstract worth and thus the labourers become alienated. Put another way, Marx, a staunch atheist, made this analogy: "As, in religion, man is governed by the products of his own brain, so in capitalist production, he is governed by the products of his own hands" (Marx, [1867] 2015:438).

Marx's commentators have had much to say on how the process of becoming alienated, that is, 'alienation', relates to 'commodity fetishism'. While this work refutes that 'commodity fetishism' is, for Marx, merely a synonym for 'alienation', it is agreed that alienation can be a consequence of commodity fetishism. Workers do labour in order to produce commodities, and it is the commodity that holds a symbolic power, a meaning to the consumer. To use an analogy, when visiting a restaurant owned by a

¹¹ "*Michelin* is considered by most to be the most credible restaurant rating system in the world. To earn even one *Michelin* star, a restaurant has to be exceptional. In the food world, if a chef is described as a *Michelin*-starred chef, it means they've been an executive chef at a restaurant that has had one or more *Michelin* stars... If a restaurant earns a two-star rating, they are in very exclusive territory – the restaurant is phenomenal... The ultimate rating is three stars. This is legendary" (Gentempo, [2020] 2022:94).

celebrated chef, even if this chef does actively work in the kitchen, they will normally have a brigade of other chefs. Yet, if a consumer visits the restaurant to dine on food (commodities) because they are buying into the symbolic worth of this celebrated chef (fetishism) then this can lead to the brigade of chefs feeling alien (alienation) in regard to the products of their labour. These chefs, their knowledge, their skills, their time, do not appear to matter to the consumer, but the food that they produce, imbued with a meaning removed from the brigade, does. Likewise, the diner, by consuming the food with potentially no regard for those who actually prepared it, becomes alienated by the act of their indulgence in the fetishisation of commodities.

“The *devaluation* of the world of [people] is in direct proportion to the *increasing value* of the world of things” (Marx, emphasis in original, [1844] 2009:28) and, as a result, alienation, as a consequence of fetishism, breeds further commodities to be fetishised. To this point, “[l]abor produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as a *commodity* – and this at the same rate at which it produces commodities in general” (Marx, emphasis in original, [1844] 2009:28-29). Marx, here, is implying workers become commodified; they lose something of their humanity as they commit to “an alien world of objects” (Marx, [1844] 2009:29). To this end, it is asserted that workers in specific roles become commodities, capable of being fetishised and ‘consumed’ in their own right. ‘Consumed’ in the sense that the intangible meaning these workers are imbued with, whether the workers are conscious of the meanings that they carry or otherwise, can be bought and ingested by consumers.

What is so important about these concepts, and the reasons that they are outlined, is that restaurants are domains that orchestrate social relations and, as such, the food and those who produce and serve it can be fetishised. It is a primary concern of this thesis to not simply look at subsistence consumption in terms of dining, but to acknowledge that restaurant dining is a consumption practice imbued with meanings that go far deeper than superficial consumption, i.e., consuming food for its use value. In industrial London, processes of fetishisation and alienation took place in the early restaurants of the period. As will be considered later in this work, the restaurants took on certain intangible characteristics, but so too did the food consumed in these settings and those chefs and waiters who delivered it to the tables of diners, which lead to said chefs and waiters becoming alienated along with the patrons that they depended on.

1.2. Elias(ian): Consumption, Status Display, Mimetic Leisure, and the Colonisation and Repulsion Model

Like Marx, Elias was interested in understanding social change throughout history and undertook a detailed evaluation of European social relations using comparative research. Yet, their epistemologies differed. Marx took up a historical materialist approach: ‘historical’ in the sense that Marx’s study was one of history, and materialist in the sense that, for him, the material conditions, such as “relations, practises, and processes”, were a result of “practical human activity” and formed human consciousness (Beetz, 2016:22). Elias read Marx (Hill, 2014), and gained much from his work (Linklater and Mennell, 2010), but did not share the same approach to studying the social world. He, instead, developed what he termed a figurational sociological approach, which critiqued Marx’s historical materialism for ultimately being reductionist and placing too much emphasis on the material conditions of life. For Elias, the socialised individual and the society are one and the same, and to undertake meaningful social research the “figurations of human beings”, that is, the “long chains of interdependency” (Van Heerikhuizen, 2015:min. 2.01) must be looked at. To clarify, each and every socialised human being is connected to other humans, they, as an individual, form part of a colossal web of human interdependencies, and it is these connective webs that form societies. This social webbing is not static or fixed, but fluid and capable of being in a condition of constant change. This thesis will draw on Elias’ figurational sociological approach to the study of the social world, sharing the opinion that there is a “network of interdependencies among human beings” (Elias, [1939] 2000:481-482) and that to “envisage an image of numerous independent people forming figurations” (Elias, [1939] 2000:482) produces meaningful knowledge that bridges the gap between micro and macro theorising. As such, 1.6 provides a deeper evaluation of the tradition from which this thesis epistemologically grounds itself.

Elias’ study of human figurations led to the creation of his magnum opus, *The Civilizing Process*, first published in 1939, which supplied a detailed evaluation of manners, etiquette, and emotion over the course of European history. It is the ideas that were presented in this text that are of importance to the study of consumption and this thesis. To briefly summarise one of Elias’ key arguments, as medieval societies

developed, the chains of interdependence were lengthened and densified. As has been put by Pepperell: “In his account, more complex and extended chains of interdependence are incubated within the more pacified social environments that can be secured as courts, and then states, progressively assert a reliable territorial monopoly over taxation and legitimate violence” (Pepperell, 2016:7). In Elias’ own words, “military power passed from the whole noble estate into the hands of a single member, the prince or king” (Elias, [1939] 2000:193). Due to the central authority having monopolised the legitimate use of violence, there were fewer instances of personal violence, and the growing division of labour meant that people placed an increasing reliance on others. Since people were dependent on others, and the state held a monopoly on legitimate violence, they needed to exercise a greater control over their interpersonal communication practices. Whenever they were perceivable, they needed to modify their behaviour in order to maintain the social order, which in turn would benefit their needs. This, for Elias, was where the ‘civilising’ process becomes highly visible, specifically in the upper strata of societies, which was epitomised in the courts of France.

The courtiers of France, the old warrior class, had become increasingly dependent on the central authority, the king, who now held a monopoly control on land, taxes, and weapons, to keep them in the lifestyles they were accustomed to. The reason for this is that they lacked skills in little much else other than mounted combat, which was no longer needed because of the king’s increase in power. The warrior class had become obsolete, which led to the “process of *Verhöflichung* (‘curialisation’ or ‘courtisation’)", which was the “transformation of the old warrior nobility...into mere courtiers” (Mennell, 1980:86). The king was thus able to pit the courtiers against the emerging bourgeoisie class, who were the new middle class comprised of artisans and entrepreneurs, skilled in a specific form of labour or knowledge, e.g., blacksmiths, doctors, and architects. This power play is something that Elias refers to as the ‘royal mechanism’, which allowed the central authority to give favour to the courtiers, but when they became too spoilt or powerful, the favour would be cast on the bourgeoisie, or vice versa. Thus, the two classes were constantly competing to impress the king.

The courtiers, who were subjects of the royal mechanism, sought to find a way to distinguish and distance their class from that of the bourgeoisie. In order to do this,

they “adopt[ed] evermore refined and demanding standards” (Mennell, 2014:138). They “polished everything...not only the external signs of status, but also their speech, their gestures, their social amusements and manners” (Elias, [1939] 2012:467). Albeit that Elias did not specifically focus on the topic of consumption practices, this work posits that the ever-growing demanding standards, when it came to the processes of commodity consumption, were another primary way that people were able to align themselves with a certain class. This is a view that is shared with Loyal:

As the upper warrior classes, through increasing social competition and the formation of denser figurational chains, became increasingly dependent on other classes and the king, they began to cultivate a conspicuously affluent mode of life involving status display. The new modes of behaviour and function of the warrior class in court society reflected both their loss of power in relation to the monarch and their attempt to maintain social distinction from the rising bourgeoisie (Loyal, 2004:129).

This affluent mode of living was characterised by the spending of vast quantities of economic capital on commodities with what was often a frivolous disregard for frugality. This was spending for spending’s sake, i.e., commodities were not purchased for their use value per se but were bought to show that the buyer had enough economic capital to do so or was in the favour of someone that had enough economic capital to buy such commodities for them. These commodities were used as a marker for good (expensive) taste and translated, in these instances, into status. The choice made when declaring it to be a “mode of living” (Loyal, 2004:129) is important, for the old warrior class had deeply ingrained this affluence into their daily lives. It had become “second nature to them” (Elias, [1939] 2012:467) or, to use Bourdieu’s terminology, it had become part of the upper-class habitus.¹² Dolan’s ideas have added to this by making an interesting point:

[The new consumption process] involved the elevation of individualism and, as a variant of this, the notion that ‘the customer is king’. In other words, in principle the consumer has come to be imagined as a sovereign, self-contained individual who knows his desires and is capable of fulfilling them in the market (Dolan, 2011:173).

¹² See pp. 34-35 for a definition of ‘habitus’.

That is, for Dolan, it was not just the ‘civilising’ process that came to light in this time period, but also the process of individualism in regard to the consumption of commodities.

Individualism, in this context, does not ignore the need for the chains of interdependence that link people in a community. The nobility of this period was aware of their reliance on the dominant central authority, and this individualism was exemplified in the need to surpass others that were situated in similar or ‘lesser’ stratum. That is, especially in regard to the nobility, a person needed to be aware of their tastes and behaviour as an individual, rather than a member of a collective, in order to autonomously master their own destiny. People were given the chance to have more control over their selves and more room to make decisions, albeit that they were limited by their habitus, the fields and the doxa that they operated in.¹³ These new processes of individualisation would also manifest themselves differently in other areas outside consumption, for example, in some leisure practices, such as dining.

The process of individualism is closely linked to what Elias and Dunning, in their 1986 publication, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, have termed ‘mimetic leisure’. ‘Mimetic’, here, refers “to the imitation of real-life situations arousing a variety of emotions, but in ‘safe’ forms without the risk attached to the real thing” (Van Krieken, 1998:141). Developed in societies that apply strict cultural codes on the regulations of emotion and behaviour, a mimetic leisure practice is thus a form of outlet to avoid spontaneous outbursts of, and/or the complete repression of, said emotions and behaviours. They are tied to processes of individualism because they are normally linked to competition and personal display. That is, with denser figurational chains, people would participate in leisure activities that singled them out as talented, attractive, skilled, etc., in one way or another, over others who existed in their class, in an attempt to raise their status.

It is important to define what Elias and Dunning meant by ‘leisure practice’ by analysing their ‘spare-time spectrum’. As was hinted at in the opening paragraph of this section, which touched on material and social conditions, and the individual-society

¹³ See pp. 33-35 for definitions of these terms.

dualism, figural sociology does not allow for categorical diametric opposition, in this case, of the terms 'work' and 'leisure'. Thus, Elias and Dunning's 'spare-time spectrum' brackets three distinct categories that permit them to analyse people's lives outside work. Firstly, 'spare-time routines', which are directly linked to the necessities associated with a society, for example, maintaining bodily hygiene, eating for subsistence, and travelling to locations for work purposes. 'Intermediary spare-time activities', which are associated with "self fulfilment and self expansion" (Elias and Dunning, 1986:98), and include anything that is done in order to mentally, psychologically, intellectually or physically better an individual. Examples of intermediary spare-time activities include practices, outside of paid employment, such as meditation, academic pursuits, and religious practice. Lastly, 'leisure activities' are defined as the third category and are the dominant category associated with 'mimetic leisure'. Leisure activities include everything that is not covered in the above and are generally, but not limited to, sociable activities, such as dancing, drug taking, gambling, lavish dining, theatre, and recreational sex. Yet, as Elias and Dunning have noted, "the de-controlling of restraints on emotions is itself socially and personally controlled" (Elias and Dunning, 1986:118). That is, these activities were "not only the private pleasures of individuals, but vital demands of their social position" (Elias, [1939] 2012:468). Despite mimetic leisure acting as a release from the rigid control of emotions and behaviour, it is controlled. All of the above examples come with their own set of rules. For instance, it is not socially acceptable to consume food in public until vomit is induced.

To connect these ideas back to the aforementioned old warrior class, it is asserted that because this class did not have much of a 'working life' in court society and, due to the strict controls placed on them by etiquette and manners, they needed some release. Thus, it was not just through consumption practices that the nobles were able to draw attention to, affirm, and raise their status, but also through forms of leisure practice. The most notable ones were listed above, with the exception of sport, which included pursuits such as jousting, fencing, and hunting, and could be viewed as a way of enacting violence without the "socially and personally dangerous implications" (Elias and Dunning, 1986:90) that came from directly challenging the central authority's monopoly on state violence.

A reminder should be issued that the ‘civilising’ process has *changed* since the court society was discussed in Elias’ work. Note the word ‘changed’ here, over terms such as ‘progressed’ or ‘advanced’. As Pratt has posited, “the civilising process and decivilising tendencies are likely to run in tandem with each other, the latter having the potential to push the former out of orbit into unfamiliar new regions” (Pratt, [2005] 2012:37). To make an exception and utilise the binaries that figurational sociology rejects, this means that humans can ‘digress’ as well as ‘progress’. The ‘civilising’ process was not and will never be a simple linear story of ‘progression’. Social relations are complicated: they ebb, flow, and fluctuate continuously. Nonetheless, it is argued that these changes have led to an even greater lengthening of the chains of interdependence and that accelerated population growth has caused even denser figurations, which has led to manners, etiquette, and emotions becoming further refined and regulated. To exemplify, in England, the consumption of non-prescription drugs, excluding alcohol, for recreational purposes, is illegal, as is ‘sport’ such as foxhunting, and there is a negative stigma attached to engaging in sexual activities outside the boundaries of a monogamous relationship, which was not the case in court society.

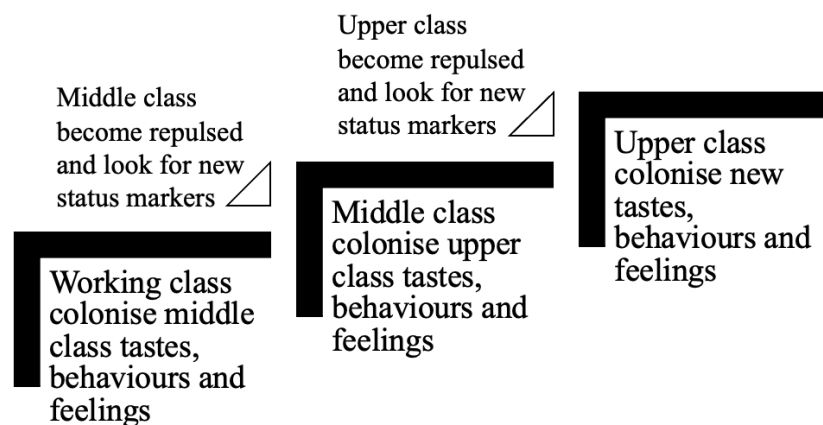
A reason why modern-day mimetic leisure and consumption practices are so different is linked to a process that Elias referred to as “colonisation” and “repulsion” (Elias, [1939] 2012:472), which has and is constantly taking place. Building on Elias, Mennell refers to this as the “concertina effect” (Mennell, 2015a:n.p.), which illustrates the ‘trickle down’ nature of the process:

That is, certain aspects of behaviour and habitus, including taste and feelings, come to be used as badges of superiority by strata that are ‘higher’ or more ‘established’ – that is, more powerful – groups. These marks of superiority are often associated with more demanding standards of self-constraint, and thus of ‘civilisation’ in the technical...sense. But in stressing them as marks of superiority, and in declaring that their adoption and convincing practice is a *sine qua non* of acceptance into the higher ranks, the established ensure that these traits are gradually copied by aspirant, rising, lower or outsider groups (Mennell, 2015a:n.p.).

When these practices do start being copied, a repulsion is triggered in the established classes, as they do not wish to have their reputation tarnished by being

associated with those who are deemed ‘lower’ than them, which means they take on new markers of superiority that tend to exercise more control over behaviour. Harding’s (2017) study into champagne consumption in London between 1860-1914 exemplifies this process: dry champagne became popular with the elite, but as the taste became more accepted, the elite started demanding even drier wines. To use both Elias’ [1939] (2012) and Mennell’s (2015a) lexicon, new markers are then colonised, in this case, a taste for extremely dry wine, the concertina is stretched out once again, and as it is slowly compressed the new markers of superiority trickle down each reed in tandem with repulsion. This is represented in the following diagram:

Figure 1.1: The Colonisation and Repulsion Model, and the Concertina Effect



Source: Based on the work of Elias [1939] (2012) and Mennell (2015a).

It is relevant to explain the reasoning for expounding upon the writings of Elias and those who worked with him and his ideas. Placing an emphasis on French courtisation, Elias’ historical figurational approach allowed him to detail changes to European interpersonal relations. This, in itself, is useful as Chapter 3 discusses pre- and post-Revolutionary France. Yet, it also permits comprehension of a key facet of industrial societies, i.e., that the ‘civilising’ process had, by that point, extended the chains of interdependence and people had become more reliant on others. Later, interdependencies would become ever more far reaching, as is represented by Appadurai’s (1990) global cultural flows, but more relevant for this thesis is that luxury

restaurant operations were fuelled by inter-European cross-cultural chains of interdependence, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

As noted, while Elias did not formally speak about consumption in detail, parallels can be drawn from the extension of his ideas by Loyal (2004) and Dolan (2011), which allow for the consideration of how the upper classes came to utilise dining in the restaurants of the grand hotels of London to be imagined as consuming sovereigns, responsible for their own destinies, demonstrating their affluence and translating their luxury taste into status. Consideration of the spare-time spectrum also permits an opportunity to address the potential use of dining in such restaurants. It is argued that the cultural codes imbued in the practices of consumption that took place in these spaces were not just markers of distinction, but that the practice itself, while perceivably falling into each and every category of the spare-time spectrum, can certainly be viewed as a mimetic form of leisure that could be violent, visceral, competitive, and dissolute. Pertinently, consumption here is not specifically linked to eating or drinking – when dining, patrons consumed intangible essences served up in these restaurants. Hence, it is not literally meant that food was eaten violently, but that the act of dining could be one of violence. As shall be documented, staff were fetishised, their labour consumed, and what Bourdieu refers to as ‘symbolic violence’ was enacted upon them.¹⁴

Elias’ emphasis on class competition in the ‘civilising’ process, in the form of developing standards, tastes, and manners that mark oneself as distinct, represented by the colonisation and repulsion model and the concertina effect, can be observed in the luxury restaurants of London. Not only in the tastes of the classes that dined in these establishments in relation to those who could not, but also in the hierarchical relations between staff and their patrons, patrons and patrons, and staff and staff. This thesis will focus on the latter of these relations in the most depth but will exchange the notion of ‘class’ with ‘nationality’ and ‘culture’. More information about this exchange will be provided in the following sections when detailing Veblen’s concept of pecuniary emulation, Bourdieu’s circular relations between classes, Trigg’s trickle round model, and what has been termed the interdirectional model of tastes, which all share similarities with the colonisation and repulsion model and the concertina effect.

¹⁴ See pp. 38-39 for a definition of ‘symbolic violence’.

1.3. Veblen: Conspicuous Consumption, Conspicuous Leisure, Pecuniary Emulation and Invidious Comparison

The ideas that have been presented in the prior section offered an insight into how figurational changes impacted on consumption habits in European court society. However, it is felt that another theorist could be used to develop, test, and evidence the ideas that have been put forward. Veblen, an American economist, published his magnum opus, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, in 1899. The book's focus was on the late nineteenth-century U.S. economy, and Veblen's writing had a rather (economically) clinical side, which distanced him from a strictly sociological analysis. For him, economics colonised the 'agency versus structure' debate. As has been put by Dymond: "He rejected any theory based on individual action or highlighting any factor of inner personal motivation" (Dymond, 2015:28). Despite the fact that Veblen's interpretations did not align with the figurational framework that this work adheres to, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* remains one of the pivotal texts for the sociological study of consumption and the ideas presented in it do lend themselves to be applied in a manner that correlate with those that have been and will be discussed in this chapter.

To provide a brief evaluation of the text, Veblen's historical research drew comparisons between 'barbarian-tribal' based consumerism and contemporary consumerism, which outlined the existence of consumption practices that have developed throughout the ages and were most observable in a specific class, the leisure class, which, he stated, was "found in its best development at the higher stages of barbarian culture; as, for instance, in feudal Europe or feudal Japan" (Veblen, [1899] 1922:1). For Veblen: "The leisure class as a whole comprises the noble and the priestly classes, together with much of their retinue" (Veblen, [1899] 1922:2). Thus, a clear link between Veblen and Elias is established, in that they both locate changes in the epochal figurations of society bringing about a new class. Yet, instead of referring to them as a class of courtiers, Veblen terms this new class the 'leisure class' or the 'upper class'. For Veblen: "The upper classes are by custom exempt or excluded from industrial occupations, and are reserved for certain employments to which a degree of honour attaches" (Veblen, [1899] 1922:1). "[G]overnment, warfare, religious observances, and sports" are examples of such employments (Veblen, [1899] 1922:2).

However, it is essential to remember that different countries were figuratively divergent. As explained by Mennell [1985] (1996), in England the upper class was heavily involved in matters of governance and warfare, whereas in France the King, as the central authority, did not allow the upper classes the same amount of power. Nevertheless, there was still a clear division of labour in post-medieval/feudal society: the bourgeois were employed in economically productive labour-intensive jobs and the courtiers, the leisure class, remained in economically unproductive roles that were symbolic, rather than practical.

It was the employment that the leisure class was in that allowed for them to partake in two specific forms of conspicuous behaviour. The first of these, ‘conspicuous leisure’, that is, “a non-productive consumption of time”, was a key way that the leisure class could evidence wealth (Veblen, [1899] 1922:43). This is such because if one has time to waste then they clearly have enough wealth that they do not need to spend time labouring. As was put by Veblen: “Abstention from labour is the conventional evidence of wealth and is therefore the conventional mark of social standing” (Veblen, [1899] 1922:41). Labour, for Veblen, in contrast, is a productive consumption of time. However, Veblen did not necessarily see labour as a good or virtuous pursuit, on the contrary, he viewed it as a “tabu” that by the “well-established laws of human nature” is “intrinsically unworthy” (Veblen, [1899] 1922:41).¹⁵ Furthermore, it is possible for one to partake in conspicuous leisure, even if they are employed in the fields of “government” or “warfare” as these, for him, are connected to “exploit” and are “predatory” activities used for gain and are deemed “worthy” (Veblen, [1899] 1922:passim). Be that as it may, however conspicuous leisure is instanced, whether it be “through the knowledge of dead languages, or of dog and horse breeding, facility of music and sports, and good manners”, it is “evidence of time and effort spent wastefully and must be cultivated by anyone wanting to succeed” in gaining honour (Spindler, 2002:34).

¹⁵ “The term taboo derives from the Tongan ‘tabu’, meaning ‘sacred’ or ‘inviolable’” (Scott and Marshall, [1994] 2009:755). Veblen, however, used the term ‘tabu’ in the same way that ‘taboo’ is used in contemporary society.

The second of these behaviours, conspicuous consumption, is another way that people are able to evidence their worthiness of honour. That is, the consumption of goods that is not required for the specific biological needs of an individual. Veblen turned to “predatory culture” (Veblen, [1899] 1922:passim) in an attempt to illustrate the emergence of such a form of consumption by asserting that in this culture it was once the production of goods by the labouring “inferior class”, i.e., “slaves and other dependents, and ordinarily also all the women” (Veblen, [1899] 1922:2), which were consumed by the “honourable superior class made up of the able-bodied men” (Veblen, [1899] 1922:69). However, as Gottdiener has noted: “Veblen observes...that as society becomes more complicated and differentiated, conspicuous consumption becomes the principle means of designating superior status” (Gottdiener, 2000:9). This is due to the fact that “greater mobility and anonymity of modern industrial society means that the display of goods prevails over the display of leisure as the basis for esteem” and because people feel compelled to engage in “quasi-purposeful activities, such as...charity work, or artistic and scholarly pursuits” (Spindler, 2002:34). Thus, from this reading of Veblen, it could be asserted that in contemporary society, more people are partaking in intermediary spare-time activities than they are in conspicuous leisure pursuits.

The two above conspicuous behaviours are highly connected to what has already been termed ‘status display’ in the previous section. That is, conspicuous leisure and consumption are a way for the upper classes to evidence their wealth and status. Yet, Veblen introduced two novel concepts that are also of use when thinking about consumption. The first of these concepts is ‘pecuniary emulation’, which is a form of conspicuous consumption that is evidenced in the colonisation and repulsion model and the concertina effect. In pecuniary emulation, members of a lesser class will try to emulate (or colonise) the consumption practices of the upper class of society in order to appear, themselves, as members of the upper class. The second term is ‘invidious comparison’, which “refers to situations in which a member of a higher class consumes conspicuously to distinguish [themselves] from members of a lower class” (Bagwell and Bernheim, 1996:350).¹⁶ This type of conspicuous consumption offers an answer for the upper classes to the ‘problem’ of lower class’ pecuniary emulation, and further

¹⁶ See pp. 41-42 for a discussion concerning lower class individuals’ use of invidious comparison.

asserts them as members of the upper class. “Members of higher classes voluntarily incur costs to differentiate themselves from members of lower classes (invidious comparison), knowing that these costs must be large enough to discourage imitation (pecuniary emulation)” (Bagwell and Bernheim, 1996:350). Thus, something is conspicuously consumed that is of a worth that a member of the lower class could simply not match or is hard for even another member of the upper class to match, which causes resentment and jealousy, and distinguishes the member of that class from others.

In this section, four terms have been introduced: conspicuous leisure, conspicuous consumption, pecuniary emulation, and invidious comparison, which connect to ideas previously discussed or stand alone as terms that will be useful for data analysis. Conspicuous leisure and consumption, as explained, work well with the notion of status display, and will also be discussed in relation to Bourdieu’s ideas in the next section. The obvious should also be stated, i.e., luxury dining is both a form of conspicuous leisure and consumption. Even if the inference that people are more compelled to partake in quasi-purposeful pursuits in (post-)industrial societies is correct, luxury dining was, when it first became popular in London, and still remains, an activity that is typically undertaken when one is not ‘labouring’ (in the Veblenian sense of the term); a pursuit that requires someone to have spent time having learnt the necessary manners and etiquette; and is used to gain some form of honour.

As the above brackets indicate, this thesis does not take up Veblen’s definition of labour, for one can never truly remove oneself from any labour process. For Marx, labour was bound up in the material productive processes, and for Veblen, labour was rooted in the market, but it is posited that these notions are reductionist. Labour is part of the human condition and can be both consciously and unconsciously enacted. One can be both productive and unproductive at the same time; Veblen’s ‘leisure’, conspicuous or otherwise, can be quite unleisurely; and time spent wastefully may actually be time conserved. As the next section explains, humans accumulate capital, and there are many forms of capital. Hence, for the purposes of this thesis, labour is defined as processes that are intended to contribute to the procurement of capitals, now or in the future, and consciously or unconsciously.

Again, a modification to Veblen's terminology is made for the purposes of this thesis: 'conspicuous consumption', as a term, will be extended. Conspicuous consumption typically refers to the consumption of goods, but as stated previously, patrons can consume commodities, not limited to mere objects, imbued with intangible essences, and it will be posited that diners were able to consume the products of a class, deemed inferior, in the form of food and in the form of the essence of the labour itself. Pecuniary emulation, linking to the aforementioned colonisation and repulsion model and the concertina effect, Bourdieu's circular relations between classes, Trigg's trickle round model, and the interdirectional model of taste that will all be discussed in the next section, is certainly useful and supported, if extended, by other conceptualisations that consider how people copy others in order to try to better themselves in a society. Yet, Veblen's work, like Bourdieu's, emphasises *class* in this process, but as this thesis tries to make clear, people can try to emulate or consume other *cultures* in order to possess the essence that the culture connotes. Hence, cultures can also be subject to pecuniary emulation. Invidious comparison is also useful in terms of cultural consumption as it does seek to integrate itself into the hierarchical sphere of restaurant dining. As will be seen, customers spent in a fashion that would have been impossible for those who served them to even consider, which helped to distinguish them, but also created interesting socio-economic dynamics in dining rooms. Plus, by promoting the unwritten cultural rules regulating these spaces, which were perceived to be challenging to negotiate if one had not had a specific education that was only accessible to those with the necessary time and money, the upper-class customers intentionally, and non-native industry workers in London unintentionally, stimulated those who did not possess such an education to make invidious comparisons.

1.4. Bourdieu: Distinction, Taste and Consumption

Another author that offers a different approach to thinking about consumption as a means of distinction is Bourdieu. As McGovern has stated: "The work of Pierre Bourdieu carries on aspects from Veblen's analysis" (McGovern, 2006:412). However, Bourdieu did not have the same economic stance as Veblen and developed more general ideas about consumption and how classes distinguish themselves from each other (Himmelweit et al, 2001). That being said, Bourdieu's epistemological position is quite difficult to identify in brief. As Calhoun has acknowledged, "Placing Pierre Bourdieu

has proved difficult for many readers” (Calhoun, 2001-2002:1). Yet, this work agrees with Law (2015) that both Bourdieu and Elias were relational sociologists. The terms, ‘relational’ and ‘figurational’ are often used interchangeably. For example, as Moore wrote in her work on childhood sexuality: “The chapter outlines the defining features of Elias’ figurational or relational sociology” (Moore, 2018:37). Elias is, however, more commonly associated with figurational sociology, or process sociology, or process-figurational sociology, as “[t]he concept of figurations was developed by [him] to convey the shifting links between people as the nature and extent of their interdependencies change over time” (Dolan, 2014:2273). Both, are, however, relational sociologists – human relations were central to their epistemologies, as they are for this work, and as will be discussed further in 1.6.

Before Bourdieu’s ideas about distinction, taste and consumption are outlined, it is pertinent to look deeper into what Vandenberghe referred to as “the architecture of his work” or his “epistemological preamble” (Vandenberghe, 2016:min.12:08) as it sets out a structure for sociological thought that this work adopts and elucidates the broad bracket of relational sociology. It was in *The Craft of Sociology: Epistemological Preliminaries*, first published in 1968, that Bourdieu offered a deeper insight into his take on sociology. Bourdieu, who was influenced by Bachelard, defined the scientific fact as “*conquis, construit, constaté*” (Bourdieu et al, [1968] 1983:24). That is, the scientific fact is ‘conquered, constructed, [and] confirmed’.¹⁷ What he meant by this is that common sense must first be conquered. A sociologist needs to break from common sense and look at an object as a *scientific* object. Thus, following Bourdieu, this work must be detached from the common-sense view of dining, and dining must be looked at scientifically. ‘Scientifically’, here, is not referred to in a positivist sense. Bourdieu was of the view that the sciences work with theorem in a rationalist perspective, i.e., not everything that exists is scientifically verifiable with empirical evidence.

¹⁷ Please note that this is my preferred translation, and that it corresponds with one provided in Bourdieu’s article, “Thinking About Limits”, published in 1992 and translated by Boyne. However, other works have translated this differently. For example, in the 1991 edition of *The Craft of Sociology*, translated by Nice, “*conquis, construit, constate*” was translated to “won, constructed, and confirmed” (Bourdieu et al, [1968] 1991:11), and Vandenberghe, in his article, translated the phrase to “conquered, constructed [and] established” (Vandenberghe, brackets in original, 1999:41).

Secondly, the scientific object of study, free from common-sense interpretation, must be constructed in relational terms. Here, Cassirer's influence on Bourdieu is observable. Both Cassirer and Bourdieu were against Aristotelian metaphysics and the notion of categories of being, instead they preferred to view an object in terms of relations or, to be clearer, a conceptual system of relations. For example, in this work dining is placed into a system of relations, by looking at social position and social disposition, in order to situate it, as a (social) scientific object, within history. This stage will become clearer when Bourdieu's key terminology is introduced, as it is here that Bourdieu's social theory clearly meets his epistemological architecture.

Lastly, the scientific object of study, which has been constructed with research in relational terms, must be confirmed, i.e., it must be observed and verified. Bourdieu, for example, used correspondence analysis to illustrate his sociological theory of distinction in his magnum opus, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, which was first published in 1984. That is, he used the method to visualise relations between variables and to present intangible differences in a way that others might observe them (Clausen, 1998), a task that will be executed in the data analysis chapters that will follow.

I will now illustrate Bourdieu's epistemological preamble by connecting it to his social theory. The first component of his relational framework is the concept of 'field', which, as Thomson [2008] (2014) acknowledged, does not translate well from Bourdieu's original work that was published in French. In English the word 'field' is used to describe meadows, paddocks, and pasturelands, in the French the term for this is '*le pré*' (Thomson, [2008] 2014). However, Bourdieu used the term '*le champ*' in his work, which describes, "*inter alia*, an area of land, a battle field, and a field of knowledge" (Thomson, [2008] 2014:66). Thus, the notion is not linked to natural beauty, but has a very human element to it: fields are social spaces and systems of relations, in which agents occupy certain positions and, normally, act according to said positions.

The analogy of a ball game is often used to illustrate the abstract generative notions of fields in everyday life. This is because Bourdieu likened the social to a continuous

game that is played and because he, himself, knew the game of football well and was an ex-rugby player (Thomson, [2008] 2014; Allan, 2014; Wright, [2015] 2016). Such an analogy has been articulated by Wright:

A football field has boundaries within which the game is played. To be able to play the game, the players occupy given positions within the field and operate within physical spaces marked out on the field. New players must learn the rules of the game along with basic skills. Over time, these rules become implicit – the referee does not have to begin every game by explaining the rules to all the players and the crowd, they are taken for granted or assumed (Wright, [2015] 2016:83).

In Bourdieu's fields there are non-tangible and tangible boundaries, all people have given positions, which are relational. To keep with the ball game analogy, in rugby a fly half and scrum half are relationally positioned as the former expects the ball to be thrown to them by the latter. And both must have a skill set that enables them to play the game and understand its rules. These rules are referred to as 'doxa', "which includes unexamined and unspoken presuppositions about the world, all that which we take for granted" (Holton, 1997:43). If a person does not conform to the doxa, either through ignorance or with intent, they will normally be sent off the pitch, i.e., removed from the field.

Fields interact with each other and are overlapping, as are the doxa that comes with each, and most fields are, indeed, situated in the macro field of power, for almost all have a hierarchical structure. The hierarchical position that a person enters a field at is generally down to two things: their capital and habitus. Bourdieu did not see individuals as freely autonomous beings marked by the ability to make selections from an infinite number of choices. He believed that humans are limited by their habitus, which is the internalised ideational framework for being that each and every human possesses and utilises in order to function. Habitus retains social consciousness; it is formed of dispositions and structures, which are transferable and will guide an individual through their life. Habitus is at first seen as abstract, dictating principles, feelings, tastes, and certain ways of viewing the world. Yet, it is also physically observable in what Bourdieu terms 'hexis': "manners and mannerisms, posture and bearing, body shape and presentation, and accent" (Warde, 2006:109). Bourdieu did

not view habitus as static though, far from it, it is constantly able to change as an individual progresses through their life. As was stated by Engler: “Habitus, as a matrix for perception, thought and action, incorporates and synthesizes all past experience, but is open to all future influences” (Engler, 2005:128).

If field is concerned with positions, and habitus is concerned with dispositions, capital is the currency that allows humans to enter a field and is also what a person wins if their social game is played well and the conditions within the field allow for it. To provide a formal definition, ‘capital’, in its most basic sense, is defined by Bourdieu as “accumulated, human labor” (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:241). This is not the ‘tabu’ ‘labour’ of Veblen, and while the definition at surface level, as Townley (2015) observed, appears to share connections with Marx’s labour theory of value, it does not. Bourdieu distinguished himself from these scholars “by extending the idea of capital to all forms of power, whether they be material, cultural, social or symbolic” (Swartz, 1997:73). Capital, itself, is then viewed as a general term that refers to all resources that are “worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation” (Bourdieu, cited in Mahar et al, 1990:13). Taking this into account, the thesis statement utilised in this work can be extended: labour is defined as processes that are intended to contribute to the procurement of capitals – material, cultural, social, or symbolic resources – now or in the future, and consciously or unconsciously.

To ground the above abstraction, the four specific capitals that Bourdieu proposed will now be looked at in further detail, beginning with ‘economic capital’. As was defined by Bourdieu, economic capital is that which can be “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:243). Economic capital is composed of assets, which can take a physical form or possess a quantifiable value. Some examples of economic capital are pensions, physical money, property, precious metal or stones, stocks, shares, etc., all of which either have or can have an agreed economic worth.

The next capital form, ‘social capital’, can be loosely defined as “connections” (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:243). However, to extend this definition:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition – or, in other words, to membership of a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:248-249).

Put slightly differently, an individual’s aggregate of social capital is the combined worth of the networks of connections they have established. This capital directly connects an individual with the others that they share a common relationship with and can be directly established through dint of bloodline or personally established throughout an individual’s life.

The third form of capital is ‘cultural capital’, which can be broadly defined as the “accumulation of resources” (Pazzaglia and Margolis, 2008:186) that may be used to advance within society at a cultural level. For Bourdieu, this type of capital can exist in three states: in the institutionalised, objectified and the embodied.

‘Institutionalised cultural capital’ is cultural capital that is awarded to an individual, by a specific institution, which symbolises worth. For example, this might be a university degree, a religious accreditation or a certification verifying the rights to a prestigious or noble title. This form of capital allows an individual to exchange it for differing capitals, e.g., a good reference from a high-end restaurant may enable a chef to gain employment at a prestigious establishment.

‘Objectified cultural capital’ shares some connection to economic capital, in that it can be sold in exchange for money. However, objectified cultural capital translates from the “symbolic/mental content” that the object itself embodies, rather than “from the point of view of immediate material properties” (Polák, 2013:56). For example, a stove, union building, and fish knife are all cultural objects that have material properties and monetary worth. Yet, in order to use or appreciate them, their user(s) must have a degree of skill, i.e., embodied cultural capital. Objectified cultural capital is thus a representation of embodied cultural capital, which could be sold for economic capital,

but are possessed to “provide an advantage in societal interactions” (Pazzaglia and Margolis, 2008:185).

‘Embodied cultural capital’, as its name implies, is capital that is contained within an individual. It can be both actively and passively gained by an individual and can be permanent or adaptable. In the words of Bourdieu, this capital exists “in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body” (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:243). As Pazzaglia and Margolis (2008) have acknowledged, an individual will normally have to exert some degree of effort in order to acquire this type of capital, but it should be made clear that this form of capital “can be acquired, to a varying extent...quite unconsciously” (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:245). To be more concrete, embodied cultural capital includes “manners, habits, physical skills, and styles” (Pazzaglia and Margolis, 2008:185), and Bourdieu [1983] (1986) provided regional accents as an example of unconsciously embodied cultural capital.

It is pertinent for this work to extend the above definition by including a conceptualisation of Rollock’s. Rollock undertook a “two-year study about the black middle classes” and “argued that class identity cannot be fully understood without taking account of the intersecting role of race” (Rollock, 2014:445). In her article, “Race, Class, and ‘The Harmony of Dispositions’”, drawing on the ideas of Bourdieu, she posited that: “Skin colour acts as a form of embodied capital” and “skin colour can lessen the cultural capital held by the black middle class” (Rollock, 2014:448). Reflexively, it is observed that it may be deemed problematic for this thesis to draw upon her work, but the point that is made is important in regard to all cross-cultural social interactions. While genetic modification and gene editing is now very real, people cannot change their ancestry. People are certainly hypothesising about modifications to the human genome that allow people to select their or their dependent’s skin colour, but as Gosha has stated, in a short but thought-provoking article: “This is not yet a reality” (Gosha, 2021:n.p.). Our genes are very literally *embodied*, and no matter how much effort people exert or knowledge they gain, natural appearance can seek to reduce capital as well as increase it. Hence, embodied capital, which “is the bodily hexis of a person’s habitus” and “is strongly related to one’s origins” (Garratt, 2016:83), can manifest in “manners, habits, physical skills, and styles” (Pazzaglia and Margolis, 2008:185), but can also include something more

deeply biological. This is, indeed, something acknowledged by Bourdieu: “[This capital] cannot be accumulated beyond the appropriating capacities of an individual agent; it declines and dies with its bearer (with [their] biological capacity, [their] memory, etc.). Because it is thus linked in numerous ways to the person in [their] biological singularity and is subject to a hereditary transmission” (Bourdieu, [1983] 1986:245).

The last form of capital to be outlined is ‘symbolic capital’. Building upon Weber’s concept of ‘status’, Bourdieu defined “symbolic capital”: “commonly called, prestige, reputation, renown, etc., which is the form in which the different forms of capital are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu, 1985:724).

As useful as it is to break the capitals down into such categories, they are never distinct and there will be settings where people draw on multiple capitals at the same time. This thesis, for example, is a product of economic, social, and all three cultural capitals, and relationally, you, as its reader, engaged in a process of labour, are assessing its, and therefore my, symbolic capital worth. Yet, as blurred as the capitals are and whether we realise it or not, competition for them is the name of the social games that take place in fields.

Doxa govern these competitions, which are liable to take the form of what Bourdieu terms ‘symbolic power’ (Deer, [2008] 2014). As touched on above, these doxa are established “unproblematic” and “taken-for-granted” rules (Bourdieu, [1977] 2004:83),¹⁸ which are assumed to be true and are shared by the people present in a field. Thus, “[d]oxa is embedded in the field while helping to define and characterize that field” (Deer, [2008] 2014:122). Doxa typically organise fields into hierarchies based upon habitus and capital, which means that the symbolic power systems, which give way to symbolic violence, are in place in these fields. The term ‘symbolic violence’

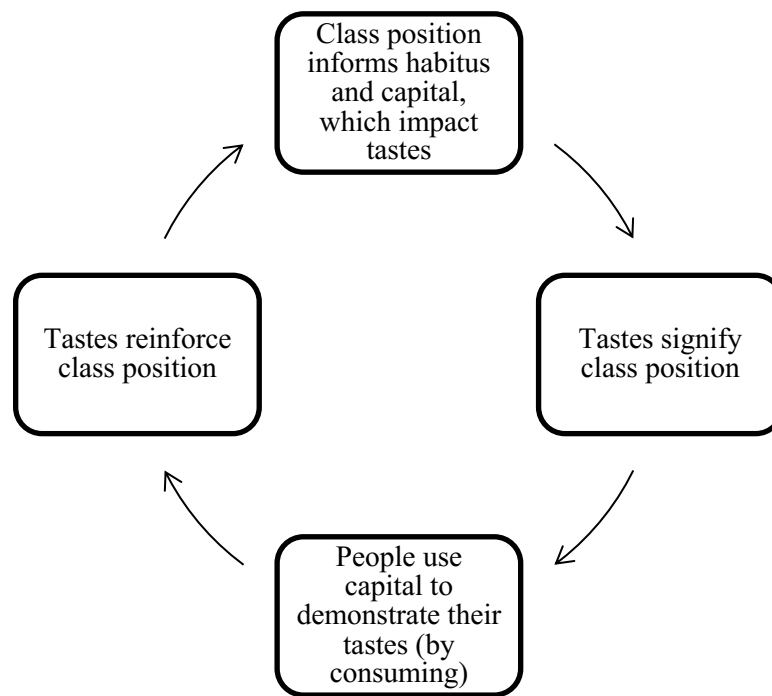
¹⁸ To be clear, Bourdieu was not claiming that they were “unproblematic” on a moral or ethical level, rather trying to highlight their invisibility, their “silence” (Bourdieu, [1977] 2004:83), and people’s blind acceptance of them as unproblematic. He makes this point clear when referring to “the *paradox of the doxa*”, which refers to the paradox that “the most intolerable conditions of existence can so often be perceived as acceptable and even natural” (Bourdieu, italicisation in original, [1998] 2001:1).

denotes “a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition” (Bourdieu, [1998] 2001:1-2). These violent power relations can be rational, e.g., a restaurant manager having more power than a member of waiting staff. However, they can also be deeply problematic and give way to ableism, ageism, racism, sexism, etc., e.g., women were not employed as chefs in Victorian kitchens. Yet, the point stressed by Bourdieu is that symbolic power appears as natural and is not questioned, hence its *symbolic* nature.

Now that Bourdieu’s epistemological preamble and his key terminology have been explained, the application of his ideas can be considered in terms of consumption. Consumption, for Bourdieu, was and is a process that all humans undertake. Albeit that each human experiences consumption differently, depending on the fields that they operate in, their habitus, and accrued capital. Part of the consumption process is informed by what he referred to as ‘taste’, which in this context is not limited to simple ‘liking’ of a commodity or cultural product, but is linked, again, to habitus and capital, which are directly informed, but not constrained by, the circumstances that an individual is born into. As an individual changes so do their habitus and the capital that they possess, which directly influences things such as their opinions, values, and preferences. For example, a member of the upper class might have been exposed to caviar, which is a food that is often highly priced (economic capital), from an early age, but after reading a specific body of literature (cultural capital) they may no longer consume caviar for moral reasons (habitus).

As in Veblen’s, Elias’ and Marx’s theorisations about the social world, class plays a major role in Bourdieu’s analysis. A pivotal conceptualisation in *Distinction* [1984] (2010) is that class impacts tastes, and certain tastes signify class position, which thus means that tastes reinforce class position (Guimarães et al, 2010). In its most basic sense, this is outlined in the below diagram:

Figure 1.2: Bourdieu's Relational Model of Class and Taste



Source: Based on the work of Bourdieu [1984] (2010).

What is not represented in the above diagram is that tastes that signify a dominant class position are, to a point, contrasted against tastes that signify a subordinate class position. Hence, there is a relational ‘distinction’ made between tastes. As Bourdieu put it: “Taste is an acquired disposition to ‘differentiate’ and to ‘appreciate’...to establish and mark differences by a process of distinction” (Bourdieu, [1984] 2010:468).

There are limitations to such an overt emphasis on class, as Rollock (2014) exposed, and this thesis is certainly not written with the intent to showcase ‘class’ as the most important of the socially constructed identity categories. It seeks to embrace an intersectional model that sees one’s habitus and all capitals, embodied or otherwise, as determining the way one is perceived in a society. Ability, age, gender, race, sexuality, and other identity categories are thus also viewed as capitals. That is, class is all but one factor in the amalgam of capitals and the ever-changing habitus that determines one’s social position in varying different social hierarchies in a multitude of different fields. That being said, it is useful to consider Bourdieu’s ideas about class for two key reasons. Firstly, while the debate on what Cannadine has termed the ““rise and fall of

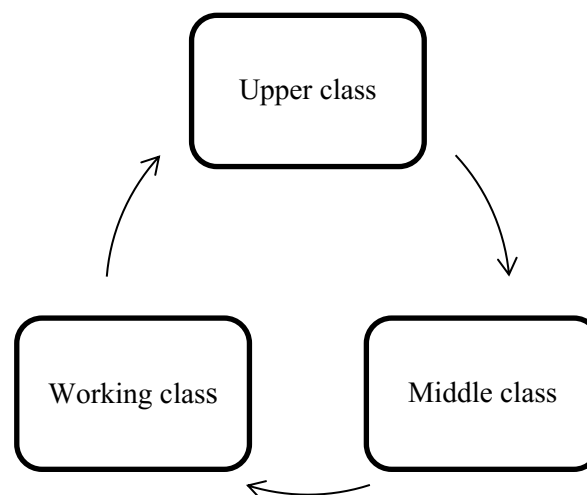
class' in Britain" (Cannadine, [1998] 2000:passim) continues, this work asserts that the Victorians and Edwardians arguably placed more of an emphasis on conspicuous class distinction than many do today, and because Bourdieu's ideas speak to the flows of consumption that will be analysed later in this thesis.

For Bourdieu, the working class are "highly constrained by primary necessities" and, in consequence, "cultural practices become possible *only after* primary needs are satisfied" (Swartz, emphasis in original, 1997:176). In this vein, due to the "immediacy of their material needs" (Lane, 2000:162), the working class are far more likely to enter fields that allow for their capitals to be exchanged in order for them to gain commodities that either have use values or could be exchanged for ones with use values. There are obvious links to Veblen here, who would have asserted that the working classes partake in productive consumption of time and that "[n]o merit would accrue from the consumption of the bare necessities of life" (Veblen, [1899] 1922:96-97). That is, subsistence consumption takes priority for those in the lower classes of society for both theorists. Yet, Veblen, to his credit, stated that even the "abject poor" engage in processes of "invidious comparison in other respects than that of opulence; as, for instance, a comparison in various directions in the manifestation of moral, physical, intellectual, or æsthetic force" (Veblen, [1899] 1922:97). For both Bourdieu and Veblen, as soon as the most basic consumption needs are met, people display other forms of capital. In the prior quotation, Veblen, for example, is talking of cultural capitals acting as markers that might distinguish certain lumpen proletariats, to use a slightly less derogatory term borrowed from Marx (passim), from others of the same stratum. Veblen, however, placed a larger emphasis on how if something is to be "reputable it must be wasteful" (Veblen, [1899] 1922:96). In this instance it seems crude to ascribe the cultural capitals outlined as 'wasteful', but as Bourdieu and other scholars, such as Maslow (1943), would agree, one must prioritise basic physiological needs, such as obtaining and consuming food, before time is spent or 'wasted' developing socially or culturally.

In contrast, for the upper classes, "consumption is not determined by utility alone" (Eller, 2017:105). They do not need to worry about subsistence consumption or consumption pivoting on use value in the same way as those in lower strata. Yet, Bourdieu's writing recognises something that Veblen's does not, that is, he

acknowledged that this contrast meant that people in the lower strata of society “have their own values and tastes” (Trigg, 2001:105). As Trigg has stated, “this provides the basis for a theory of popular culture that resists the cultural tastes of those higher up the social hierarchy” (Trigg, 2001:105). To exemplify, a member of the working class might dismiss caviar, and the symbolic value it possesses, because it is not a wholesome form of sustenance. The middle classes, on the other hand may resist the tastes of the working class, in favour of pursuing the tastes of the upper class. Yet, they do not have the capital to fully legitimatise the pursuit of these tastes. Even so, “for the upper classes to maintain their position of status a distinction from the tastes of the middle classes is required, which can involve a return to popular/working class [sic] tastes” (Trigg, 2001:106). Hence, Bourdieu’s analysis becomes more flexible than Veblen’s ‘pecuniary emulation’ and Elias’ ‘colonisation and repulsion’ model, in that the working class are not always simply seen as wishing to consume like the dominant class does, and the upper classes can and do draw on working-class tastes. Bourdieu’s approach to understanding taste and consumption therefore implements what Wäckerle described as a “circular logic between social classes” (Wäckerle, 2014:173), which is represented in Trigg’s “trickle-round model” (Trigg, 2001:107), based on Bourdieu’s work:

Figure 1.3: The ‘Trickle Round Model’ of Tastes



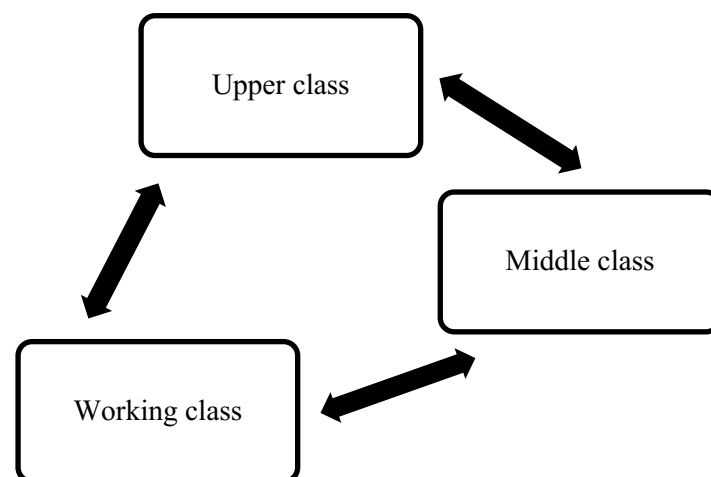
Source: Tigg (2001:107).

Albeit Bourdieu’s model is flexible, it is stressed that at the top of the diagram are the upper class, and their tastes, and the acceptance of them, acts as a form of symbolic

violence. That is, the tastes of the upper class, regardless of whether they have trickled up or were born of upper-class habitus, reproduce and reinforce the status of the upper class as the dominant class, and albeit that this process is able to be reconditioned in areas, it is very difficult in order to do so because of the established doxa that govern the fields.

To conclude this section, the importance of Bourdieu's more flexible approach needs to be elucidated on in regard to the data that will be analysed in this thesis. The concepts of 'pecuniary emulation' and 'colonisation and repulsion' will certainly be empirically observable in the data analysed, but what Trigg referred to as the 'trickle round model' is more applicable to explain such phenomena. Yet, it is still quite constraining, and a model that allows for even more fluctuation in taste transference might be proposed, which will be referred to as the 'interdirectional model of taste'. Interdirectional, as opposed to bidirectional or tridirectional, as while this model utilises three class brackets for the sake of simplicity, there were certainly more positional categories in both Victorian and Edwardian society.

Figure 1.4: The Interdirectional Model of Tastes



Source: Based on Figures 1.1-1.3.

This model places more of an emphasis on the middle class than the prior models, and this is important for this research as the middle class expanded in the period of industrialisation. Yet, in agreement with those that have proposed the theories

concerning taste transference that have been discussed, the upper class remain at the top of the consumption hierarchy. Furthermore, a more interdirectional approach supports a key premise of this thesis, which is that cultural flows transcend class boundaries. Hence the use of double-headed arrows to represent flows across these boundaries.

1.5. Discourse Synthesis: Marx, Elias, Veblen, and Bourdieu

Now that the ideas of the four key theorists that are of primary relevance to this work have been outlined, this section seeks to achieve three things: it further explains why I chose to utilise the ideas of these theorists; it provides an appraisal of their significance in this thesis; and discusses why the decision was made to synthesise discourses. As such, it builds on choices discussed in the *Pilot Study and Development of Research Focus* and offers a more personal insight into the theoretical architecture of this thesis. Furthermore, it supplies some supplementary detail about the commonalities of the theorists, especially Elias and Bourdieu, as a preliminary to the following section of this chapter that addresses the epistemological standpoint taken up in this work.

Following the rejection of a symbolic interactionist approach, turning to the ideas of Marx appeared to be a fruitful endeavour. The emphasis in his work on consumption and class in industrial capitalism clearly paralleled my own writing. Linking on from this, my familiarity with his publications also made him appear an obvious choice. The fact I have become so familiar with his ideas is because he is an interdisciplinary scholar. I would learn and read his work for classes in philosophy; media studies; cultural studies, and communication studies, and I would later teach his ideas to students on a variety of social sciences degree programmes. The subsection on Marx was originally one of the longest in the chapter devoted to theoretical reflections, but as this thesis developed, his ideas seemed to fall at the wayside, and were proving inadequate for data analysis.

For me, Marx suffers from a similar problem to Veblen in that the emphasis he places on economics is problematic. It is erroneous to read Marx as completely economically deterministic, as 1.1. demonstrates. However, his work does, indeed, forefront the economics of the capitalist system. As addressed, a human needs multiple

capitals to enter certain spheres. For example, the negative connotations the term *nouveau riche* may summon illustrates how cultural capital and “proper breeding”, i.e., embodied and social capital, contribute to one’s worth or lack thereof. Hence, from the residue of my original literature evaluation, following the pilot study, Marx’s ‘commodity fetishism’ and ‘alienation’ are the key terms that remain. These terms are also inherently relational – they require that one be placed in relation to others. The idea that something can possess a symbolic worth requires it to be socially positioned in a system of human relations. Likewise, alienation is a social process, one cannot be alienated if there is no other human to alienate them.

Elias is arguably the core theorist underpinning this work. He was not a scholar that I had read before the initial focus of this thesis shifted. However, “Mennell’s work is well-known to researchers in the fields of gastronomy and food studies” (Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, 2022:1). Mennell’s ideas will be discussed in Chapter 3 in more detail. However, as might be deduced from the frequency of references to Mennell’s writing in 1.2., he was highly influenced by Elias. In fact, Mennell’s *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, which was first published in 1985 and is arguably a canonical contribution to both food history and the sociology of food, explicitly uses “Elias’ ‘figurational’...approach” (Mennell, [1985] 1996:15). Hence, it was recommended that I read Elias’ original works. I subsequently found myself in intellectual agreement with him in regard to many of his ideas about how we should research the world and how the world might be relationally understood. He also supplied a lexicon that, as one can observe from the title of this thesis, has been highly impactful in the framing of the analysis of this work. As such, while this thesis is not strictly Eliasian, his ideas do buttress this thesis.

Veblen, like Marx, was a theorist whose work I was familiar with, and it was known that his key terminology would be valuable considering the content that was to be examined. Yet, Veblen was an economist, and his ideas are functionalist. This thesis intended to deal with tensions, fluctuations, and contradictions, which was not something a Veblenian functionalism strictly allowed for. Furthermore, his “evolutionary framework”, which is combined with “instinctivist psychology” (Campbell, 1995:37) – as it might be imagined from the initial application of symbolic

interactionism – is rejected. As such, while there was never any intention of following in his epistemological footsteps, the key terms outline in 1.3 are useful and do, as has been explained, connect to those of other theorists utilised in this thesis.

Bourdieu was the last of the theorists to be considered in this chapter. However, I considered his work before that of Elias. I believe that Bourdieu provides a thoroughly developed set of theoretical devices for understanding the social world and, more specifically, consumption practices and processes. As such, an explanation of these was supplied in 1.4 so that they could be applied throughout this thesis. That being said, Bourdieu's research does not underpin this work in the same way that Elias' does. The reason for this is that Bourdieu's eminent work focused on "socio-cultural reproduction during the 1970s", while Elias offered a "study of grand historical developments spanning several centuries" (Paulle et al, 2012:70). Thus, Elias' ideas ultimately are foundational in this thesis because they focus on change throughout history in a way that Bourdieu's does not. That is not to discredit the fact that Bourdieu was a historical sociologist, but to say that Elias' writing is simply more compatible with the goal of this thesis because his ideas are more nuanced when it comes to detailing relations throughout history. Likewise, it is not wished that readers should subsequently assume that these two theorists are incompatible. They, as Paulle et al (2012) have explained, have commonalities that connect them biographically, socially, and intellectually. I believe that they are, indeed, compatible and that there is considerable overlap between their ideas. Hence, it will be seen in this thesis that analysis will frequently blend Bourdieusian and Eliasian conceptualisations together. Furthermore, as the following section of this chapter outlines, they share an epistemological standpoint, which has been taken up by this thesis.

To conclude this subsection, I wish to defend against and support discourse synthesis. As has been established, this work is interdisciplinary. It is a work of food studies, which is sociological and historical, but also enters the realms of political, policy, media, communication, and cultural studies. As such, it is already evident that limiting oneself to the confines of a specific branch of knowledge is not something that is advocated. Thus, this work actively has sought to incorporate a fusion of theoretical discourse and therefore applies discourse synthesis to data analysis. Spivey has defined 'discourse synthesis', as a process of "constructing meaning from multiple texts to

produce a new, unique text” (Spivey, [1992] 2019:469). This is not a new practice and one that has been practiced throughout the ages. For example, Elias and Bourdieu “were both exposed to the same intellectual currents” (Paulle et al, 2012:70) and were “[t]hinking with and against Marx” when developing their ideas (Paulle et al, 2012:82). Similarly, Marx synthesised the work of Feuerbach with that of Hegel to develop his theory of historical materialism; critiquing Feuerbach for being unhistorical but adopting his materialism, and critiquing Hegel for his idealism but adopting his historicity.

The chains of interdependence that bind us are fraught with tension, as will be discussed further in the empirical chapters of this thesis. Yet, these interdependencies, and the tensions that come with them, are also evident when attempting to work with the ideas of multiple theorists. Some ideas are simply incompatible with others. For example, Bourdieu’s conceptualisations about ‘capital’, do not align with Marx’s. I also find Marx’s ideas restrictive, hence I took those terms from him that I found of use but only those that are compatible with Bourdieu’s notion of ‘capitals’, which I believe help meet my own “discourse goals” and can allow me to “produce [a text] that function[s] in new contexts for new audiences” (Nelson and King, 2022:770). Hence, discourse synthesis seeks to only take what can coherently be connected intertextually and recognises that some ideas will fall away so as to avoid these tensions obscuring the message the new author wishes to convey. Hence, I follow the instruction of Paulle et al: “Much as [Elias and Bourdieu] each selectively appropriated from his predecessors in seeking to move sociology forward, so too must we take stock of their important theoretical contributions and then do something genuinely new upon that basis”. Only, I do so by expanding their ideas and by adding to them Veblen’s, Marx’s, and others’, while seeking to avoid tension.

1.6. Historical Relational Sociology: Elias and Bourdieu

As was touched upon above, Elias and Bourdieu share commonalities in regard to their epistemological standpoint and it is the task of this section to elucidate further on this. This is because this thesis adopts the same epistemological standpoint as these scholars, who both undertook historical work but were also deemed relational sociologists. To take a step back and consider the term ‘relational sociology’ more generally, relational

sociology is a broad subdiscipline of sociology, which incorporates a plurality of perspectives for seeking scientific understanding of the social world. As Law posited: “A wide range of approaches are possible under the rubric of ‘relational sociology’” (Law, 2015:276). Yet, the primary connection that all relational sociologists share is that they study relations in order to make sense of the social world. That is, a relational sociologist is not concerned with studying things, but the relations that connect things to other things. Thus, what the relational sociologist studies is something that is not tangible; something that the human senses cannot see. Bourdieu, himself, stated, “le réel est relationnel” (Bourdieu, 1994:17), i.e., “the real is relational”. What he meant by this is “the reality that matters to sociologists is the sum of the relationships between individuals, groups and societies because these relations enable us to identify the social position of each (individual or collective) actor based on their differences” (Papilloud and Schultza, 2018:344). Similarly, Elias stated that relationships cannot be treated separately, “one cannot imagine an ‘I’ without a ‘you’, a ‘he’ or a ‘she’, without a ‘we’, a ‘you’ (singular and plural) or ‘they’” (Elias, [1970] 1978:123). These pronouns, for him, “represent the elementary set of co-ordinates by which all human groupings or societies can be plotted out” (Elias, [1970] 1978:123).

As is obvious from the above quotations, both scholars recognised that difference must be studied when understanding the social world. Thus, they shared a form of structuralism in their work, in that they saw relationships as the core webbing that make up the social world and its ‘structures’. Albeit, neither of them would have advocated that this structure had to be rigid, with fixed rules and absolute laws that govern it. Hence, they were not traditionally ‘structuralists’. On the contrary, they accepted that the social world was not fixed or stable, for them it was and remains in a constant state of flux. Both theorists also stressed how there never was or will be a linear social progression. The process of ‘civilising’ had never reached any end for Elias. Furthermore, he believed that people were capable of “regression into barbarism” (Elias, [1989] 1996:309), citing the Holocaust as one such example, and that future generations may also act in a way that is considered ‘uncivilised’. Bourdieu observed that every habitus is in constant growth, which, in turn, continually changes human relations. As each and every human is changing over time, so do fields, doxa, symbolic violence, and capitals. A person at the age of twenty will not have the same habitus or possess the same capital as they did when they were ten and nor will the relational

power structures be the same as they were then. Notwithstanding this, in line with Elias, Bourdieu believed that there could be regression as a human can lose capital as well as gain it.

This thesis holds the same convictions as those that have been outlined above, even if it does take considerable issue with the term ‘civilised’.¹⁹ Yet, it is necessary to explain how, in real terms, the framework for analysis will be applied to historical data. This is because relationships cannot be studied via observation in a literal sense, due to their abstract nature, especially as the focus of this research is on the past. In consequence, it is proposed that this thesis is then a work of ‘historical relational sociology’. Historical sociology is a research tradition that was first used by the founders of sociology in order to study the relations that existed in the past so as to make sense of social change. Thus, there is an evident connection with historical sociology and relational sociology. However, it is pertinent to note that methods utilised by historical sociologists since the early founders began this tradition have varied as sociology has developed as a discipline, and this work adopts the techniques of both Elias and Bourdieu in regard to epistemology and methods. As such, this work will collect data from both primary and secondary source material. This is what Bryant refers to as “reportage” (Bryant, 1994:13), the first stage of historical sociology. The second stage is “interpretation” (Bryant, 1994:13), which, in this thesis, draws on Bourdieu to detach the information in these sources from common sense, construct this information in relational terms, and then confirm it by a process of substantiation. While relational sociologists have tended to avoid discussing binaries, a note that was written by Elias reads: The Elias Method is “to reveal macro structures by researching micro structures” (Elias, cited in Mennell, 2015b:552).²⁰ This is exactly what this work

¹⁹ The term ‘civilised’ is loaded with problematic enlightenment ideals and colonial undertones, which this thesis does not wish to be associated with or reproduce. Yet, this is not a critique of Elias specifically. As observed by Hughes, *The Civilising Process* can be read “as a kind of theoretico-empirical attack upon the ideal of ‘civilization’ through showing how all that those who employed the term to demonstrate their supposed superiority was in fact historically contingent: the result of a largely blind process, and not the culmination of the acts of ‘great men’” (Hughes, 2017:160-161).

²⁰ As Mennell has acknowledged: “Elias generally avoided using the conventional terms ‘macro’ and ‘micro’...but the macro/micro distinction is difficult to dislodge, and many scholars continue to take it as axiomatic” (Mennell, 2015b:552-553).

will do. The reportage of data will be at micro level, but macro structures will be perceptible at the stage of interpretation. By using the theoretical conceptualisations discussed in this chapter, the relations that connect micro level data, drawn from press content, to broader macro webs of interdependencies will become evident and, in turn, will answer questions about intolerance and interdependence in luxury restaurants in late Victorian and Edwardian London.

1.7. Theoretical Reflections on Consumption: Conclusion

This chapter will be concluded with an overview of the key points that have been discussed in it. To begin this chapter, a segment introducing its structure, aims and objectives, and the reasoning behind selecting four scholars, used to elucidate upon the broad category of consumption, was included. 1.1 then commenced the discussion on each of the selected theorists. Marx was the first of these theorists to be discussed. From his broad body of literature, the term ‘commodity’, an entity that has some form of worth, was selected as useful for this thesis. This term was considered in relation to ‘use value’, the usefulness of a commodity, and ‘fetishisation’, the imbuing of a commodity with symbolic value. From this it was established that both objects and people can be endowed with both tangible and nontangible values. Furthermore, the rise of commodity fetishism had left many workers alienated and viewed as mere commodities that could be consumed for the benefit of their purchaser.

1.2 discussed Elias and Eliasian thought. It began with a brief explanation of his epistemological approach, notably stating the importance of studying human figurations and interdependencies, as expanded on in 1.6. This section then moved on to discuss his work on the ‘civilising’ process, which claimed that since medieval ages the chains of interdependence have been lengthened and densified, due to the rise of monarchies and, later, states. It was discussed that because of the royal mechanism, a core way that a ruler was able to exert and keep power, courtiers sought ways to distance themselves from the rising bourgeoisie class. They thus began to embrace more ‘civilised’ standards. Adding to Elias’ work, consumption was looked at as another way for the courtiers to distinguish themselves, and it was asserted that affluent spending signified status.

Dolan's (2011) ideas regarding the rise of individualism, and the notion of the customer as king, were also introduced. These conceptualisations were linked to Elias and Dunning's (1986) work on sport, leisure and the 'civilising' process, and the concept of mimetic leisure: a practice designed to stimulate emotions, but in a manner that protected from danger, an individual but social practice, which potentially allowed for a rise in status. A closer look at how Elias and Dunning theorised 'leisure' was also supplied, and their three categories that form the spare-time spectrum, 'spare-time routines', 'intermediary spare-time activities' and 'leisure activities', were introduced. After connecting these ideas back to the courtiers, it was asserted that consumption and leisure, which are related to processes of individualisation, were key ways that they sought to obtain status. There was then a move away from the discussion on courtiers to consider how the 'civilising' process had changed: it was claimed that tastes, behaviours, and feelings were taken up as status symbols, and then discarded when they became popular with other classes, as explained by Elias' "colonisation" and "repulsion" model (Elias, [1939] 2012:472), which Mennell metaphorically referred to as the "concertina effect" (Mennell, 2015a:n.p.).

The concepts outlined in 1.2 are useful for understanding taste distribution and the chains of interdependence that led to the emergence of luxury restaurants in London. They also help with the consideration of consumption, allowing for a delineation of how processes of individualisation and taste translated into status. Lastly, it was discussed that class competition fuelled changing tastes, but that this idea would be developed by considering Veblen and Bourdieu, along with a proposal that the notion of class is semi-detached from taste in order to speak of 'cross-cultural flows of taste'.

1.3 introduced Veblen and his *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, which made him "famous and infamous – and still relevant more than one hundred years later" (Currid-Halkett, 2017:5). The similarities that Veblen shared with Elias in regard to conceptualisations concerning changes in epochal figurations that brought about a new class were discussed, before a brief explanation of Veblen's leisure class and their role in society. Two methods that this class used to evidence their wealth and honour were looked at more closely: 'conspicuous leisure' (conspicuous consumption of time) and 'conspicuous consumption' (conspicuous consumption of goods). After definitions of these terms were provided, a further two of Veblen's concepts were examined. Firstly,

‘pecuniary emulation’, a form of conspicuous consumption that is reflected in Elias’ colonisation and repulsion model, and then ‘invidious comparison’, which for Veblen, was a way that people attempted to lessen the effects of pecuniary emulation.

This section concluded by detailing the use of these terms in regard to this thesis. Notably, it was identified that restaurant dining was and is typically a form of both conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption, but that this thesis rejects the way that both Veblen and Marx defined ‘labour’. It was proposed that one can never completely be removed from any form of labour – people engage in productive pursuits constantly. Hence, it was posited that, labour should be defined as processes that are intended to contribute to the procurement of capitals, now or in the future, and consciously or unconsciously. Another amendment was also made to Veblen’s concepts, by replacing the term ‘goods’ with Marx’s ‘commodities’, in order to emphasise that one can conspicuously consume intangible essences. As before, the point was reiterated that people can also consume culture, which can be subject to pecuniary emulation.

1.4 focussed on Bourdieu, which opened with a brief discussion of relational sociology and its connections to both Bourdieu and Elias, before turning to look in detail at Bourdieu’s “epistemological programme”, which “can be summed up in one statement”: “The scientific fact is conquered, constructed, confirmed” (Bourdieu, 1992:41-42). This epistemological digression served to lay out the foundation for this thesis’ own epistemological grounding, which was further discussed in 1.6, while also rooting Bourdieu’s theory of knowledge so that his conceptualisations on consumption might be elaborated upon.

‘Field’, a figurative, hierarchically structured, area in which social relations are enacted, and ‘doxa’, rules that govern fields, were the first of Bourdieu’s key terms to be explained. These terms were then connected to ‘habitus’, the internalised ideational framework that each human possesses, which helps determine the fields that they enter and the doxa they conform to. Each of Bourdieu’s capitals – ‘economic’, ‘social’, ‘institutionalised cultural’, ‘objectified cultural’, ‘embodied cultural’, and ‘symbolic’ – which are forms of social currency, used to enter and earned in fields, were then explained and exemplified. Notably, the thesis statement utilised in this work was also

extended: labour is defined as processes that are intended to contribute to the procurement of capitals – material, cultural, social, or symbolic resources – now or in the future, and consciously or unconsciously. To end the introduction of terminology, symbolic violence, an idea used to refer to doxic power differentials, was introduced.

Building on both his epistemology and conceptual framework, this work moved on to discuss Bourdieu's ideas about consumption, taste, and distinction. As in Veblen's, Elias', and Marx's writings, 'class' was core to Bourdieu's theorisations. However, this section detailed that class is only one factor contributing to habitus and capital accumulation, before moving to assess subsistence consumption, by comparing and contrasting the ideas of Veblen. The chapter then closed by proposing an 'interdirectional model of tastes' that sees taste transference happening at a cross-cultural level and in multiple directions across class boundaries, and was developed to counter the limitations proposed by Bourdieu's circular logic regarding tastes, Veblen's pecuniary emulation, and Elias' colonisation and repulsion model.

2. Sources: Their History and Methods of Data Extraction

This research is interdisciplinary, and there is no intention to present it in the same structural format as is deemed the convention for sociological theses. In consequence, this chapter is referred to as '*Sources: Their History and Methods of Data Extraction*' and seeks to detail information regarding the sources that have been selected in order to supply data, their historical context, and practical methods employed when working with historical material to obtain data. While it is acknowledged that this chapter's purpose is traditionally to describe the methods utilised to produce data, as opposed to extract it, this thesis is a work of historical sociology and in line with many who have used socio-historical methods, e.g., Comte, Marx, Durkheim and Weber, historical documentation has been turned to so as to understand social change (Mansey, 2019). In the same way that Durkheim did not produce the statistics on suicide that he used to infer the existence of social facts and in the same way that Marx did not produce the data that he used to categorise the differing modes of production, this work will not and cannot create the data that will be used to discuss the social conditions present in late Victorian and Edwardian restaurants. That is, this thesis parallels many history theses, in that it presents a study of the past based on the analysis of written records produced in the period of interest, but the analysis here is carried out through the lens of sociology. To elucidate further about the specificity of the data, it has been collected from accessible sources that were newly established and/or popular in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, which have been examined and evaluated in accordance with the social climate of the period of study and the sociological frameworks specified in the prior chapter. In order to support claims, secondary sources, often gathered from researchers who have previously published on similar topical issues, have also been turned to.

This chapter's first section is entitled "Source Selection" and will begin by discussing the identification of data sources to be used for the purposes of this project. Two potential sources were singled out as feasible: Victorian and Edwardian fiction, and the Victorian and Edwardian press. A rationale for not choosing the former of the sources will be presented, along with supplementary historical information about the Victorian and Edwardian press. Thus, details will firstly be provided on the expansion

of news media and journalism in the periods of interest, before a primary source is employed to discuss the specifics of the trade press periodicals. The second section, “Utilisation of Sources”, supplies information about the primary sources that this thesis makes use of and explores the practicalities and challenges of working with them and historical content more broadly. It will begin by focussing on data access processes and lists the key periodicals that this thesis utilises, before outlining the practical implications of working with such sources. Room is then devoted to a consideration of how newly established forms of journalistic practice raised questions with respect to the validity of the copy produced. The chapter then concludes by addressing how such practices included and excluded people based on their class, nationality, and gender, and what this means for this thesis.

2.1. Source Selection

Sourcing material for data analysis has been one of the biggest challenges that this research has presented. Even though it would have been favourable to include content such as memoir entries, restaurant stock lists, copies of receipts, hiring records, etc., these sources, if they exist, are unobtainable. Both the First and Second World Wars were detrimental for many of the grand hotels and luxury restaurants of London and much of their archived material was destroyed or lost. As Assael has stated: “records produced by individual restaurant businesses themselves have rarely survived” (Assael, 2018:11). Furthermore, existing hotels are reluctant to share their archival documentation. The Savoy, for example, were unwilling to grant access to their archive, but did state that very little material remained that would have benefited this research. Hence, there are gaps in knowledge in this research, due to data sourcing limitations, but these will be acknowledged whenever they arise.

Despite the challenges presented, two pools of written literature were identified that data could be extracted from. For context, it is fruitful to consider the landscape that this literature was created in. In late nineteenth-century England, restaurant dining was becoming a norm for the upper class. Prior to this, the consumption of their meals, which were typically prepared by private chefs, was customarily limited to the home environment. Yet, due to a variety of factors, Victorian England was changing and so was the way that people dined. One pivotal change was that of industrialism, which

boosted not only the English hospitality industry, with the launch of grand hotels and restaurants to cater for the newly acquired tastes of the wealthy, but the rise of independent publishing as an industry in England. After the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, “Victorian culture was dominated by an ever-expanding world of print” (King and Plunkett, 2004:1).²¹ “A tremendous increase in the volume of books, newspapers and periodicals was matched by a corresponding development of the first mass reading public” (King and Plunkett, 2004:1). The newly established independent publishing industry, as opposed to one that was regulated by the state, began paving the way for contemporary publications, writing styles and, with the parallel rise of this new way of dining, early authors and journalists began writing for their new audiences about food and those who prepared and served it.

2.1.1. Victorian and Edwardian Fiction

The first literature pool that could have been drawn on is that of popular Victorian and Edwardian fiction, e.g., novels, novellas, short stories, and plays. However, these sources were rejected for the following reasons:

Firstly, literary studies is a discipline in and of itself, and while this work does advocate an interdisciplinary approach to the understanding of past and present social worlds, it seeks to do so with a stable understanding of the disciplines that it permeates. Hence, due to a lack of knowledge concerning the core principles and theoretical foundations of literary studies, it has been avoided. Connectedly, as Zimmerman has observed: “Studying both history and fiction together facilitates the examination of important concepts, to include referentiality, adequacy and verifiability” (Zimmerman, 1996:13). A researcher should be able to determine whether the author of a text is referring to fiction or to history and they must adequately be able to verify the existence of historical evidence in the text. While it is believed that this is possible with the necessary skill set and literary knowledge to complete this task when considering fiction, in this specific case, and with a lack of said skills and knowledge, it was decided that the risk these sources might pose to the validity of the research did not justify their inclusion.

²¹ See 2.1.2.1 for an explanation of the ‘taxes on knowledge’.

Lastly, food, restaurants, and hospitality staff tended to be devices used to supplement the fictitious narrative, rather than the primary focus of any fictitious narrative. “In life people eat in order to be alive, but the characters of literature do not eat to live, since they aren’t alive. They eat only for a symbolic purpose” (Nicholson, 1987:38). As such, food and eating in novels was often used as a plot device but was not a central feature of the work. For example, in H. G. Wells’ *The Food of the Gods*, first published in 1904, food was used as a device to explore social ideas concerning scientific advancement, social and physical difference, and politics. Yet, no literary critic can decide what the message of the narrative was *actually* meant to convey or, for that matter, if it was worth reading.²² The role of restaurant staff in fictitious narratives did, however, have more weight in literature of the era and, if literary studies was better understood, it is likely that the work of Charles Dickens would have been a central feature in this thesis. To exemplify, Oestreich’s (2011) examination of waiter scenes in Charles Dickens’ [1849-1850] (2016) *David Copperfield* is well executed and sheds light on the portrayal of waiting staff. Likewise, published in 1862, *Somebody’s Luggage*, which “involves a frame narrative, or overarching storyline, written by Dickens that makes up the first and last chapter of the story”, is narrated by a waiter and teaches readers about class positioning and the English working class (Miller Dickson, 2020:74). Nonetheless, the point remains that it should be the task of experts, such as Oestreich and Miller Dickson, to draw referential, adequate, and verifiable conclusions from literary works.

2.1.2. *The Victorian and Edwardian Press*

Whilst this work is grateful for those able to draw historical conclusions from fictitious narratives and does make use of some of these conclusions to support the analysis of primary data, the second and selected literature pool proved a great deal more advantageous. This pool is what has been termed ‘the press’. To clarify, this term is used to amalgamate all non-fiction commercial print materials published in the period. As previously mentioned, the rise of the publishing industry paralleled the rise of the grand hotels and their restaurants, which meant that food and restaurants became a

²² See Wagar (2004).

popular topic for both the general public and those who worked in the industry. Articles on food, dining etiquette, and restaurant operations were starting to become commonplace in English newspapers, which also showcased a new type of subjective journalism, known today as the ‘restaurant review’. Non-fiction books, too, dedicated pages to this different way of dining. The trade press, commonly referred to as the “business-to-business (B2B) press” (McKay, 2013:29) in contemporary society, also started accommodating those working in the hospitality industry, and it is these journals that supply the largest proportion of data. Thus, a rich body of literature, which did not present the same problems that fiction did, was found in press publications of the eras.

2.1.2.1. Expansion of News Media and Journalism

To supply more contextual information, Raymond [1999] (2002) has suggested that the coffeehouse and the formation of the public sphere did much for the press industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the ‘taxes on knowledge’ hindered the masses from accessing publications and kept the press industry controlled by an elite group of publishers. These taxes were composed of taxes on newspapers (stamp duty), taxes on advertising, and taxes on paper. They were “first raised in 1712 but maintained for one hundred and fifty years” and served “to make pamphlets and newspapers too expensive for the majority of people” (Chalaby, 1994:142). These taxes were gradually abolished from 1853 onwards, allowing the press to begin to flourish. The first tax to be repealed was that on advertising in 1853; stamp duty was made optional in 1855; paper duty was removed in 1861; and 1870 saw the end of stamp duty altogether (King and Plunkett, 2004). As Chalaby (1998) has argued, it was the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, between 1855 and 1861, which allowed a journalistic press to emerge and enjoy a steady growth in England.

“Another effect of the repeal of the taxes on knowledge and the opening of a market of readers was that prices were now directly determined by market forces” (Chalaby, 1998:39). Unsurprisingly, lower price publications sold more copies. “Indeed, the expansion of the market after 1855 generated a volume of sales sizable enough to allow for economies of scale which reduced the production cost per copy. Economies of scale made the one penny copy possible. Competition made it *necessary*” (Chalaby, emphasis in original, 1998:40). The sale of newspapers for a penny, which would be

£0.49 in 2022, began with the *Daily Telegraph* in 1855, and by 1861 “its circulation was approximately 141,000, well above the 65,000 copies sold by *The Times*, which had been the previous market leader” (King and Plunkett, 2004:11) and would sell for 3 ½ *d.* until 1913 (Chalaby, 1994:198). To contextualise, 3 and a halfpenny in 1855 equates to £1.74 in 2022, and 3 and a halfpenny in 1913 would be £1.87 in 2022. Hence, *The Times* was unaffordable for many.

The price of these new publications was one factor that made them more widely read, but their circulation also increased, which made them more physically accessible. As posited by Williams, it was in the second half of the nineteenth century when the popular press became circulated on mass (Williams, [1998] 2006:48). Industrialism and technical innovation played a major role in this. The development of the railway network, which significantly impacted the rise of the grand hotels, as will be expounded upon in the following chapter, drastically impacted circulation. These networks allowed papers to reach audiences “with increasing rapidity, whether by post or by direct carriage” (Hewitt, 2014:11). Furthermore, printing processes also advanced following the 1850s. “Rotary presses, fed by hand, were introduced in the 1860s and 1870s and were gradually replaced by web rotary machines of increasing size and sophistication in late Victorian and Edwardian England” (Curran and Seaton, [1981] 2018:31). Chalaby has described a competitive element to printing press upgrades, whereby when “a newspaper company...upgraded its machinery, others had to emulate the initial investor if they wanted to keep their paper afloat” (Chalaby, 1998:43). Hence, this competition did much to aid innovation in printing techniques. Albeit that the sophisticated printing machines did speed up the process of printing, which meant more papers could reach more people at an increased speed, they did come with “a sharp rise in fixed costs” (Curran and Seaton, [1981] 2018:31). “The rise in fixed costs made it more difficult for people with limited funds to break into mass publishing” (Curran and Seaton, [1981] 2018:31).

Hailed by a Victorian trade periodical specialising in electrics as “one of the great mutually dependent blessings of these modern days” (*The Telegraphic Journal and Electric Review*, 1883:264), the electric telegraph system also played a pivotal role in the development of the press industry. As stated by King and Plunkett: “The widespread supply of newspapers, coupled with their inclusion of telegraphed news

from every corner of the country, was key to the creation of a national daily press in the modern sense” (King and Plunkett, 2004:12). Hence, both news and newspapers travelled across borders and boundaries in the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland. However, the telegraph also allowed for the spread of news at an international level. “Dover and Calais had been linked by submarine telegraph cable in 1851; the first telegraph link between India and Europe was opened in January 1856, and a successful transatlantic cable was finally laid in 1866” (King and Plunkett, 2004:12). In consequence, press content, while written and printed in London, not only shared international news, but also had the power to appeal to international audiences, which further boosted sales. That is, foreign visitors to London could obtain news about their home countries. Later, “the telephone, typewriter and a means to reproduce photographs were invented, all of which transformed the practice of news gathering” (Williams, [1998] 2006:50).

Technology was a core element that changed the practice of news gathering, but so was the relaxation of state regulation. Prior to the repeal on taxes, only content deemed suitable by the state was stamped, but following the repeal, the press had a new level of freedom. “The daily press in mid-Victorian Britain was characterised by serious journalism – the content of the newspapers ranged from political polemic to serious consideration and analysis of the pressing issues of the day” (Williams, [1998] 2006:51). Yet, this was all to change. It is proposed that writers started experimenting with differing styles and ways of ‘doing’ journalism. Drawing on “traditional aspects of popular literature” those working in the press industry created copy that produced “a rhetoric of popular involvement” (Conboy, [2002] 2003:93). Put differently: “Politics and opinion started to be supplemented, if not replaced, with material of a ‘human note’” (Williams, [1998] 2006:51). This “popular periodical journalism” acted as a hybrid form of writing that bridged the gap “between the mid-century popular press and the evolution of the recognizable mass circulation daily newspapers” (Conboy, [2002] 2003:93). That is, the journalism from the 1850s to the 1880s explored a blend of writing that took elements from the ‘old’ newspapers and combined them with narratives appearing in literature that appealed to a mass audience: these publications both informed and entertained (Williams, [1998] 2006).

In the 1880s the term ‘new journalism’ emerged and was used to characterise a form of journalism that was sensationalist. The term itself, according to King and Plunkett (2004), was first used by Matthew Arnold in 1887 to critique this new form of practice.²³ There were many slants on this novel sensationalist journalism, and different publications certainly presented highly varying takes on it. Yet, the core facets were the “depoliticization” of news, and “a proper journalistic approach to politics” that was characterised by “a mixture of opportunism, demagogism, pseudo-neutralism, and cynicism” (Chalaby, 1994:117). “New journalism also introduced sports, comics, trivial news, and topics of general interest” (Chalaby, 1994:117). Williams [1998] (2006) has listed the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Morning Star*, *The Daily News*, and *The Standard* as some examples of pre-eminent publications that took on such a style, while naming the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which will be referred to on numerous occasions in the following chapters, as pioneering a new form of socially responsible campaign journalism. Yet, as observed in the work of Chalaby (2004), the *Pall Mall Gazette*’s reporting was still sensationalist, even if it did seek to campaign for a fairer society.

2.1.2.2. *Expansion of the Trade Press*

Authors writing on the topic of news media and journalism in the Victorian and Edwardian eras have tended to focus specifically on ‘newspapers’ in the contemporary sense of the term. That is, a printed publication that contains ‘news’ on a *broad variety of topics*. However, ‘newspapers’ in the periods of interest also filled specific niches and were published as periodicals.²⁴ There are, surprisingly, very few academic sources that document this. In a volume on the Victorian periodical press, Vann and VanArsdel (1994), remarked that while there was a mass of periodicals published in the period, people seldom use them or write about them. Shattock and Wolff, in their edited volume on the same topic, suggested that this could be down to the “sheer bulk and range of the Victorian press” and the “inadequacy of most existing reference works, the uncertainties of cataloguing, and the vague but all-too-familiar feeling that there are

²³ Matthew Arnold was a poet, cultural critic, and the son of Thomas Arnold, an educator, historian, and reformist.

²⁴ Many of the trade press periodicals consulted clearly stated that they were “Registered with the G.P.O. as a Newspaper”. ‘G.P.O.’ stands for General Post Office, and newspapers had to be registered in order for them to be circulated using the Post Office’s services.

literally millions of serial articles out there” (Shattock and Wolff, 1982:xiii). Yet, it is proposed that the development of press material, published for specific audiences, had a history virtually identical to the more general newspapers. They too flourished after the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and advancements in technology. The electric telegraph system and developments in transportation would play a vital role. New technology brought them news on their niche topics from other parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and from Europe and beyond, and this emphasis on cross-cultural content enabled them to sell their publications in other countries. The expense of utilising this new technology also appears to have benefited some periodicals but hindered others. Lastly, it is argued that, in the trade press periodicals that appealed to those working or interested in the hospitality industry, writers experimented with the inclusion of different thematic material, writing styles, and ways of presenting content. Interestingly, in this specific area of the trade press, ‘new journalism’ and ‘campaign journalism’ appear in the pages of publications published in or after the 1880s.

To explore the development of a press that catered for special interests, and to provide a concrete example of trade press content, an article published in *The Hotel Review and Catering and Food Trades’ Gazette: A Journal for Hotel-Men, Restaurateurs, Refreshment Contractors, Store Keepers, and all Engaged in the Catering and Food Trade* (henceforth *The Hotel Review*) will be turned to. Published in the March 1886 edition, the article was entitled “Catering and Journalism”, and provided a description of the trade press’ expansion. The reason that the journal was publishing such content, which would normally have been out of place in a publication with such a specific topical focus, was because the journal was now being published “distinct from, though still associated with, The Tourist and Traveller”, which was another journal (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8). Thus, *The Hotel Review* “suggests a few general remarks on the relations between catering – to take the hotel, restaurant, food and refreshment-contracting trades as a whole – and journalism” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8).

As they note: “In these go-ahead days there is hardly a trade under the sun that has not its representative organ in the press, or, sometimes several competing organs” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8). That is, regardless of where you were in the United Kingdom

and what trade you specialised in, there was likely to be a publication that appealed to you (providing that you could read). These journals, which were normally published in London, had become incredibly diverse and served almost every trade from ‘outfitting’ to ‘equestrian care’.²⁵ As *The Hotel Review* told their readers:

For a long time the hotel and catering interest, as distinguished from the purely beer-shop and public house element, had no paper it could call its own. Nor did it seem particularly anxious to have one. It was content to jog along unaided and unprotected... But it woke up gradually, as other trades have done, to the inevitable and unavoidable necessity of having journalistic representation; one evidence of this being the fact that it is no longer indifferent to the advocacy and assistance of *The Hotel Review* (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8).

A theme that emerges in both the above extract and in Vann and VanArsdel’s (1994) edited volume is that of ‘professionalism’. As they have stated, there was “the sense of emergent professionalism throughout the nineteenth century in nearly all walks of life” (Vann and VanArsdel, 1994:5). It is argued that this increase of an emphasis on professionalism was largely due to rapid industrial and technological change, the rise in bureaucratic capitalist processes, and increased competition in the (labour) market, which meant that older industries were becoming different and new industries were emerging. As such, in the midst of change, people were looking to distinguish themselves as possessing cultural capital in their chosen vocation, and the trade press offered to aid them with this.

Over the course of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, the hospitality industry did have several publications that catered for this new professionalised field. However, the market for these publications was never saturated in the same way that others were. For example, “[o]ver the period 1800-1900 some two hundred music journals were brought out in England, Scotland, and Wales” (Langley, 1994:99). As such, while competition for readership might have existed for trade press periodicals that specifically appealed to those interested in the hospitality industry, this competition was not quite as fierce

²⁵ For example, *Horse and Hound* was first published on 29th March 1884 (*Horse and Hound*, 2005) and *The Drapers’ Record* was first published on 6th August 1887 (Musgrave, 2022). *Horse and Hound*, and *The Drapers’ Record*, which was renamed, *Drapers*, are still London based and producing copy.

as it was for other speciality interest publications. In 1886, while *The Hotel Review* was trying to market itself as *the* publication for those with a specific interest in the hotel and catering industry, it did have one key rival. *The Caterer, Hotel Proprietor and Refreshment Contractor's Gazette* (henceforth *The Caterer*) – believed to be the first of the periodicals to appeal to such an interest – began publication in 1878 and exists to this day. In 2021 it asserted that it was “the leading multimedia brand for the UK hospitality industry” (*The Caterer*, 2021:n.p.). It is also interesting that *The Hotel World: A Weekly International Record of Hotel and other News*, which began life in 1882, had stopped publishing in 1885. This raises the question of whether *The Hotel Review* was trying to fill a perceived ‘gap in the market’ that this publication had left, and believed that it could compete with *The Caterer*. In the end, *The Hotel Review* could not, after rebranding as *The Hotel Review, and Catering World*, the publication stopped going to press in 1888 (Mennell, [1985] 1996). That being said, in 1886 *The Hotel Review* were quite clear on the audience demographic that they sought to appeal to:

The Hotel Review – a journal which...endeavours to be ‘high class’, and not wholly devoid, perhaps, of literary character, and to bear no connection with that section of the trade which finds its solace in a school of journalism which panders to a depraved appetite for reminiscences of the prize ring, and the flowers of whose rhetoric are recruited from the slang of the race-course (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8).²⁶

That is, *The Hotel Review* was making it clear, by utilising sporting analogies, that they appealed to upper-class men who owned/worked in upper-class establishments. More specifically, the journal was categorising those who advocated boxing and horse racing as having inferior cultural capital by framing the specific field of journalistic practice that would have catered to this audience as ‘repulsive’, in the Eliasian sense of the term, with the aim of advancing its accumulation of symbolic capital, which would attract further readership and, consequently, money.

²⁶ The prize ring references a boxing tradition, which originated in England, where two men would box for a prize. As Dizikes has stated, “[In England] prize fighting was predominantly a lower-class sport, but its following extended upward through all classes... The eventual withdrawal of aristocratic support was one of the main reasons for the English prize ring’s decline after the 1820s” (Dizikes, 2002:210).

The Hotel Review further expounded upon the case for its existence by providing a critique of those “few caterers...who pretend to be able to dispense without support, and who vainly endeavour to ignore the existence of a press devoted to their trade” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8). It is stated that these caterers are behind the times, and that their resistance to the journal stems from them being “squelched by their ‘live’ competitors, who recognise in their press a business propelling power as well as a pleasant tattler and whipper-up of that hypocrisy, which entangles itself more or less largely in the meshes of every trade” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8). Here the journal was not only ridiculing the caterers who did not see their value by asserting that these caterers did not have the business acumen in order to do so, but also promising to grant its readers business growth, supply news and stories about the industry, and to whip in hypocrisy. What is also interesting here is the use of the metaphor ‘whipper-up’ to connote the journal’s use and helpfulness – evidently hunting was a sport that it deemed to possess superior cultural capital.²⁷

If the audience needed any more convincing, the journal provided exemplifications of why caterers should value it:

The caterer looks to his trade journal for news of his craft, at home and abroad; he learns what is newest and best amongst discoveries and inventions of the day, which appertain to his calling. He hears of individualities, the achievements, and the projects of his brother craftsmen. He knows what is happening around him in catering circles, and picks up useful scraps and wrinkles, which mayhap, come in very handy at an odd moment. He hears of good investments, and derives the hint to avoid the bad (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8).

To summarise, in the words of the journal, it was to be a “guide, philosopher and friend” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8). It, in exchange for a fee, was promising the readers a gift that will grant them capital.

Importantly, the journal then spoke about the fact that its popularity had increased considerably “within the past year and three-quarters – but more, particularly within the

²⁷ A ‘whipper-in’ was someone who ‘whipped-up’ hounds, i.e., an assistant who returned any stray hounds to the pack when on a hunt.

past eight or nine months – not only at home but abroad” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:8). Thus, illustrating that people were showing an increased interest in the trade, regardless of whether they were managing it, working in it, or seeking to invest in it, which also hinted at cross-cultural social and trade relations.

2.2. *Utilisation of Sources*

The above sections of this chapter have sought to outline and contextualise the available sources that this research could utilise for the purposes of data collection. Fictional literature published in the period of study was rejected due to potential issues concerning, but not limited to, referentiality, adequacy and verifiability. Instead, non-fiction press content was identified as appropriate for the purposes of this work. Details regarding the rise of the press industry were supplied, before one of the key primary data sources that this thesis makes use of, *The Hotel Review*, was turned to so that an original account of the Victorian trade press’ expansion could be provided, with a specific focus on the area of trade this thesis concerns itself with. 2.1 also served to introduce the journalistic styles found in some of the data sources that this thesis employs, while hinting at the target audience these journals appealed to. The remainder of this chapter aims to develop from this by going into further detail about journalism as a practice and a profession, journal readership, and issues that were evident with copy creation in the period and its usage as source material for contemporary research today.

The material utilised to form the majority of primary data has been collected from archives. The bulk of trade press and newspaper content was read and analysed at the British Library. Trade press periodicals were hardcopy and deliverable for reading room study, on request, as part of the library’s collection. Newspaper copy was digital and accessed via the British Newspaper Archive, which is a partnership between the British Library and Findmypast. Albeit access to the British Newspaper Archive is paywalled, registered British Library readers can access content without charge via the reading rooms. Due to the location of sources, the pandemic disrupted data collection for a significant period of time as the British Library and other relevant archives closed, and when they did reopen, there was limited access.

It should also be detailed that the process of locating data for analysis was itself a challenging task. The British Newspaper Archive is search query optimised, which has been helpful when searching for content on specific topics. Identifying appropriate material in trade press periodicals or, indeed, identifying the trade press titles in order to order them for review, was a far more intensely time-consuming task. Mennell's work provided a starting point in naming some of the "principle publications" issued by the "catering trade press" (Mennell, [1985] 1996:181), but some useful publications were not listed. In time, core relevant journals were identified and those most relevant, for the purposes of this work, were utilised. The below figures provide some key information about them:

Figure 2.1: Relevant Trade Press Periodicals and Years of Publication

<i>The Caterer, Hotel Proprietor and Refreshment Contractor's Gazette</i> began publication in 1878 and was rebranded as <i>The Caterer and Hotel Keeper</i> in 1933 (Mennell, [1985] 1996). This catering news source has stood the test of time. <i>The Caterer</i> magazine is now published weekly and available in both a hard copy and digital format. A year's subscription to the digital editions can be purchased for £61.78. <i>The Caterer</i> also publishes open access news on its website: https://www.thecaterer.com .
<i>The Chef: A Journal for Cooks, Caterers, and Hotel Keepers</i> began publication in 1895 and was rebranded as <i>The Chef and Connoisseur: A Journal for the Hotel World, the Caterers and the Epicure</i> in 1896. The journal ceased publication in 1898 (Mennell, [1985] 1996).
The International Chef's Society had existed since 1900, but its official organ, <i>Cheflike: Official Organ of the International Chef's Society</i> , was first published in 1908. It is unknown what happened to the <i>Cheflike</i> journal, but no record of it can be found following 1908.
<i>The Hotel Review and Catering and Food Trades' Gazette: A Journal for Hotel-Men, Restaurateurs, Refreshment Contractors, Store Keepers, and All Engaged in the Catering and Food Trades</i> , first published in 1884, was originally part of <i>The Tourist and Traveller</i> , and began publishing independently in 1886. The journal ceased publication in 1888 (Mennell, [1985] 1996).
<i>The Hotel World: A Weekly International Record of Hotel and other News</i> was in print from 1882-1885 (Mennell, [1985] 1996).
<i>The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette</i> was in print from 1890-1891 (Panayi, 1995).
<i>Our Own Circular</i> was first published on 2nd July 1898, but it is unknown what happened to the publication, which self-described as "the best advertising medium for managers, chefs de cuisine, waiters and indoor servants of every description" (<i>Our Own Circular</i> , 1898:passim), following the latter months of 1898.

<i>The Restaurant: The Only Journal Exclusively Devoted to the Restaurant Trade</i> began publication in 1909; in 1912 it was rebranded as <i>The Restaurant and Hotel Review</i> ; in 1914 it became <i>The Hotel Review, Restaurant Gazette and Catering News</i> ; in 1950 it was renamed <i>The Hotel Review</i> , in 1952 it was retitled <i>The Hotel and Catering Review</i> ; and in 1969 the journal was discontinued (Mennell, [1985] 1996).
<i>The Loyal British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction</i> were founded in 1910. However, <i>The Restaurateur: The Official Organ of the Loyal British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction</i> was first published in March 1912. The last edition of the publication is believed to have been published in April 1914.
The <i>Amalgamated Waiters' Society</i> was formed in 1896. Its periodical, <i>The Waiters' Record: The Organ of the Amalgamated Waiters' Society</i> , was either in print from 1900-1901 (Eyben, 2019) or from 1900-1914 (Assael, 2018).

Source: Author.

Figure 2.2: Relevant Trade Press Periodicals and Publishing Information

Title of Publication	Title Hereafter	Frequency of Publication	(Publisher and) Publishing Offices
<i>The Caterer, Hotel Proprietor and Refreshment Contractor's Gazette</i>	<i>The Caterer</i>	Monthly	J. G. Smith, Newton and Co., 67 Leadenhall Street, London
<i>The Chef: A Journal for Cooks, Caterers, and Hotel Keepers</i> , which in 1896 was rebranded as <i>The Chef and Connoisseur: A Journal for the Hotel World, the Caterers and the Epicure</i>	<i>The Chef</i>	Weekly (every Friday for Saturday)	18 New Bridge Street, London and then 12 Soho Square, London
<i>Cheflike: Official Organ of the International Chef's Society</i>	<i>Cheflike</i>	Monthly	84 Charlotte Street, London
<i>The Hotel Review and Catering and Food Trades' Gazette: A Journal for Hotel-Men, Restaurateurs, Refreshment Contractors, Store Keepers, and All Engaged in the Catering and Food Trades</i>	<i>The Hotel Review</i>	Monthly	76 Imperial Building, Ludgate Circus, London
<i>The Hotel World: A Weekly International Record of Hotel and other News</i>	<i>The Hotel World</i>	Weekly	C. L. Marsh and Co., 4 Agar Street, Strand, London

<i>The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette</i>	<i>The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette</i>	Weekly	36 Clipston Street, London
<i>Our Own Circular</i> (An advertising medium rather than a journal)	<i>Our Own Circular</i>	Variable – as often as 7 times per month	The Standard Printing Press Co., 3 George Street, St. Peter's Square, Hammersmith, London
<i>The Restaurant: The Only Journal Exclusively Devoted to the Restaurant Trade</i> , which in 1912 was rebranded as <i>The Restaurant and Hotel Review</i>	<i>The Restaurant</i>	Monthly	Maxwell House, Arundel Street, Strand, London
<i>The Restaurateur: The Official Organ of the Loyal British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction</i>	<i>The Restaurateur</i>	Monthly	20 Devereux Court, Strand, London
<i>The Waiters' Record: The Organ of the Amalgamated Waiters' Society</i>	<i>The Waiters' Record</i>	Monthly	4 Clarendon Street, Pimlico, London

Source: Author.

Figure 2.3: Relevant Trade Press Periodicals and Pricing

Title of Publication	Price	Equivalent Price in 2022: Adjusted for Conversion and Inflation	Year of First Issue: Determiner of Composite Price Index (See Page 69 for Formula)
<i>The Caterer</i>	7d. or 6s. 7d. per annum	£3.85 or £39.69 per annum.	1878
<i>The Chef</i>	Originally 3d. but lowered to 1d. following the rebrand	£1.82 and then £0.60.	1895 and then 1896
<i>Cheflike</i>	Free to members. (Active society members were charged 4s. quarterly)	£0.00. (Active society members were charged £26.74 quarterly)	1908
<i>The Hotel Review</i>	2d. or 2s. 6d. per annum	£1.20 or £15.64 per annum.	1886
<i>The Hotel World</i>	2d.	£1.11	1882

<i>The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette</i>	2d.	£1.19	1890
<i>Our Own Circular</i>	1d.	£0.60	1898
<i>The Restaurant</i>	3d. or 2s. 6d. per annum (The price remained the same after the rebrand)	£1.63 or £16.53	1909
<i>The Restaurateur</i>	3d. or 2s. 6d. per annum	£1.52 or £15.87	1912
<i>The Waiters' Record</i>	1d. or 1s. 6d. per annum	£0.56 or £10.24	1900

Source: Author.

The search for some of these publications did raise questions. For example, Eyben (2019) and Assael (2018) both supply conflicting information regarding how long *The Waiters' Record* ran from. Likewise, did *Cheflike* simply stop producing copy after 1908? Many publications in the period were quite transitory and would simply disappear if they were not producing enough interest, much like contemporary websites do today. However, what if copies published after this year were simply lost to time or do they exist in a location, such as a private personal collection, that I simply cannot source? This, I fear, is one of the core issues of working with historical material – it leaves questions that one cannot answer.

In terms of identifying relevant articles, not all journals had a contents table on their first page and, even if they did, sometimes it was unclear as to what content might be included under certain titles. For example, *The Hotel World* had a segment called ‘*Vix ea Nostra voco*’, which listed information on a wide variety of topics.²⁸ To illustrate, in the segment of the edition published on 18th January 1882, there were short paragraphs of information covering topics ranging from a famous jockey’s wedding presents to the *jour de l’an* in Paris (*The Hotel World*, 1882:1).²⁹ Plus, these paragraphs

²⁸ ‘*Vix ea nostra voco*’ is attributed to Ovid and, according to Elvin, translates to, “I scarce call these things our own”, and forms part of the longer quotation, “*Genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco*” (Elvin, 1860:227). Elvin outlined that the lines of the poem express Ovid’s “opinion that high ancestry and noble blood avail nothing without personal virtues” (Elvin, 1860:227).

²⁹ That is, ‘New Year’s Day’ in Paris.

never contained headings indicating the nature of their topic in that edition or, for that matter, any other.

Press content also presented a challenge in regard to referencing. When articles are referred to, the full date and, if there was one, a segment and/or article title will be supplied in the main body of text and in the bibliography, due to the utilisation of the Harvard referencing system. The norm of anonymous publishing in the eras of focus has also meant that the periodical title will typically be utilised, instead of a journalist's name. Furthermore, there were inconsistencies in page numbering, and volume and issue number, present in the periodicals. For example, some periodicals have been collated and therefore the page numbers begin at one and keep running. To illustrate, *The Hotel World* was eight pages long and page numbers range from one to eight, but editions of *The Restaurant* were published, for archival purposes, as a collated volume and therefore page numbers run into the hundreds, even though each edition of the journal was not hundreds of pages long. As such, this work has provided as much bibliographic information as possible, but there are some omissions to core details when they were unavailable and referencing details may have caveats.

These caveats also extend to discussions concerning money. From 15th February 1971, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has used a decimal system in which smaller units are related to the principal units as powers of ten. Before this, a different system was used:

- Pound (£)
- Shillings (*s.*) 20 shillings = 1 pound
- Pence (*d.*) 12 pence = 1 shilling **or** 240 pence = 1 pound
- Farthing (*f.*) 4 farthings = 1 pence **or** 48 farthings = 1 shilling **or** 960 farthings = 1 pound

In the press content, however, the way currency was referred to does vary, and a decision has been made not to modify this when material is directly quoted. For example, '1 shilling' and '1 pence' might be written out as:

1 shilling	1 pence
1 <i>s.</i>	1 <i>d.</i>
1 <i>s</i>	1 <i>d</i>
1 <i>s.</i>	1 <i>d.</i>
1 <i>s</i>	1 <i>d</i>
1/-	0/1

The same goes for when multiple units of currency are discussed. For example, 3 pounds, 2 shillings, and 1 pence might be written out as follows:

3 pounds, 2 shillings, and 1 pence
£3/2/1
£3.2:1
£3:2:1

In order to convert ‘old money’ into ‘new money’ equations have needed to be employed, so as to take into account the differing monetary systems and the rate of inflation. These equations, however, can never be 100 per cent accurate as the Consumer Price Index was only established in 1988 in the United Kingdom. In consequence, “there is not a single measure of UK inflation from before 1988” (Webster, 2017:n.p.). The equation therefore works with the official United Kingdom Composite Price Index (CPI). As put by O’Donoghue et al: “The composite price index is obtained by linking together indices from several different published sources. When there is a choice between different sources, the decision about which one is to be preferred is not always clear-cut” (O’Donoghue et al, 2004:39). Hence, while official, the CPI only supplies approximations and therefore it is stressed that all currency conversions that appear in this thesis are, as a result, also approximations.

It is important to emphasise that when currency conversions are undertaken in this thesis, they will always be based on the year that the historical literature under discussion was published or the year a historical event took place. Hence, as in figure 2.3, 2*s.* 6*d.*, using the CPI in 1909 of 9.500000000, equates to £16.53 in 2022.

However, 2s. 6d., using the CPI in 1912 of 9.900000000, equates to £15.87 in 2022. The CPI in 2022 is taken to be 1256.854974878 and is used consistently in all equations. To illustrate such an equation, in order to calculate what 5s. in 1889 would be in 2022, the below formula is followed:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{CPI in 2022} &= 1256.854974878 \\
 \text{CPI in 1889} &= 8.800000000 \\
 1256.854974878 \div 8.800000000 \times 1 &= 142.82442896340908 \\
 (\therefore \text{£1 in 1889} &= \text{£142.82 in 2022}) \\
 142.82442896340908 \div 20 &= 7.1412214481704535 \\
 (\therefore \text{1s. in 1889} &= \text{£7.14 in 2022}) \\
 7.1412214481704535 \times 5 &= 35.70610724085227 \\
 (\therefore \text{5s. in 1889} &= \text{£35.70 in 2022})
 \end{aligned}$$

The last practical implication of working with late Victorian and Edwardian press content to be addressed is that there are significant differences between contemporary language and that which was used in the periods. As Trask has stated: “language is always changing” (Trask, 2009:1), and research has needed to be conducted on occasion in order for a correct meaning to be drawn from the texts. As and when language is unclear, meaning has been elaborated on in the body of this thesis or footnotes have been used for clarification. Extracts from the press content are both paraphrased and directly quoted, and readers should be aware that phrasing and grammar usage differed in the periods of interest. There were also instances of incorrect spelling, punctuation, and the repetition of words, and when this is the case, an indication is typically provided.

Just as language is always changing, social norms change and with them so do ideas about what is and is not appropriate and acceptable. For this reason, not all press content was suitable for reproduction in this thesis.³⁰ Likewise, some norms of the

³⁰ Some content that documented social groups that did not conform to the ‘ideal’ of the ‘civilised’, white, Western, cisgendered, heterosexual man would have required content warnings and a detailed reflection on the ethics of citing material that could be potentially harmful.

period have meant the exclusion of certain voices from this work, which will be discussed further in 2.2.2. Yet, to conclude this section, it is important to reiterate that journalism was still new in the period of study, which consequently meant experimentation with writing styles, tones and copy format, and this led to intricacies that will now be discussed.

2.2.1. *New Journalism: Fact, Opinion and Experience*

As Salgado and Nienstedt have posited: “The connection between plurality of information and political ideology and orientation of the media is not new” (Salgado and Nienstedt, 2016:463). As was touched upon in the discussion of ‘new journalism’, publications in the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras, whether they took the form of newspapers or trade journals, were not neutral. In the words of Schudson: “At the turn of the [twentieth] century and even as late as the 1920s, ‘objectivity’ was not a term journalists or critics of journalism used” (Schudson, [2003] 2016:117). Albeit these publications had come a long way from those published before the taxes on knowledge were repealed, which tended to have very strict political allegiances and moral frameworks, it is to be remembered that, much like with today’s media, the media sources discussed in this thesis were not free from bias.

While today’s newspapers still tend to have ideological persuasions, contemporary trade press publications often take a more neutral stance. Yet, in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, the editors and publishers working for the trade press publications were less settled on an editorial style than the modern-day trade press. For instance, *The Waiters’ Record* is a prime example of campaign journalism, which pushed for praxis, in the Marxist sense of the term. It was highly unionist and *very* political, often focussing on parliamentary affairs and questioning decisions – the tone of writing was also quite emotive. To illustrate, an article appearing in the June 1901 edition, which was entitled “The Long Hours of Barmaids”, posed this following rhetorical question: “Who would believe that at the House of Commons in the twentieth century there exists so many idiots?” (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:2).³¹ Many other journals published

³¹ London’s barmaids, much like the waiting staff discussed in Chapter 6, worked very long hours, “averaging in some cases 15, 16, and 18 hours per day and 100 hours per week” (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:2). *The Waiters’ Record* empathised with the

jokes, some of which were industry relevant, such as this one that appeared in *The Chef*, in the edition published on 22nd August 1896, in a segment entitled “*Sauce Piquanté*”:³² “‘That is a novel way of calling your guests to dinner, firing off one barrel of your gun, but why do you discharge only one barrel?’ asked the enquiring tourist. ‘I keep the other to collect payment for the dinner with,’ answered the host” (*The Chef*, 1896:5). Other jokes were less relevant and frequently used misogyny as their punchline. Serials, i.e., fictional stories published in instalments within each issue of a journal, were also commonplace. Additionally, there were more morbid inclusions, such as the listing of the bankruptcies and deaths of ‘relevant’ people in the industry. The names of those people were printed in full. However, journalists were seldom named in any of the periodicals.

As posited by Gregory: “Authorial anonymity was a common – if controversial – practice in both the daily papers and the monthly press in the Victorian period” (Gregory, 2003:89), and this practice clearly continued into the Edwardian era. In the periods, “[e]ditors generally justified the practice of anonymity by arguing that it allowed newspapers to speak with a unified voice” (Gregory, 2003:89). Wiseman asserted that this allowed for “collective responsibility”, and made the point that “there is a convenience in the advantages of such a position [of anonymity]; for it enables the writer to speak with confidence, and sometimes with a boldness, from which he would shrink, if he spoke in his own person” (Wiseman, 1853:v). Yet, others claimed that this unrestrained form of writing could be detrimental. Thomas Arnold for example, wrote the following in 1840: “it seems to me that the mischief of our newspapers mainly arises from the virulent language which men use while writing anonymously” (Arnold, [1840] 1846:361).³³ Other critiques, levelled at the practice concerned the legal issues that it presented as it was harder to take a publication, rather than a single person, to court on the grounds of liable (Gregory, 2003).

barmaids’ situation and was deeply frustrated by the House of Commons for finding the question of doing something about the issue funny, i.e., the Commons was said to have erupted with laughter when a Mr. Smith addressed the Home Secretary about the topic (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1901).

³² The segment’s title translates to ‘Hot Sauce’.

³³ See footnote 23 for information regarding Thomas Arnold.

Connectedly, anonymity offered safety from personal attack and disgrace if a piece was ill-received. In contemporary society, there is a prominence of ‘callout culture’ or ‘shaming culture’, which allows for audiences “publicly pointing at and shaming” people (Marron, 2020:37). No such culture existed in late Victorian or Edwardian England or, rather, did not exist in such an invasively visible manner. In the period it was common for journalists from one publication to ‘callout’ journalists working for another. *The Waiters’ Record*, for example, took exception to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. However, because articles were usually published anonymously, the consequences for the journalists were seldom ever impactful. That being said, anonymity offered no protection from a reduction in advertisement revenue, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* learnt in 1886 when it published “a series of articles on the abuse of young girls” (Williams, [1998] 2006:53). Advertisements appeared in both newspapers and trade press publications. Even in the controversial pages of *The Waiters’ Record*, adverts for outfitters, cutlers, and cigars appeared.

Despite the fact that the majority of media sources used to supply data were anonymous, and therefore might be seen to reduce the validity of the data, it is argued that, to the contrary, the anonymity of the journalists enabled them to freely voice attitudes and opinions that were relevant and representative of the time. The aforementioned applied to readers too, who often used pseudonyms when they chose to write to editors to express their thoughts on a specific topic. In the same way that anonymous surveys are conducted in order to allow participants to discuss attitudes and opinions on potentially contentious or personal topics, thereby “reducing the impetus to provide socially desirable responses” (Kennedy, 2008:28), the anonymity offered the press and their readers a chance to speak out openly. Likewise, it has been in the best interest of this work that the content of these publications was not neutral in nature. That is, without the attitudes and opinions displayed in the articles, there would have been little primary data to explain the social conditions of the period regarding restaurant operations.

Articles in the form of opinion pieces were not the only valuable form of journalism displayed in the media content used in this work. Other publications, such as Newnham-Davis’ ‘restaurant reviews’, appear as commentaries that focussed on the experiences of the author. Some, such as the Leppington (1892) text, present

themselves as factual and informative, but also include some attitudinal judgements. It should additionally be noted that a number of articles that have supplied data were written to entertain, while also being informative and, as such, carry a differing tone. Thus, because data has been sourced from a variety of journalistic works, which integrated a variety of styles, it is pertinent to defend against the ethical issue of ‘cherry picking’, i.e., selecting content that confirms the argument that is being made. As has been outlined, there is a limited amount of accessible published content concerning the restaurant operations of the period. Hence, a blend of sources was used to compose the data in order to provide a well-rounded analysis. That is, rather than collecting data from a singular source, e.g., just newspaper content, a body of literature has been used so as to gain a wider understanding of the social world. Furthermore, if a singular media source had been used, this thesis would have been more at risk of constructing an argument founded on a limited amount of evidence, leading to increased unreliability, with analysis chapters making use of the “best (and sometimes the only) quotations available to illustrate the commentary” (Morse, 2010:3).

2.2.2. Excluded Voices: Class, Nationality and Gender

It is important to acknowledge that the media sources used to extract data from have been written by a certain ‘type’ of individual. That is, authors working in the press industry were certainly not representative of the ‘lower’ strata of society. Likewise, the bulk of the texts available to gather data from were published by people able to competently write copy in English. Although it is significant to mention that two trade press journals that were printed in London were accessed that contained copy in other languages. *The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, while carrying an English/French title, was almost exclusively published in German in the 1890s. The other, *Cheflike*, contained articles printed trilingually in German, French, and English, i.e., journal editions of *Cheflike* were not printed in each of the three languages, but one edition contained articles published in all three languages. The existence of these publications served to demonstrate the impact and visibility that non-natives had in London’s restaurant industry.

The cross-cultural chains of interdependence leading to European influence in London will be discussed in the following chapters of this work. Here, it is important

to draw awareness to the fact that those who produced the content from which the bulk of the data has been extracted would have had similar class positions and English language abilities. Albeit this has allowed for a competent understanding of the dominant ideological perspectives exhibited in the late Victorian and Edwardian period, it has left many voices unrepresented in this thesis. As noted, a significant number of people who were employed as waiters or chefs in London were not English, and while the trade press offered a platform to those working in the catering and hospitality industry to publish their thoughts and feelings, barring the two aforementioned exceptions, trade press publications were published in English. Even though waiting staff and chefs were often able to speak multiple languages, there is a certain degree of questionability regarding their written English abilities.³⁴ In consequence, it is likely that voices supplied by the majority of the workers in the industry are excluded. Despite the fact that their inclusion would have contributed balance to this narrative, as is the problem with historical records, there is a tendency for them to supply a limited set of voices. Hence, this work tries to be critical of the narratives that data has been extracted from and remains aware that those voices that have been published have a degree of privilege that is not representative of all those who worked in the industry at the time.

One of the key issues with this research, that rightly should be expounded upon, is that most of the sources utilised in this work are published by men. Although some women did write for the press, they were few and far between. This was due to a variety of factors, but a core issue was that of the literacy rate. As Kaestle has stated: “Literacy expanded rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century, for both men and women” (Kaestle, 1988:108). However, “[h]istorians agree that literacy rates for women lagged significantly behind those of men until the beginning of the twentieth century” (Lemire, 2013:258). Thus, despite the Enlightenment ideals that had heralded the birth of the press in England, gender inequality was a very real problem. Not only were more men than women able to write; they were also more likely to read. The audience of both the newspapers and the trade press sources were presumed to be men. For example, readers

³⁴ It is likely that there were many more people reading these journals than those who could write into them. As Stephens has stated, “reading was a skill easier to learn than writing” and “for many people reading was a skill more likely to be useful than writing” (Stephens, 1990:554).

were often referred to as ‘gentlemen’, and articles reflected a misogynistic culture and discourses that promoted elements of the male gaze.

Women may have been underrepresented in the authorship and readership of the texts that this work focusses on, but that is not to say that they were not in employment in the catering and hospitality industry. Women certainly were, but jobs were gender stereotyped. Jobs reserved for men were typically: butler, kitchen/hall/night porter, billiard marker, superintendent, plateman, carver, and chef. Jobs reserved for women were typically: chamber/scullery/kitchen/vegetable maid, and book/house/store keeper. There were some roles that were less gender stereotyped, for example, barman/barmaid, pantry man/maid, cook, manager/manageress, and waitress/waiter. However, these roles also had their own gendered nuances. For example, it was common for potential employers to advertise for a manager and manageress to apply for work as a married couple. Women were not employed as sitting room or coffee room waitresses, but often gained employment as barmaids in clubs. It is also important to note that while some women might have been employed as cooks, although this was rare in the grand hotels, there is no record in any of the archival material that has been read or utilised that indicated that they were ever employed as ‘chefs’.

Musings on the reasons why there were so few female cooks were published in *The Chef*, in a segment entitled “Editorial Chat”, on 6th June 1896:

There are still, however, occupations eminently suited to the capacities and abilities of women whose ranks are by no means overcrowded. It is a fact, for instance, that a really good female cook is a *rara avis*.³⁵ There is no reason why this should be so, unless it should be the invincible and unaccountable dislike which so many women have to what they call ‘service’ (*The Chef*, 1896:9).

³⁵ The literal translation of ‘*rara avis*’, from the Latin, is ‘rare bird’, but the phrase is used to metaphorically refer to something or someone that is rare.

It is certainly doubted that the author of the piece was correct with their assumption. Yet, even today, fewer women work as chefs, albeit that they now have the right to be called ‘chefs’ (ONS, 2019:n.p.).³⁶

Waitressing was a more common profession for women in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. However, as the following extracts demonstrate, waitresses were not gracing the dining rooms of the grand London hotels. It is additionally hoped that these extracts illustrate the aforementioned misogynistic culture and discourses that promote elements of the male gaze evident in the press narratives. The first is a continuation of the “Editorial Chat” article. The latter appeared in the same edition of *The Chef*, but is from a different article, entitled “Waitresses on the Terrace”, which was covering the employment of waitresses for the House of Commons terrace.

Another occupation for which women are peculiarly adapted, and one which has enormously expanded within a very recent period, is that of waitresses. The multiplication of tea-rooms, cafés, and other places devoted to the sale of light refreshments, not only in London but throughout the country, has led to the employment of a vast number of neat-handed Phyllises. The sight of these fair damsels, in their tidy and appropriate uniform of white apron and cap and black dress, is very enticing to the ordinary City man (*The Chef*, 1896:9).

Waiters are all very well at the dinner table, or ever to serve the humble cut from the joint; but for tea and strawberries, or coffee and pastries, one feels that Robert is out of place, and welcomes the ready and cheerful attendance of smiling Phyllis (*The Chef*, 1896:10).³⁷

³⁶ For a detailed breakdown of the number of chefs, by sex, employed in both London and the United Kingdom more broadly, see the Office of National Statistics (ONS) data, published in 2019, on ‘Chefs in London and the UK, 2009 to 2017’.

³⁷ ‘Robert’ was a slang term for a waiter (Assael, 2018:163). While ‘Phyllis’ was the “name of a rustic maid” that Horace, a poet born 65 BC, fell in love with and wrote an ode to (Fennell, 1892:628). As such, in the Victorian era, the word ‘Phyllis’ was used as a stock name for “a rustic beauty, a peasant maid, a sweetheart, a pretty waiting-maid” (Fennell, 1892:628).

Figure 2.4: ‘The New Style’: Illustration of Waitress



Source: *Daily Mail*, reproduced in *The Chef* (1896:10).

Women's absence from this thesis is important to realise, but the occupational gender stereotypes of the day have prevented their voices from being heard clearly. With a focus on luxury restaurants in the capital, it is beyond the scope of this work to consider women's roles in the broader catering and hospitality industry. Likewise, the fact that women were not the target readership of press publications and that limited female voices were included in said publications is problematic as, again, certain attitudes, beliefs, and observations that may or may not have existed are never identifiable or analysable. Savigny has stated: "But if you are not able to speak in a mediated environment, the value of your voice and its legitimization are denied before you have even spoken" (Savigny, 2020:92). This thesis does not deny the value or legitimacy of the female voices of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, in the same way it does not deny the value or legitimacy of those who were not able to write to the required level of English to contribute to publishable culinary copy. Yet, Savigny is agreed with in that, because these voices were seldom heard, this work reflects the epistemic violence of the period that it focusses on. That is, non-physical violence that emerges in ways that determine the existence of what is and is not knowledge (Savigny, 2020).

Lastly, it would be problematic for this work to not address the fact that it seemingly sidesteps European colonialism and imperialism. Both forms of control did have a significant impact on the restaurant field in England, especially in its capital. Flows of people, produce, and practice were caused by such domination, and the literature that has been considered did acknowledge this. For example, articles were read that reflected on the use of non-native spices, the employment of waiters ‘of colour’, and restaurants serving ‘Indian’ food. However, there are a variety of reasons that such content was not analysed or embedded in this thesis. The most significant is that, while this work aimed to examine cross-cultural chains of interdependence and intolerance, addressing both the influence England’s European neighbours had on its restaurant industry, while also considering colonialism’s and imperialism’s culinary consequences throughout Europe, was a topic far too broad for the scope of this thesis. That is, the chains of interdependence were far too complex to untangle within this limited space. Hence, seeing as it was a French influence that most notably fostered the rise of luxury dining in England, as the next chapter will outline, it was consequently far more fitting to specifically focus on European exchanges of capital, in the field of the culinary, in the periods of interest. Yet, it needs to be made clear that colonialism and imperialism, by their very nature, require cross-cultural interdependencies to be formed, as violently as these were and are established and as unequal as they were and are, and Europe was and still is influenced by them.

3. Historical Outline: The Emergence of Restaurants and Cross-Cultural Consumption

3.1. Introduction to the Historical Outline

Now that core literature used for the purposes of analysis and the sources that supply the data have been considered, following the structure of many theses submitted for degrees in history, this chapter seeks to supply context. That is, it will provide a historical outline of the socio-political and cultural reasons for restaurants' emergence. By discussing these circumstances, it is hoped that the reader will begin to understand the cross-cultural nature of restaurants, before this thesis invests in a more thorough look at London restaurants. Yet, this chapter also serves another purpose: to act as an extended literature review. Previously, theorists' works on the topic of consumption were considered, and their key ideas and terminology were elucidated upon, but no authors who *specifically* published on the topic of restaurant consumption or dining out were discussed. Hence, Chapter 3 seeks to present the research undertaken by such scholars, which this piece has been influenced by, with the inclusion of some content drawn from relevant trade press material. To summarise, it utilises influential academic secondary sources, combined with a small quantity of relevant trade press sources, to provide context for the investigation into luxury London restaurants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

To begin, 3.2 expounds upon the diversification of power and culture taking place in late Victorian Britain, before moving on to explore France's influence. Specifically, the French Revolution is discussed in regard to changing culinary practices that, it has been argued, influenced the world's culinary practices. The story of Boulanger – the first restaurateur – documented in many a food scholars' writings, is additionally examined. The work of Spang (2000), who has challenged both Boulanger's legitimacy and the argument that the restaurant was a result of the French Revolution, is also considered in detail. She located the origins of the restaurant in the 1760s and 1770s, when food came to be medicalised, but also fashionable, and its sites of consumption were transformed to cater for a new form of public display. Dining in the Napoleonic era is then discussed, as it is in this period that dining as a mimetic leisure pursuit was

encouraged, a class divide was emphasised, and Paris' occupation presented foreigners the opportunity to sample a new way of dining.

Following the account of theories that document the establishment of the restaurant, this work concludes that the origins of the restaurant are to be located in France's capital, and that it was a blend of familiarity and exoticness that popularised these establishments throughout Europe. This chapter also leads to the inference that while culture 'trickles' into other nations, this process was and is not instantaneous. As will be discussed, in order to support the establishment of restaurants in England's own capital, technological, agricultural and political relations needed to change, as did the mindset of the public. This chapter concludes by introducing Chapter 4, which seeks to draw upon primary source data to discuss food in Britain before the establishment of the grand hotels and their restaurants, the rise of these hotels, and French food's superiority in London.

3.2. The Emergence of Restaurants and Cross-Cultural Consumption

Power and culture, and the impact on a nation and its people when these forces are modified, have been studied by many scholars since the advent of sociology. These forces remain central to understanding human interdependencies and the chains that connect us. Hence, this chapter begins by discussing such forces in both England and France, before linking them to the emergence of restaurants.

Eurocentricity is, today, a problematic notion, but in the latter years of the Victorian era people were trying to come to terms with the increasing influence that other European nations were having on British soil. That is, some embraced the lengthening chains of cultural interdependence that bound them, while others resisted them. Thus, "connectivity produced both dreams and nightmares" (Agathocleous, 2011:xv) for the residents of London. It is not the purpose of this thesis to undertake a detailed investigation into the psychological underpinnings concerning the acceptance or rejection of cultural diversification. However, it is likely that those who resisted did so because "Britain felt generally more threatened after 1870 than before: militarily, imperially, economically, and in a dozen other ways" (Porter, 1984:433). As Reynolds has explained, "by the late nineteenth century the balance of forces globally was

shifting against Britain” (Reynolds, 2013:18). Although late Victorian Britain was losing its power and status, “with the new and fast-expanding networks of trade, finance, post, steamship, telegraph, print, and immigration that took shape over the course of the nineteenth century, it became unmistakably linked to the world beyond the nation as well” (Agathocleous, 2011:xv). There was no denying that late Victorian Britain was becoming increasingly cosmopolitan, and some natives chose to embrace the new cultural diversity that was so evidently becoming the norm, especially in London. And there was no other European culture that permeated the English upper-class nineteenth-century habitus than that of the French.

As McNeil and Riello have observed, when discussing the long eighteenth century: “The antipathy France and England traditionally expressed towards each other generated a series of oppositions to structuring a wide range of cultural productions” (McNeil and Riello, 2005:177). These oppositions were linked to “political power and cultural competition” (Kollnitz, 2013:229). One such opposition was “instigated by Louis XIV’s aggressive international promotion of French fashion” (Kollnitz, 2013:229). Thus, to the English, “fashion was virtually synonymous with the French, whose ability to create ingenious trifles in every aspect of design simultaneously repelled and attracted the English” (McNeil and Riello, 2005:177). In consequence, from the seventeenth century onward, the French fashion was deemed “outlandish”, “ostentatious” and “ornate”, while British taste was more “natural”, “practical” and “virile” (Kollnitz, 2013:229). Albeit that Kollnitz contended that this style of clothing fashion died with the birth of the Revolution, it is argued that it did not with food.

“The Revolution has long been recognised as a landmark in the history of French eating” (Mennell, [1985] 1996:134), but it also displaced many French nationals. As was written by Davison:

Many émigré memoirs and contemporary newspaper reports tell us of the panic and despair provoked in the hearts of so many French aristocrats by the excesses of the Revolution. Faced with threats to themselves and their property and even the risk of losing their lives, they had no option but to leave the country (Davison, 2007:134).

Barnett has posited that this contributed to the “beginning of the modern refugee movement in Europe” and that many of the “French aristocracy fled to Austria and Prussia, seeking refuge from certain death at home” (Barnett, 2002:239). In Burke’s 1790 publication he stated, many of the French have “taken refuge in the frozen regions, under the British despotism, of Canada” (Burke, [1790] 2004:238). Some also fled to Germany, others to Switzerland, and some to England (Davison, 2007). Davison accounted that there was an incentive for these asylum seekers to come to England as the English government “agreed to pay one shilling a day to each man, woman and child...the response of the English aristocracy and leading intellectuals to the distress of the émigrés was extraordinarily generous” (Davison, 2007:135). In 1790, 1s. had the equivalent purchasing power as £8.37 in 2022. It was said by Bowden that the French Revolution “[sent] several first-class French chefs running to England” (Bowden, 1975:8). Accordingly, as *The Chef* noted in an article entitled “A Short History of Cookery”, published on 11th April 1896: “During the French revolution when, it might be supposed, men lost their appetites with their heads, we find, nevertheless, that dining was not forgotten” (*The Chef*, 1896:2).

While emigration, as a consequence of the Revolution, certainly altered the way people dined in England, the Revolution also greatly impacted the way people dined in France. As Mennell has asserted: “The age of the great French restaurant is usually reckoned to date from the French revolution” (Mennell, [1985] 1996:134). Be that as it may, as he has explained, it was not quite as simple as that (Mennell, [1985] 1996). Take, for example, the tale of Monsieur Boulanger and the opening of the first ‘restaurant’. It should be noted that the details of Boulanger’s story are subject to variation, depending on the account that is being read. To illustrate, Kotschevar and Withrow (2008) have claimed that Boulanger opened his establishment in 1760, whereas Andrieu (1956), and Fallon and Rothschild (2000) have asserted that the year was 1765. Despite the inconsistencies present in its narration, the story of ‘the first restaurant’ has proven to be a historical benchmark that many believe revised the way that people dined. For this reason, it is worth documenting this case.

When France was under the rule of Louis XV, Boulanger lived and worked in Paris. Despite his name translating to ‘baker’, he was, by trade, a vendor of broths. He, like other food vendors, had a shop, but unlike his rivals he had set out “small marble tables

without cloths” where customers could eat the purchases that they chose from a menu (Andrieu, 1956:21). As Spang has stated: “Centuries before a restaurant was a place to eat (and even several decades after), a *restaurant* was a thing to eat, a restorative broth” (Spang, 2000:1). The dishes that Boulanger had listed on his concise menu were described and sold as ‘*restaurants*’ because he claimed that they would quench his customers’ hunger and return them back to a state of contentment. The word ‘*restaurants*’ was derived from ‘*restaurer*’, which is literally translated to ‘restore’ (Morgan, 2006). Yet, supposedly, Boulanger wanted to offer his patrons a little bit more choice than just the standard *restaurants* that he originally stocked, probably in the hope that a wider selection would bring in more custom.

French food vendors, in and before the eighteenth century, were specifically only allowed to sell a set form of food, prepared in a certain way, due to guild restrictions that regulated trade. As Andrieu has detailed: “In 1467 the guild of *cuisiniers* broke into two sections, one of which observed the primitive statutes and took the name of the *rôtisseurs*, or cook-shop keepers, the others called themselves *chaircuitiers-saulcissiers*. It is from the latter that the modern French word *charcutier* is derived” (Andrieu, 1956:4). The *rôtisseurs* originally started by selling roasted goose, but after quarrels with the guild of the *poulaillers*, the poulterers, were later awarded the rights to roast all poultry and other game (Andrieu, 1956). The *chaircuitiers* began by vending cooked pork but would also later expand to sell other cooked meats, despite conflict with the guild of the *bouchers*, the butchers (Andrieu, 1956). There were also other such guilds, for example, the *pâtissiers*, who sold pastry-based products. Yet, it was an off shoot of the *rôtisseurs*, referred to as the guild of the *traiteurs*, that would cause the legendary Boulanger problems.

The *traiteurs*, as Mennell has described, were “something between outside caterers and a superior sort of take-away” (Mennell, [1985] 1996: 138). They were in effect a guild of caterers that could provide food for functions but also reserved the rights to sell other dishes that were pre-prepared and could be eaten off premises, *ragoût* being one such dish (Symons, [1998] 2004; James, 2002). Despite this, Boulanger decided that he would start vending “sheep’s feet in a cream sauce”; a dish that was not considered to be a broth by the *traiteurs* but, indeed, a *ragoût* (James, 2002:25). Thus,

in 1770, Boulanger was taken to court, but it was decreed that his dish was not a *ragoût* (Rykwert, [1977] 2009; Gillespie, [2001] 2011).

It is said that Boulanger's triumph in court granted him great renown and that many Parisians flocked to his restaurant to try the notorious guild-defying dish (Gillespie, [2001] 2011). Sinclair and Sinclair have, perhaps rather optimistically, claimed that Boulanger's success subsequently broke the monopoly of the catering guilds, allowing other vendors to "sell a full range of sophisticated meals" (Sinclair and Sinclair, 2010:151). Whereas Kotschevar and Withrow (2008) have argued that Boulanger lessened the power of the guilds and set an example that would inspire others to open restaurants. Alternatively, Mennell has stated that Boulanger's victory was "probably more a symptom than a cause of the decline in the guild system as a whole" (Mennell, [1985] 1996:139).

Boulanger may have had an impact on the guild of the *traiteurs*, but it "survived until the Revolution swept it away along with many other guilds and their privileges" (Mennell, [1985] 1996:139). Regardless of Boulanger's actual political impact and the changes to corporate law that may or may not have stemmed from his serving of sheep's feet, it is clear that his story had an impact on the culinary world, and at the time, he did inspire others to sell small dishes of food to customers who could eat them in a shop at a table. Boulanger's story, despite the inconsistencies with its narration and analysis, has been passed down since the eighteenth century. He, as Zachrel suggested, "was made famous" (Zachrel, 2008:10) and will continue to be a name that those in the catering industry, especially those involved in the preparation of French cuisine, will doubtlessly remember for many more years to come.

Spang, on the other hand, not only "challenges the standard argument that restaurants emerged from the democratizing forces of the French Revolution" (Prestwich, 2002:130), but also claimed that the tale of Boulanger "is largely unfounded" because there is "no evidence in the judicial, police, or corporate archives" that supports it (Spang, 2000:9). However, she has contended that the origins of the restaurant are to be found in the 1760s and 1770s, and for her, it was the restorative broths, *restaurants*, that led to their establishment in Paris. To summarise her argument, the Enlightenment brought a new understanding of food's impact on the

body, and the restaurants – i.e., the places that sold these broths, amongst other dainty edibles – “of the 1760s and 1770s presented dietary innovation” (Spang, 2000:41). These places specialised in light and delicate foods, but it was also, for Spang, the manner that the food was served in that further made them fashionable. “They introduced menus, which allowed individuals to select particular items and pay only for what they ate; they abandoned the idea of dining at a common table, or even in a common room; and they offered food at all hours” (Wilson, 2001:640). Restaurants presented “new forms of publicness” that “could be as much about consumption, display, and spectacle as they were about dialogue or discussion... The restaurant was a publicly private place” (Spang, 2000:85-86). As has been put by Walton, “the restaurant represented a unique setting for public display as well as private self-absorption” (Walton, 2001:361).

The restaurant thus represented all three overlapping categories of the spare-time spectrum: eating for subsistence but choosing to opt for the consumption of a foodstuff medicalised as healthy and nourishing, while also having the potential to be sociable or, at the very least, in a place where one could be seen. These places were far from the coffeehouses or the cafés of the period, which were predominantly locations of intermediary spare-time activities, albeit that they also could function as arenas for memetic leisure. That is, for Habermas [1962] (1991), these were sights of intellectual debate and critique, but it is easy to comprehend how a heated exchange of views could end up as a mimetic leisure practice. Furthermore, restaurants spaces represented the “elevation of individualism” (Dolan, 2011:173), far from the normal *table d’hôte* dining practice, which saw people communally dine at what was traditionally a large rectangular table where they were served a series of set dishes. The Parisian restaurant allowed a diner to be on display, but to also have choice about what they were consuming and to be immersed in a dining experience that allowed for them to eat alone or with chosen associates.

In a segment entitled “Above and Below the Salt”, featured in the edition of *The Chef* published on 14th November 1896, it was claimed: “In Marie Antoinette’s time...the system of the restaurants first began to show itself in France”, although it did not share details of how, why, or what this “system” was like (*The Chef*, 1896:6). Instead, the article went on to state:

The Revolution did but hurry [the system] on. Owing to the ruin and downfall of the aristocracy, all good cooks – the best among them – got thrown out of employment. Some of them accompanied their masters into exile...others waited the tide of affairs in their own country and opened restaurants, where they quickly attracted a large *clientèle* among many, who, as guests at their former masters' tables, were already well acquainted with their ability (*The Chef*, 1896:6).

This sentiment is supported by Mennell, who agreed that it was likely that the Revolution “accelerated a trend that was already underway” (Mennell, [1985] 1996:141). Spang has shed further light on this, for her, the “revolutionary tables offered a stark contrast to the individualized service and attention to style that already characterized the earliest restaurants” (Spang, 2000:93). These tables, in their ideal form, now functioned as “spaces of solidarity and uniformity, not idiosyncrasy and preference” (Spang, 2000:93). However, this was to change with the onset of the Napoleonic era.

Following the military coup of 1799, the regime encouraged restaurant dining as a mimetic leisure pursuit. Restaurants were sights of “private indulgence” and operated as “letting off steam mechanisms” (Spang, 2018:min. 1:32-1:36). The regime’s operations reflected the ideas that were formulated many years later in the ‘culture industry thesis’ first published in Horkheimer and Adorno’s [1947] (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment*: those with power encourage the masses to consume so that they are too preoccupied to challenge or resist the political system.³⁸ Restaurants, arguably part of the culture industry both then and now, were sites where the regime wanted customers to receive instant gratification, while reproducing the new status quo.³⁹ In line with the

³⁸ See the chapter that is entitled “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception” for a detailed explanation of the thesis (Horkheimer and Adorno, [1947] 2002:94-136).

³⁹ I make the assertion that restaurants were/are part of the culture industry because restaurants were born of capitalism and are cultural sites that typically do mass produce ‘creative’ commodities. (Think, for example, about the number of scones that London’s Ritz has sold.) They also produce false human needs; one needs to consume for subsistence, but one does not need to visit a restaurant. These spaces of consumption are also designed to offer leisure experiences that gratify. Adorno, in a discussion of “commodified happiness” (Nealon, 2012:105), had the following to say on the topic of restaurants: “What sort of condition must the ruling conscious have

thesis, Spang (2018) has voiced that the restaurants of this era also served to reproduce the class divide: the type of food (culture) consumed and the location that people dined in served as markers of their status. Thus, individualised service was re-established, and the customer once again became king in the Parisian restaurant. Albeit Horkheimer and Adorno would have referred to this perceived freedom (of choice) as ‘pseudo-individualisation’.⁴⁰

Regardless of the political implications of allowing restaurant culture to flourish, what was pivotal was that it was a ‘culture’. The restaurant, despite the existence of inns, taverns, and other venues that sold food away from home across Europe, was something inherently French. It was not only the freedom of choice – this new individualised service – but all the customs and traditions that these spaces fostered – the conceptualisation of new doxic standards – that gave restaurants their unique status. The menus; the way waiters were to dress and serve; the fact women were allowed to dine there, and, of course, the food, was novel. As *The Chef* acknowledged, in the “A Short History of Cookery” article, before the end of the eighteenth century there were five hundred restaurants in France and “from that time forward the culinary genius of France was inseparably connected with the restaurants” (*The Chef*, 1896:2).

Spang (2018) has also importantly identified that Paris was occupied twice, once before Napoleon’s first defeat and then for a second time, following the battle of Waterloo, which meant that the allied forces were able to observe and consume the culinary culture. *The Chef*, for example, in the aforementioned article on the history of cookery, told of how in 1814 “the allied monarchs meeting in Paris, had to contract

achieved, when binding proclamation of extravagance and champagne-inebriation...is raised to the maxim of the right life in brute earnest. Decreed happiness looks exactly like what its name suggests; to have a part in it, the fortunate neurotic must also sacrifice the last bit of reason left remaining by repression and regression...[they have] no choice but to find inspiration in the trashy film, the expensive but bad meal in the French restaurant, the serious ‘drink’” (Adorno, [1951] 2005:section 1, no. 38).

⁴⁰ In the words of Adorno: “By pseudo-individualization we mean endowing cultural mass production with the halo of free choice or open market on the basis of standardization itself” (Adorno, [1941] 2005:261). Albeit, a creative metaphorical definition of the term is provided by DeNora: “the presentation, as a staple diet, of a radically narrowed ‘menu’ packaged and sold to address the full gamut of difference in, as it were, a cardboard box” (DeNora, 2003:17).

with a *restaurateur* (Véry) to cater for their table at a charge of 3,000 francs a day, excluding wine” (*The Chef*, 1896:2). Their forces also were exposed to the novel culinary experience of the restaurant, and their experiences travelled back with them to their native lands. Hence, news spread of the restaurant across the channel to Britain. Furthermore, from 1805-1815 continental tourism had been virtually impossible (Spang, 2000), but following Napoleon’s exile, there was a “re-opening of the Continent to British tourism” (Colbert, 2020:96). As has been put by Spang:

American and especially British visitors identified restaurants as particularly ‘French’... If these observers were to penetrate the mysteries of ‘Frenchness’ – a task made much more imperative by the apparently never-ending and largely unfathomable changes of the Revolution and Napoleonic eras – restaurants offered as good a starting point as anywhere else. Both a strange and confusing world, wrapped opaquely in gastronomy’s rules and vocabulary, and a publicly open and available space, a bit of ‘daily’ French life to which travellers had easy access, restaurants were the perfect mixture of the familiar and the exotic, the intimate and extraneous (Spang, 2000:175).

It is not the place of this work to discuss the intricacies of foodstuffs and authenticity in relation to geography. Yet, it is clear that restaurants did have their origins in France, specifically Paris, and that it was those who worked and dined in these spaces who developed a newly established doxa that governed the novel culinary custom and, due to an influx of foreign visitors, restaurants were subject to a process of cross-cultural commodity fetishisation. That is, the spaces and those who worked in them were given an abstract value pertaining to ‘Frenchness’ and with that a gastronomic worth, which was certainly encouraged by famous individuals such as gastronome, Brillat-Savarin, and chef, Carême.⁴¹ Paris, itself, gained a symbolic association with/as a culinary

⁴¹ Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin was not a chef, but a Parisian food writer. Albeit, as an article published in *The Chef*’s “A Famous Epicure” segment, on 8th August 1896, mentioned, he would “not live to see the full success of his work” (*The Chef*, 1896:1). Published in Paris in 1826, “‘Physiologie du Gout, ou Méditation de Gastronomie Transcendante, un Professeur,’ which, on account of its lively style, elegant diction, and display of worldly wisdom, no less than by its frequent extravagances of language, and exaggerated mannerisms, at once attracted public attention, and leapt into popular favour” (*The Chef*, 1896:1). Its author, Brillat-Savarin, had produced a book that in 1896 was still hailed as having “a leading place in the literature of gastronomy” and from which “maxims and aphorisms continue[d] to be quoted with approval by every modern writer on the subject” (*The Chef*, 1896:2).

capital, and so did those who abided in the country of France. In the words of Spang: “Gastronomic sensibility was generalised into a national character trait” (Spang, 2000:204). A character trait that this thesis argues still holds weight on a global level.

As Mennell has stated, the nineteenth century “saw the full establishment of a French international culinary hegemony, not merely over England but over much of the rest of Europe and, by the end of the century, North America too” (Mennell, [1985] 1996:134). This work posits that it was the blend of familiarity and exoticness that lead to the popularity of these spaces throughout the continent. Furthermore, the associations with travel as luxury, leisure as evidence of wealth, and cultural capital as a social resource, also likely contributed to a desire to obtain this French culinary capital. As previously explained, tastes are able to flow across cultural boundaries, and French restaurant dining or the need to be seen to be consuming French food was such a taste. While this taste trickled into that of other nations, it gained a degree of exclusivity not seen in France. In France, different restaurants appealed to different classes. Yet, in other countries, French food became exclusive and a marker of distinction.

It should also be noted that the process of cross-cultural taste transference was not instantaneous following the increase of tourists visiting France. One reason for this was because of England’s infrastructure. Prior to the industrial revolution, London, unlike today, was not a popular tourist destination and long-distance travel was limited to stagecoaches. Furthermore, hotels were few and far between, and looked very different. Mivart’s, for example, which opened in 1812 and would later become

An article published in *The Chef*’s “Celebrated Chefs” segment, on 25th January 1896, provided details of Antonin Carême’s life and notable worth. Carême was born in Paris in 1784, following destitution, “[h]e had the good fortune to attract the attention of M. Laguipière, chef to Napoleon I, who became his friend and patron, and personally taught him the principles of his art” (*The Chef*, 1896:1). Carême would go on to work for Prince Talleyrand, the Emperor Alexander of Russia, Princess Bagration, and the British Ambassador at the Court of Vienna (*The Chef*, 1896). When visiting England, King George IV, Queen Victoria’s uncle, was said to have tried to “retain him in London”, but the “insular climate and out staid manners were not to the taste of the vivacious Frenchman, and he joined the Baron Rothschild in Paris” (*The Chef*, 1896:2). Carême passed away at the age of fifty-two in 1833, and was described by *The Chef* as “The Father of Modern Chefs”, which also noted that “his name ha[d] become proverbial to designate the ideal of a perfect cook” (*The Chef*, 1896:2).

Claridge's, before its expansion, was merely a terrace house. Hence, people typically stayed in coaching inns, gentlemen's clubs, and if one was economically privileged, lodging houses, which acted as short-term rental accommodation. It was the expansion of the railways in the 1830s that truly allowed for French culinary culture to permeate the capital, but again, this was a timely process.

In the London publication, *Billiards: A Weekly Record of Interesting Information* (henceforth *Billiards*), an article was published on 12th January 1895, entitled "English Hotels in the Forties", which detailed "a tour of the provinces" made by "Prince Bismark, then only a baron" (*Billiards*, 1895:7). The article stated that the "young Pomeranian baron did not approve of our hotels", but that he "had come at a bad time, for the English country hotel was then under a dark cloud" (*Billiards*, 1895:7). It also detailed that, prior to the railways, coaches would have normally been used, and that this travel by horse drawn coach would have been a lot more time consuming and required that both the driver, horses, and passengers rest while travelling (*Billiards*, 1895). It was for that reason that the English country hotels and inns were marketable. However, with the introduction of rail travel, people no longer needed to make use of the services of coachmen and, subsequently, country inns. Thus, hoteliers found money in building or buying by rail stations in order to cater for those using the more convenient service. Yet, building these substantial establishments and rail networks took time and it was not until the mid-Victorian period that London could boast of some, albeit only a few, grand hotels. However, by the latter period of the century, the capital was dotted with these locations.

Mac Con Iomaire (2009) has also outlined other significant alterations to Britain's food system in the mid-Victorian period. For him, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 marked a significant change, for "England was to be a workshop not a farm" (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009:152). The repeal saw labourers move away from the countryside to more urban areas, and "sparked scientific developments in canning, refrigeration and extending shelf-life by controlling the atmosphere (reducing CO₂), along with technological developments in ship building and the milling industry" (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009:152). The Great Exhibition of 1951 served to display some such developments. Regardless of whether it was conceived in order to showcase Britain's inventiveness (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009) or to "rectify Britain's manufacturing

deficiencies” (Auerbach, 1999:10), it certainly captured the spirit of a new age of British capitalism. While not specifically talking about Britain, Benjamin has explained such a spirit: “World exhibitions are places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish... World exhibitions glorify the exchange value of the commodity. They create a framework in which its use value recedes into the background” (Benjamin, [1935] 2002:7). That is, these publicly accessible exhibitions were less about the use of the actual items displayed and more about these objects as commodity fetishes imbued with a call for them to be “worshipped” (Benjamin, [1935] 2002:8). For Benjamin (1935) [2002] these exhibitions were preceded by national exhibitions of industry, which began in 1798 with the *Exposition des produits de l’industrie française* held at the *Champ de Mars*. There, as in London’s Great Exhibition, it was less about the “processes of production” and more about “turning technology into entertainment” (Cohen, 2004:214).

Much the same could be said for the food of the period. Mid-Victorian England marked an observable ideological turning point in regard to consumption and commodity fetishism. In this period consumption for the upper classes was less based on the use of commodities and more about purchasing them because of their abstract appeal, which was furthered by a new desire to be entertained. The Victorian period was also relatively peaceful, many of the upper classes that had once played a core role in political and militaristic decision making found that they had more spare time. Hence, time to gaze at new inventions and to partake in dining as a leisure practice. Yet, it is worth discussing ‘English’ food before ‘Frenchness’ became the dominant luxury fashion, prior to looking directly at French food and its newfound distinctions in England.

3.3. *Overview: Historical Outline*

This chapter began, drawing on the work of Elias, by highlighting how the lengthening chains of cross-cultural interdependence that were embraced by some but resisted by others, had led to late Victorian Britain becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan place. Specifically, it was argued that French cultural influence had, by that point, permeated the British upper-class habitus. This chapter then sought to detail how this had

happened by taking a historical detour and drawing upon key scholarly sources and trade press content.

The work of Spang (2018; 2000) proved most fruitful in offering an explanation of how this came to be in regard to dining. Her ideas about the emergence of the restaurants in Paris in the 1760s and 1770s were also addressed by considering the ‘spare-time spectrum’ (Elias and Dunning, 1986) and the notion of the “elevation of individualism” (Dolan, 2011:173). That is, diners in these novel establishments partook in ‘spare-time routines’, ‘intermediary spare-time activities’, and ‘leisure activities’, while becoming masters of their culinary destinies and to be seen doing so. The Revolution, as detailed, changed this, with ideals of equality dismantling these individualistic pursuits, until the Napoleonic regime actively encouraged dining as a form of release. Thus, the work of both Elias and Dunning (1986), Horkheimer and Adorno [1947] (2002), Adorno [1941] (2005), and Spang (2018) were addressed to comment on how French dining became a *culture* that was a form of pseudo-individualised mimetic leisure pursuit that allowed for the reproduction of the political status quo and stringent class divides.

The occupation of Paris, and a rise in tourism following Napoleon’s exile allowed visitors to sample this new culture (Spang, 2018; 2000): a culture laden with metaphysical French properties. Hence, drawing on Marxist terminology, it was asserted that this facilitated the cross-cultural commodity fetishisation of French restaurants and those who worked in them, which ultimately lead to “a French international culinary hegemony” (Mennell, [1985] 1996:134). Yet, while fetishised, England could not simply import French restaurants. The country would need infrastructural and food system developments, which took place in the mid-Victorian era, along with ideological turning points in leisure and the consumption of commodities.

4. Consumption in England Before and After the Restaurant

The prior chapter concluded by commenting that England would need infrastructural and ideological shifts before the establishment of restaurants. Yet, this chapter will commence by detailing how England ate prior to these changes, in advance of discussing them and sentiments towards them, before turning to a consideration of examples of such restaurants, the food served in them, and attitudes towards Frenchification. In order to achieve this, it has been broken into three sections. The first aims to document, drawing upon trade press content from the Victorian era, how the English and visitors to the country ate out before restaurants proliferated the capital city and their views on English fare. This serves to not only highlight the differences between English fare and that of the French, but to also exemplify the mixed attitudes towards the proliferation of French culinary culture prior to and during the development of London's luxury establishments. This leads into the second of the sections, which reflects on the rise of London's grand hotels and their restaurants. Primarily drawing on material from the journal, *The Hotel World*, 4.2 explores feelings and sentiments related to their burgeoning popularity, while looking at their construction. It additionally seeks to ground the discussion by providing concrete examples of some such establishments. The last of the three sections considers the food served in these establishments and its socio-cultural implications. Focussing on the work of food writer, Lieut.-Col. Newnham-Davis, his reviews, and menus are examined, which serves to illustrate typical dishes produced and consumed in these luxury restaurants before theoretical analysis of the custom of dining is provided. Following on from this, intolerance, interdependence, and status are considered when looking at the questions of whether establishments should publish their menus in French, as was the practice in England.

4.1. *English Food and its Consumption*

Bowden (1975) has argued that in the sixteenth century the English and French had differing attitudes towards food. It is in this century that he believed that the French “acquired [an] interest and enthusiasm for food”, whereas the English ate for subsistence and simply saw food as “fuel and nothing more” (Bowden, 1975:7). Bowden has claimed that Puritanism was responsible for fostering such a “reserved

attitude toward food” that hinged its consumption on the extraction of use value, and that “even though the Restoration of 1660 removed the grim shadow of Puritanism, people had become so used to dull food that they knew and desired nothing else” (Bowden, 1975:7). He asserted that “[e]ven in the great houses there was little to eat besides great slabs of meat” (Bowden, 1975:7). Here, Bowden also identified that the English, irrespective of their class, had become so used to eating similar foods that they now longed for it.

Broomfield has echoed Bowden’s ideas, contending that in pre-Industrial England “[m]ost Englishmen and -women, irrespective of their class and breeding, would have enjoyed a spit-roasted joint of beef or mutton accompanied with a brown gravy, and a boiled plum pudding” and that “[t]hey would have gladly washed down such a meal with mugs of ale” (Broomfield, 2007:6). Just as the cuisine of the restaurants in France came to symbolise ‘Frenchness’, the dishes outlined by Broomfield came to symbolise ‘Englishness’: “These rather plain foods – what many today think of if asked to describe an English meal – came to symbolize England itself” (Broomfield, 2007:6). Broomfield made an interesting point here, regarding the fact that what is considered ‘English’ food has not changed in hundreds of years. Yet, she also asserted: “The English were renown for their enthusiasm and appetite when it came to food, with foreign visitors often commenting on this fact in travel memoirs and letters home” (Broomfield, 2007:6). For her, money allowing, dinner tables were loaded with dishes and that food was “celebrated” with “the bounty of each season showcased” (Broomfield, 2007:6). This claim asserts that while the English might have still dined on the same food as they did prior to the Restoration, they no longer saw food as simply sustenance. Food was something to be seen and consumed with vigour; the amount of food served was large in quantity and the English had the appetite to stomach it.

Looking back on the article published in *Billiards*, it can be observed that the food served in the hotels that the German prince visited in the ‘forties’ was far from French, but for what it lacked in variety it made up in quantity, which reflects Broomfield’s comments. The letter Bismarck wrote to his father was as follows:

It is the country for heavy eaters. The variety in the cuisine is small: roast beef, mutton, ham (boiled), bacon, roast lamb, veal, eggs, and potatoes are on the table at every breakfast,

to which fish and a vile fruit tart are added at dinner. The soups are so strongly spiced with black and red pepper that few foreigners can eat them (*Billiards*, 1895:7).

The prince went on to detail that this food was always eaten in a buffet style format:

The system of allotted portions is unknown; even at breakfast the enormous pieces of each of these kinds of meat, such as we never see, stands before you, and you cut and eat as much or as little of them as you like, without any difference as regards to your payment (*Billiards*, 1895:7).

The article, itself, critiqued the German preference in food fashion in the 1840s, but also outlined that what “young Bismarck objected to was the exaggerated simplicity of [English] cuisine, outside the preparation of a few thick soups” (*Billiards*, 1895:7).

‘Simplicity’ was a term used to describe English fare, prior to the rise of the grand hotels, with their French menus and emphasis on decadence. Charles Selby, publishing under the pseudonym, Tabitha Tickletooth, declared in 1860, when discussing “*Plain instructions for the preparation of Plain Dishes*” [sic], that Alexis Soyer “comes nearest the mark”.⁴² However, he contended that “Soyer...is generally too French in his practice, and offers examples which many who have a natural love of simple and succulent English good cheer will never follow”, before adding that his dishes were too expensive for the average person to afford (Tickletooth, 1860:8). Here, a classed attitude to French cuisine is expressed. French food, for Selby, was viewed as something for the upper classes, and not the average working- or middle-class person. Furthermore, the use of the phrase ‘English good cheer’ to describe the food emphasises the fact that food had taken on a value that reflected the English character.

⁴² Soyer was born in France in 1810 (Brandon, [2004] 2005) and arrived in London in 1831 (Bullock, 2005). He went on to work for upper-class families before becoming “the first chef of the Reform, a leading political and social club, which rapidly took its place as one of the finest places to eat in London” (Bullock, 2005:50). As referred to in the writing of ‘Tickletooth’ (1860), he also authored numerous cookery books (Young, 2008). Ultimately, Soyer was one of England’s first celebrity chefs with a legacy that has stood the test of time.

Adversely, Charles Dickens, Jr., in the entry on “Restaurants”, published in his *Dickens’s Dictionary of London*, wrote of a longing for culinary Frenchification and “something better than a cut off the joint, or a chop or steak” (Dickens, Jr., 1879:n.p.). While admitting that “so much has been done in twenty years” to improve dining in London, he declared that “[i]t is probably trite that even now it is impossible to dine in public in London as well as that important ceremony can be performed in Paris” (Dickens, Jr., 1879:n.p.). In the publication he also expressed hope for the day that he and others like him, that were “still respectably young”, would get to dine the way they could in Paris (Dickens, Jr., 1879:n.p.). He would get his wish, even if he could not enjoy the new London dining scene for long.⁴³

Writers have both reflected how the move to a diversification of cuisine in England was seen as either good or bad. Clement Scott, in a booklet entitled “How They Dined Us in 1860 and How They Dine Us Now”, published circa 1900, expressed that he was pleased that this Englishness was no longer permeating culinary culture:

No more hunks of food flung at you as if you were a dog waiting to be fed, no more eternal round of British fare – heavy, solid, indigestible, and, for the most part, badly cooked; no more gargantuan tankards of heady beer or beakers, or rummers of punch, of British brandy (Scott, c. 1900:19).

The same can be said for the author of an untitled article published in *The Hotel World* on 21st February 1883, who had some choice words about the English cooks and their cookery prior to the France’s influence on England’s consumption:

Before the reign of French *chefs* was inaugurated in hotels, we knew not what a magnificent art cooking could be raised to. By long and constant and painful association with generations upon generations of cooks, as ignorant as their productions were vile, we came to look upon inferior cooking as the natural thing. We did not complain much – it would have been futile if we had – for we knew not what good cooking was. But now some of us – the number is more select than great – have shaken off the apathy which formerly possessed us, have plainly told our cooks of the old school they must either improve, or seek ‘fresh woods and pastures new’ (*The Hotel World*, emphasis in original, 1883:4).

⁴³ Charles Dickens, Jr., died of heart disease in 1896, he was 59 years of age.

Yet, others were less impressed by the Frenchification. The Englishman, Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Newnham-Davis, one of England's first food writers, evidences this in his account of trying to entertain an elderly gentleman, who was described as "[disliking] the French on principle" (Newnham-Davis, 1899:47). Newnham-Davis had trouble selecting a restaurant, as he explained, "it was not easy to select a suitable dining-place for him...because nothing but brute force would keep a maître d'hôtel from putting an *à la* on the menu" (Newnham-Davis, 1899:47). It is also in this specific review that Newnham-Davis offered his readers a taste of what "solid English dinners" were for this gentleman, listing "haunches of venison, saddles of mutton, great capons, turkeys almost as big as ostriches, cygnets, suckling pigs, and such-like dishes" (Newnham-Davis, 1899:47). Albeit that Newnham-Davis clearly had no issues with French food or French menus, his difficulty in selecting an establishment with no French influence, for his solicitor acquaintance, provided a clear idea of what the fashion in London was in the late nineteenth century: French food *was* fine dining.

Newnham-Davis, who appeared most happy with his choice, opted to take his guest to The Blue Posts on Cork Street, where he spoke to the head waiter, Frank, about the "particulars as to the old gentleman who was to be [his] guest" (Newnham-Davis, 1899:48):

The bill of fare, on a long slip of paper, which Frank put into my hand would have gladdened the old gentleman's heart. There was not an *à la* on it – not a word of French, "sauce *tartare*" excepted, and entrées were rigorously excluded. Frank advised soup, saying that all the soups were made from stock, no sauces of any kind being used; but I mistrust the Britannic soup, for we are not a nation of soupmakers, and would have none (Newnham-Davis, 1899:48).

Despite not having a starter of any description, the gentlemen enjoyed his food. The elderly solicitor is said to have taken issue with some of the restaurant interior, such as the "windows and skylight", which "were considered Frenchified" (Newnham-Davis, 1899:49). It was also noted that Newnham-Davis' guest commented on the front of house staff and was unimpressed that "the waiters in such a Britannic house [were] of foreign birth" (Newnham-Davis, 1899:49). Newnham-Davis seemed to appease his

supper guest by “telling him of the battles against the French in which Frank had taken part, and of the history of his maimed hand” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:50). Although Frank’s nationality was never explicitly stated, the fact he was said to have fought the French and “has still about him a suggestion of the soldier who fought under the old Emperor William” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:48) indicated that it is likely that he was German and fought in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

Newnham-Davis made clear that he had struggled to find a restaurant for his acquaintance and while it was seen that ‘solid English dinners’ no longer really had a place in London’s establishments, the emphasis on explaining the age of his dining companion was likely to imply that he was, potentially, behind the times. An untitled article in *The Hotel World*, published on 28th March 1883, also picks up on the eating and drinking habits of previous generations: “We are wiser than our grandfathers... They ate and drank...without much considering their digestive organs. We do otherwise. We eat with discretion, if not wisdom... Edibles innumerable once were consumed with gusto, and drinkables beyond account that previously were quaffed with unalloyed pleasure, now cause us ‘obstinate questionings’” (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4). Here we see parallels to the fashion of dining for health reasons outlined in the work of Spang (2000). Albeit, it would appear that the English lagged behind the French by a century in terms of the display of sensibility in regard to their health and physiology.

The above being said, an article published on 6th September in 1879 in *The Caterer* indicated that dining in England and English people’s dining habits still may not have been as refined as they were in France, categorising the English as serving large quantities of food and consuming much alcohol. In the article entitled “How We Dine in England”, a letter sent to the French journal, *Temps*,⁴⁴ by French national, Monsieur Millaid, who was sojourning in England, was recounted (*The Caterer*, 1879:123). *The Caterer* stated that in the letter Millaid endeavoured to “explain why sadness reigns in England” and that he concluded that “food must be the cause” (*The Caterer*, 1879:123). In the letter Millaid gave a description of English food: “It is nourishing, good, plentiful, but it is as thick as syrup” (*Temps*, cited in *The Caterer*, 1879:123). Millaid came to the conclusion that food was served in “enormous quantities” and that after

⁴⁴ ‘Time’.

dinner, “you must not think of walking fourteen yards without going to a bar” (*Temps*, cited in *The Caterer*, 1879:123). “The English slake their thirst with port or sherry containing a great deal of alcohol”, which is like “throwing oil on the fire” (*Temps*, cited in *The Caterer*, 1879:123).⁴⁵ He said that the English, however, must be excused for the excessive evening consumption because “they eat one meal a day”, unless they have to do work (*Temps*, cited in *The Caterer*, 1879:123). He went on to confirm that those who do work “take bread and butter and tea” in the morning, and that “[v]ery busy people rush into a bar and get the barmaid to give them a sandwich and a glass of sherry, and then rush out again” (*Temps*, cited in *The Caterer*, 1879:123). However, Millaid recounted, “loungers take their stand at the bar and look for a long time at the barmaid without speaking a word, and this contemplation lasts for ten minutes; the loungeur eats half of his sandwich, contemplates again, eats another mouthful, drinks, re-contemplates, and goes without saying goodbye” (*Temps*, cited in *The Caterer*, 1879:123). The idea of the English always being in a hurry is repeated in another article, published on 6th April 1878 in *The Caterer*, entitled “Parisian Waiters”. In this article, the French and the English are ascribed “dining characteristics” (*The Caterer*, 1878:8). The prime difference between them, the author noted, was that “Englishmen [are] always in a hurry”, while on the other hand, “the Frenchman” prefer to take their time when consuming a meal (*The Caterer*, 1878:8).

The contradicting perspectives present an interesting insight into the way that the English might have dined in late Victorian England, while also presenting the attitudes that people had toward dining practices. It is hoped that this, again, provides some grounding for the upcoming chapters, which seek to negotiate attitudes concerning the embrace of cross-culturalism and cosmopolitanism. Yet, it would be problematic for this work to not consider the establishments that served food in the English capital and their construction because, as will now be discussed, these establishments were cross-cultural constructions aided by the technological advancements in travel and infrastructure.

⁴⁵ Millaid believed that drinking port/sherry after a large meal was bad for digestion.

4.2. *The Rise of the Grand English Hotel*

French food would not have proliferated the capital in such a way if it had not been for the rise of the grand London hotels. In the previous chapter it was outlined that a new emphasis had been placed on commodity fetishism, and turning products into entertainment, with this, establishments needed to be built that allowed for processes of conspicuous consumption and leisure to take place. The grand hotels of London were to act as such spaces. This chapter section seeks to detail the rise of these establishments, and the feelings towards them. Trade press content from the late Victorian period, specifically from London's *The Hotel World*, will be used to undertake this task, so as to focus on the emotions and opinions that were held by a new generation who were invested in dining out, while it would have been the norm for their parents to have consumed meals at home, with limited exceptions.

A key sentiment identified in press content is a sense of reminiscence for a time that was past. Yet, this is not nostalgia: not an “obstinate, reluctant and unwilling[ness] to accept change” (Jacobsen, 2020:1), but rather a way of starkly contrasting the new. A new that was luxurious, modern, and cosmopolitan. There was no yearning for a time gone by, but rather an acceptance of the fact that the architectural face of London had changed for the better. An article that appeared in *The Hotel World*, on 15th February 1882, entitled “Mine Ease at Mine Inn”, serves to illustrate this point:

Some fifteen years ago, or, maybe, a little more, the United Kingdom became dotted by vast hotels, London did not before possess a ‘Langham,’ a ‘Grand,’ a then ‘Bristol’ or ‘Continental’... Our writers of fiction, when they speak of inns, have a new set of conditions to depict; for the description of Fielding and even Dickens are now antiquated...the new system has its advantages. For instance, there is no need to dispute about the reckoning; every visitor may calculate his expenses to sixpence from the printed tariff.⁴⁶ So convenient is this system that, and so many modern comforts are concentrated in an hotel, that many residents of the place take up their abode there altogether. The whole tone of modern requirements is raised, and the big modern hotel exactly meets them (*The Hotel World*, 1882:3).

⁴⁶ Sixpence in 1882 equates to £3.34 in 2022.

Another example of such a sentiment is evident in an untitled article published on 7th February 1883 in *The Hotel World*, which focussed on the disappearance of taverns:

That one generation passes away and another generation arises is as true of hotels as of men. One by one the resorts of our great grandfathers disappear from our view; and we cannot but acknowledge the arguments put forth for the demolition of these ancient hostelries are of considerable weight. Mostly erected either in the heart of the City, or the centre of the West-end, the ground on which these antique taverns stand is extremely valuable; and, without doubt, owners find it much the better plan to raze them, and erect, in their stead gigantic hotels. Nay, not only is such a course likely to prove more profitable, but the increasing wants of the public for hotel accommodation clearly demands it. And praiseworthy a virtue as is veneration for the relics of the past, still it must be owned, that we are mainly concerned with the present (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4).

In the above extracts, there is a focus on time, change, and a contrasting of the past with the present. Yet both authors are positive, and covertly highlight the influence of industrial capitalism. In the first, its emphasis on efficiency, convenience and higher standards is directly reflected in the ‘system’ that permeated these new hotels. Similar values that were associated with the rail networks that hotel patrons made use of. The second extract, while clearly focussing on the economic capital that the erection of these new buildings created, also outlined a ‘want’ for them. Inns, taverns, and hostelries may have served a similar purpose to the grand hotels at the level of use value, that is, they provided a venue, out of the elements, where one could sleep and dine. However, hotel accommodation offered more than this. This ‘more’, as the following extract, taken from an article published in *The Hotel World* on 10th January 1883, entitled “Hotels – Past and Present”, detailed, was a valuable abstract worth:

Few whose memories can hark back some twenty, or even thirty years, cannot, when passing through any of our better known London streets, but fail to be struck with the vast difference presented in the palatial hotels of the present day, and those of a few years since, while another thought must also often recur to the intelligent observer, viz., that everything appears to be giving way to eating and drinking – the catering to which appears to have developed into a fine art. Whether this is a sign of improved taste or the augmented wealth of the inhabitants of what has not perhaps inaptly been termed the richest city in the world, it boots it not for us to inquire, but certain it is that in place of the modest inn or

unpretentious hostelry of bygone days, with its flaming announcement of ‘good accommodation for man and beast,’ we now find gigantic and elaborately erected structures which many a mighty potentate might envy for a palace. In the same way this grand march of hotel erecting, nothing is considered as sacred to the nineteenth century hotel builders, he pulling down nobleman’s mansion or London slum alike with equal readiness and pleasure – as in the former case of the colossal ‘Grand’ truly so named, which stands on the site occupied for generations by the home of the proud and mighty Percys, and in the latter case of instances too numerous to even mention here, but which will be readily brought to the mind of the thoughtful reader (*The Hotel World*, 1883:6).

These articles, while considering the past, focussed on how London has been transformed, and that the taverns, inns, and hostelrys that once provided accommodation in the capital belong to an earlier time. Yet, it was not just that these older venues had been replaced, other land had been utilised in order to build these grand structures. Whether that be land that held a great, if fire damaged, Jacobian town house, once owned by an English noble family, such as the Percys, or overcrowded and squalid urban streets. Not to digress too far from the purpose of this work, but it is pertinent to note that London had become overcrowded in the Victorian era, as both foreigners and English nationals relocated to the city perceived to be the richest in the world. This caused a problem, in that there was not enough housing to accommodate these migrants, many of whom ended up living in slums. By the late Victorian period much had been done to improve the situation. As Wohl has stated: “The worst ‘rookeries’ and criminal haunts had become by 1900 mere memories as metropolitan improvements, thoroughfares, commercial buildings, railways and other urban developments transformed the topography of inner London” (Wohl, [1977] 2017:xvi).⁴⁷ Wohl went on to instance that even George Simms, a “novelist, playwright, poet, journalist and social reformer”, who “became an authority on housing of the poor but also an observer of all aspects of London life” (Morrison, 2018:227), was complimentary of the changes: “Changes have been in every direction...streets have yielded to broad, handsome thoroughfares; whole areas that were once little better than

⁴⁷ “The term ‘rookery’ was first used to describe the dwellings of the London poor in the latter part of the eighteenth century... It was primarily overcrowding that distinguished a rookery from a slum. The fact that every part of the building from attic to cellar was inhabited earned its nickname – these dwellings were so called because of their resemblance to the nests of rooks” (Fitzgerald, 2011:7).

slums have been cleared, and vast hotels and splendid shops stand where, only a few years back, the thieves and ruffians of London herded” (Simms, 1900, cited in Wohl, [1977] 2017:xvi). A sad irony was that the “submerged” – those who lived in the slums and rookeries – undertook most of “the building work”, “railway building”, and “track-laying” (Fitzgerald, 2011:5), albeit there was resistance against relocating from the slums.

Not to deny class consciousness to Marx’s lumpenproletariat of the overpopulated London slums, but the transformation of London directly corresponds to Elias’ conceptualisations regarding the ‘civilising’ process, as symbolically violent as this specific example was. Standards of living and conduct were changing, not merely for the London’s ‘submerged’, but for the upper classes. In the late nineteenth century, the ‘civilised’ man no longer frequented the inn, where they could dine on slabs of meat and drink beer and brandy, nor did they travel using ‘beasts’. Instead, they travelled by rail, and patronised grand structures resembling ‘palaces’, where they ate food with consideration for their digestive organs. The interdependencies cannot be overstated, the workers in these faux palaces were largely foreigners, and those that built them and the railways that allowed for their visitors were of a class that lived in what was viewed as “breeding grounds of crime and immorality” (Gray, 2010:123).

To further the extension of the ‘civilising’ process, the author of the “Hotels – Past and Present” article declared that eating and drinking had “developed into a fine art” (*The Hotel World*, 1883:6). A form of art that was functionalist, in that it served a purpose or multiple purposes. That is, in its most basic sense, to sustain and quell hunger and thirst, but also more symbolically – to obtain multiple forms of capital by purchasing a meal and drinks – and, potentially, that pleasure was to be gained from the senses when consuming these substances. In addition, this form of art was procedural. It was “created according to certain conventions and social practices” (Davies, 1998:n.p.). Davies has posited that “the proceduralist holds that it is a necessary condition for a thing’s being an artwork that it be ‘baptized’ as art by someone with the authority thereby to confer art status upon the piece” and that “authority is vested in informally structured roles occupied by persons in the art world” (Davies, 1990:100). The author of the article clearly considered their readers to be of such an authority, even if the practices that they partook in in order to recognise food

and drink might have become so ingrained in their habitus that they were no longer even conscious of them. Just as the art critic knows where to seek out art, the readers of the article knew that their art, that of food and drink, could be found in the grand hotels of the English capital, and the author did not need to spell this out for them, but sought to remind them that such luxurious consumption was seldom seen not so long ago:

When one compares the luxury of the present day with that which prevailed only a few short years since, one cannot but forcibly be impressed with the striking contrast presented, and also with the fact that luxury – we refer more particularly to the consumption of food now – it is pleasant to note that the prices for procuring the same have not increased in anything like the same ratio. A good dinner can now be obtained, served in magnificent dining-hall, resplendent with gilt carving, mirrors, and first-class pictures, and accompanied with high-class music artistically rendered – any day, for about 3s 6d, the courses composing which are almost numberless, but which we hope are promoted in their digestion by the before-mentioned music which is proverbially known to soothe the savage breast...⁴⁸ We can therefore congratulate ourselves...we think that there are few continental cities that can show such an array of hotels as we can, bearing in mind such grand edifices as the ‘Langham,’ the ‘Westminster Palace,’ the ‘Grosvenor,’ the ‘Midland,’ the ‘Grand,’ the ‘Charing Cross,’ the ‘Cannon Street,’ and the ‘Euston,’ which afford a striking contrast to the ‘Great Northern,’ which when opened was considered a wonderful undertaking, but which, standing by the side of, and overawed by its mighty neighbour, the ‘Midland,’ looks very much like a doll’s house, an illusion which is intensified by the green shutters with which it is adorned (*The Hotel World*, 1883:6).

Whilst serving to remind the late Victorian readers of change, the extract, by listing the names of these buildings, reiterates that the target readership would have both the habitus and capital allowing them to frequent or, at least know of, these grand buildings. It is also likely the readers may have remembered many of their openings.

Since readers of this thesis will certainly not remember said occasions, but may still visit some such places, it is worth saying a bit about the hotels listed in the piece: The Langham’s foundations were laid in 1863, it was declared opened to the public in 1865

⁴⁸ 3s. and 6d. equates to £23.65 in 2022.

(Gordon, 1887), and still remains open today. The Westminster Palace opened in 1860 and was converted into offices in the 1920s (Moon, 2005). The Grosvenor was built in 1862 and is said to be London's first railway hotel, it now operates as The Clermont, Victoria (The Clermont, n.d.). The Midland Grand Hotel, funded by the Midland Railway Company and designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott, was opened in 1873 (Skipper, 2017). After closing for a period, it is now open as part of St. Pancras Renaissance London Hotel. The Grand that is referred to was built from 1882-1887 (Hatton, 2015), it was one of three hotels to be built following the demolition of Northumberland House (Ministry of Defence, 2001), formally owned by the Duke of Northumberland of the House of Percy. The Charing Cross Hotel, formally called the Amba Hotel Charing Cross, opened in 1865, it now operates as The Clermont, Charing Cross (The Clermont, n.d.). The Cannon Street Hotel, formally the City Terminus Hotel, operated until 1931 (Swaine, 2021; Network Rail, 2022). The Euston, also known as the Adelaide, was the eldest of the listed hotels, it opened in 1839, the same year as the Victoria Hotel (Cain, 2007). In 1880-81 these two hotels were joined (Roberts and Godfrey, 1949) and became known as the Euston, however, damage led to their demolition in the 1960s.

As will later be argued, many of these buildings still serve as spaces imbued with the sentiment of 'luxury', a stagnation in the 'civilising' process and severing of the chains of interdependence or otherwise. Yet, returning to these articles, it is worth explicitly making the point that readers would have known that hotels were not exclusively places for people to stay overnight. As is still the case today, people were allowed to enter their dining halls without a hotel reservation. Since the rise of these establishments, many luxury restaurants have opened that exclusively operate as stand-alone restaurants, such as London's two-starred Le Gavroche, and Restaurant Story. However, in the period of interest, if you wished to dine in a high-end restaurant, you would normally have had to visit a hotel to do so. Plus, as the Newnham-Davis extract demonstrated in the prior section, if you wanted the luxury dining experience, you would struggle to find anywhere that did not have any European influence and that was not serving French cuisine. As stated before, French food *was* fine dining.

4.3. *French Food and its Consumption in England*

The above two sections have detailed English food, prior to the rise of the grand hotels in England, and the sentiment behind the rise of these new sites of consumption and leisure. As has been indicated in both, French food was, indeed, central to upper-class dining in the country's capital. It is the purpose of this section to discuss in more detail this food, with a focus on the social and cultural implications of its consumption. It begins by looking at some example menus of the period, to illustrate just how embedded the chains of cross-cultural consumption had become, before turning to the debate concerning the publication of menus in the French language. A discussion will then follow that details the perceived superiority of French culinary methods and how French chefs, themselves, were commodified by English diners.

4.3.1. *French Menus*

As previously mentioned, Lieut.-Col. Newnham-Davis was one of the first writers on food. Today he would be considered a restaurant critic and his publications would be labelled as restaurant reviews. As was put by Assael, he was a “guide and a booster”, “a retired army officer” and “arguably the first restaurant reviewer”, “who introduced readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1897-8 to a number of notable restaurants” (Assael, 2018:21). Newnham-Davis had amassed a great wealth of social capital and his “restaurant reviews for the *Pall Mall Gazette* regularly reflected...cosmopolitan company” (Prasch, 2008:597), as he invited guests, who varied in both nationality and profession, to dine with him. In his reviews, he discusses not only restaurant interiors, décor, food, and drink, but also his company, their habits, opinions, and how they came to be dining together. Hence, providing a social commentary, as evidenced in the previous extract concerning his elderly solicitor dining companion.

This section does make brief reference to his companions, but focusses on his incredibly successful book, *Dinners and Diners: Where and How to Dine in London*, published in 1899, and the menus that he detailed in it. From the book, three menus have been chosen that reflected differing price points: a lavish menu from the Savoy, a mid-tier menu from The Café Royal, and an ‘economical’ menu from The Hotel Continental. These menus will be outlined before a general commentary concerning them is supplied. The menus, as per the custom, were originally written, and replicated

in his volume, in French. For that reason, translations have been placed in square brackets. However, please note that the below translations are my own and while I have tried to assure their accuracy, there may be some deviation between them and the actual dishes that were served.

“THE SAVOY UNDER MONS. RITZ (THAMES EMBANKMENT)”⁴⁹

Mons. Echenard was *maître d’hôtel* at the time that Newnham-Davis dined at the Savoy and managed to procure him a table for two, in the large dining room, despite the fact that they were fully booked. In total, Newnham-Davis was charged £3, 5s. and 6d. for his nine-course Sunday dinner, for two, at the Savoy. In 2022, the bill would have totalled £467.75, which is £233.87 per person. He detailed the bill in his review, which he described as “moderate” for “such an admirable dinner” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:78):

Two couverts [*Hors-d’oeuvres*], 1s.; bortch [Russian soup with cream], 3s.; sole savoy [sole pie with macaroni and shrimps], 6s.; mousse jambon [ham mousse served on ice], 6s.; poulet polonaise [Polish chicken – chicken stuffed with liver], 8s.; salade [salad], 2s.; foie gras [foie gras parfait], 6s.; asperges verts [sic] [green asparagus], 7s. 6d.; pêches glacées vanille [vanilla glazed mock peaches served in ice carved into the shape of a swan], 7s.; one bottle champagne 133 [in this instance, Veuve Clicquot], 15s.; café [coffee], 2s.; liqueurs, 2s.; total, £3:5:6 (Newnham-Davis, 1899:78).

This was not the menu as written, but the *bill*. Hence, supplementary details about the courses have been included. The menu was not provided as, in addition to this review, he included a recipe by *chef de cuisine*, Mons. Escoffier, and two dinner party

⁴⁹ César Ritz was born in Switzerland in February 1850. He worked as a waiter in both France and Austria before securing hotel management positions in France and Switzerland (Allen, [2004] 2006). In December 1889, Ritz took up the role of general manager at the Savoy in London (Allen, [2004] 2006). “[H]e brought with him maître chef Auguste Escoffier and Louis Echenard, a master of wine, as maître d’hôtel” (Shore, 2007:323). Ritz’s legacy endures in the English lexicon with the descriptors, ‘ritzy’ and ‘putting on the ritz’ (Michelli, 2008), and two of the famous restaurants that he founded, the Hôtel Ritz in Paris and the Ritz Hotel in London, which both remain in operation today.

menus.⁵⁰ The below is the first of the two sample dinner party menus, and is detailed here to provide an example of a more extravagant dinner. It is described as a “typical Savoy [dinner] for a party that numbers six or eight” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:78):

Canapés Moscovites.

[Salmon based canapés.]

Pommes d’amour.

[Candied apples.]

Consommé aux nids d’Hirondelles.

[Swallow’s nest consommé.]⁵¹

Filets de truite aux laitances.

[Trout fillet with roes of male trout.]

Désirs de Mascotte.

[Garnished rooster testicles and croutons.]

Caneton de Rouen en chemise.

[Male duckling, stuffed with liver, in pastry.]

Petits pois aux laitues.

[Peas with lettuce.]

Suprêmes d’écrevisses au Château Yquem.

[Crayfish in white sauce with Château Yquem.]⁵²

Ortolans Cocotte au suc d’ananas.

[Ortolans, served in a cocotte, with pineapple juice.]⁵³

⁵⁰ Auguste Escoffier was born in October 1846 in the south of France (James, 2002; Civitello, [2007] 2008). His first job, which he began in October 1859, was as “a cook apprentice to his Uncle François” (James, 2002:2). Following his apprenticeship, he would then run a kitchen in Nice (James, 2002), before moving to work in Paris (James, 2002; Civitello, [2007] 2008). “In the Franco-Prussian War (1870) Escoffier served in the French Army as Chef de Cuisine” (Negi, 2008:437). After his service, he returned to work in Paris, but it was in Monte Carlo that Escoffier would meet his friend and future business-partner, Ritz (Negi, 2008). At the age of forty-three, Escoffier began working at the Savoy (Taylor, 1996), which granted him further symbolic capital. As observed by Taylor, “Escoffier was acknowledged to be *the* master Chef...his ‘Guide to Modern Cookery’, published in 1907, remains the bible of thousands of chefs all over the world to this day” (Taylor, emphasis in original, 1996:30-31).

⁵¹ As noted in *The Restaurateur* in a segment entitled “Culinary Terms”, published in the March 1912 edition, a “[c]onsommé” is a “[s]trong clear soup” (*The Restaurateur*, 1912:20).

⁵² Château Yquem is a sweet wine from southern Bordeaux.

⁵³ Ortolans are Eurasian songbirds, and a cocotte is a roaster/stewpan with a lid.

Cœurs de Romaine.

[Hearts of cos lettuce.]

Asperges à l'huile vierge.

[Asparagus in virgin olive oil.]

Belle de nuit aux violettes.

[Literal translation: beautiful night with violets.]

Friandises.

[Confectionaries.]

(Newnham-Davis, 1899:78).

“THE CAFÉ ROYAL (REGENT STREET)”

The second menu selected to be detailed was from The Café Royal. It consisted of nine courses per person and, including drinks, the bill totalled £2, 4s. and 6d. Converted, this totals £317.78, which is £158.89 per person, in 2022. It is worth noting that Newnham-Davis’ dining companion, his sister-in-law – who I am sure that he would wish for me to mention was the daughter of a dean – did not eat oysters, so this course was cut from the menu and replaced by an additional *entrée*.⁵⁴ The *chef de cuisine*, at the time Newnham-Davis was writing, was Mons. Charles, and the manager was Mons. Oddenino. While Mons. Charles was not given much attention, Oddenino, who Newnham-Davis had known for “six years or so” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:209), was. Details about their conversation, his appearance, and mannerisms were provided, along with his credentials: “[Mons. Oddenino]...went from the management of the East Room at the Criterion to the Washington in Oxford Street, then to the big hotel at Cimiez before arriving at the The Café Royal” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:209).⁵⁵ The menu and bill were as follows:

⁵⁴ In his review, Newnham-Davis repeatedly mentioned that his sister-in-law was the daughter of a dean. This diacope became a rhetorical device used for humorous purposes.

⁵⁵ Cimiez is a historical, hilltop, neighbourhood in Nice. In the nineteenth century the area was selected for development and transformed into a leisure destination for the upper classes (Mille, 1995). Some of the grand residences included: “Grand-Hôtel, Riviera, Winter Palace, Hermitage, Alhambra, Majestic, [and] Régina” (Mille, 1995:23). According to Mille, “Cimiez, in fact, owes a lot to [Queen] Victoria, who made seven lengthy visits to the Riviera in the last decade of her life” and “helped confer...its fame and legacy” (Mille, 1995).

Hors-d'œuvre Russe.
 [Russian appetisers.]
Pot au feu.
 [Broth, beef, vegetables.]
Sole Waleska.
 [Sole, Mornay sauce, with lobster and/or prawns.]⁵⁶
Noisette d'agneau Lavallière.
 [Centre cut of lamb chop, served with lamb livers and truffle.]
Haricots verts à l'Anglaise.
 [English green beans.]
Parfait de foie gras.
 [Foie gras parfait.]
Caille en cocotte.
 [Quail served in a cocotte.]
Salade.
 [Salad.]
Pole nord.
 [North Pole.]⁵⁷
 (Newnham-Davis, 1899:211).

The bill was: two couverts, 1s.; hors-d'oeuvre, 2s.; pot au feu, 2s.; sole Waleska, 3s. 6d.; supreme d'agneau, 3s. 6d.; haricots verts, 1s. 6d.; parfait de foie gras, 4s.; caille cocotte, 5s.; salade, 1s.; pole nord, 2s. 6d.; café, 1s. 6d.; one bottle '67, 15s.; liqueurs, 2s.; total, £2:4:6 (Newnham-Davis, 1899:214).

“THE HOTEL CONTINENTAL (REGENT STREET)”

The third menu also hails from Regent Street, but this time is taken from The Hotel Continental. In this instance, Newnham-Davis and his dining companion only had an hour to sup. Hence, *he* – as was customary, especially when dining with a lady – chose

⁵⁶ A Mornay is a béchamel sauce, which is traditionally made with milk, butter, and flour, with added cheese.

⁵⁷ Newnham-Davis had to ask the manager what this dessert was. It was “cream ice served on a pedestal of clear ice”, and that the manager had chosen this title because it “sounded grand and mysterious” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:211).

the shortest (and cheapest) of the three available menus. The selected set menu was composed of eight courses and was 6s. 6d. in price, with the bill totalling £1 and 6d., which would come to £146.39, or a modest £73.19 per person, in 2022. Mons. Baptiste Commaille was said to be *chef de cuisine*, and Mons. Garin was *maître d'hôtel* at the time of writing but had been replaced by Mons. Laurent by the time of publication. The menu and bill are as follows:

Hors-d'œuvre variés.
[Assorted appetisers.]
Consommé Sévigné.
[Sévigné consommé.]⁵⁸
Paupiettes de merlans Héloïse.
[Stuffed whiting rolls]
Tournedos grillés Judic.
[Grilled tournedos garnished with braised lettuce, and, in this case, artichokes in batter,
and tomatoes.]
Poularde rôtie.
[Roast chicken.]
Salade.
[Salad.]
Asperges au beurre fondu.
[Asparagus with melted butter.]
Soufflé glacé Victoria.
[Victoria iced soufflé.]
(Newnham-Davis, 1899:125).

This was the bill;—Two dinners, 13s.; half 88, 7s.; one lemon squash, 1s.; half tasse, 6d. one liqueur, 1s.; total, £1:0:6 [sic] (Newnham-Davis, 1899:127).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Chicken consommé with chicken meat, peas, lettuce, and French parsley.

⁵⁹ I have checked two different copies of *Diners and Dinners* and can confirm that they both state that the bill was “£1:0:6” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:127). However, the bill should total £1:2:6. It is unclear whether this was therefore a human error made by the restaurant, Newnham-Davis, or his publishers, or maybe it was as simple as the lemon squash and liqueur being ‘on the house’.

The above menus seek to illustrate the dishes served at these restaurants. As is evident, these dishes are far from the English fare discussed in the first section of this chapter. Like the subjects of the royal mechanism but for different reasons, Newnham-Davis, his companions, and many others possessing the capital and habitus allowing them to enter such restaurants, had adopted refined standards, tastes, and etiquette when it came to consuming. Meat, while evident on the menus, had been ‘civilised’, so that very specific cuts were advertised. The “railways and ice brought fresh fish...inland” (Mitchell, 1996:123), hence, this innovation allows for fish to be exhibited on such menus. Potatoes were never showcased, potentially because they were associated with simplicity, convenience, and the working class. In Victorian England, as stated by Broomfield: “Working people turned to potatoes as the most reliable, cheap food available...they were eaten by working people because they could easily be stored, were convenient, simple to cook, easy to grow on limited land, and filling” (Broomfield, 2007:93). Hence, it is likely that this food stuff was a marker of ‘repulsion’, in the same way ale, beer and punch was. Wine, specifically French wine, was now a drink that, in England, was imbued with “metaphysical subtleties” (Marx, [1867] 1990:163) that connoted luxury and affluence. Technique or the art of food preparation also stands out as striking in these menus in comparison to standard British fare. Courses contained multiple components, and produce was melted, boiled, grilled, roasted, stuffed, clarified, etc. Many food stuffs do, of course, have to be cooked before consumption. However, technique goes beyond use value, and enters the realms of science and artistry. To exemplify, Newnham-Davis noted: “it is one of the customs of Savoy cookery to have, if possible, one cold dish at least in the menu, for...the cold ones give M. Escoffier and his staff a chance of showing what they can do in the way of decoration” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:75). Decoration serves no purpose other than one that is abstract and, it is argued that to consume artistry is as much about consuming the labour of the artist as the art in and of itself; it is a symbolically violent act.

As is evident from the above menus, the dining system had changed. With each course being brought out in a specific order, food was not eaten in *d’hôte* or buffet style. As was also apparent, menus could be modified to suit the needs and wants of specific customers. Plus, like the French restaurants that were discussed by Spang, these luxury sites of dining presented “new forms of publicness” that “could be as much about consumption, display, and spectacle as they were about dialogue or discussion... The

restaurant was a publicly private place” (Spang, 2000:85-86). Patrons were able to become absorbed in a service that was tailored to them, personally waited on plate-by-plate. Yet, as was so evident in Newnham-Davis’ reviews, dining was a public display. He wanted to sit in the large dining room because, as he explained, “at the Savoy the view of one’s neighbours and their wives is no unimportant part of the Sunday dinner” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:73). When visiting The Hotel Continental his dining companion, Miss Carcanet, who was new to London, “wanted to be told who the different people dining at the tables might be” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:125). She was informed that one man “was one of the best-known singers”, there was a “Wagnerian conductor”, a “well-known comedian and manager”, “the gentleman dining with two ladies was a cricketer of fame” and there was “the London correspondent of the Figaro dining with another French gentleman” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:125). Hence, dining in these restaurants was an individualised but intimate social affaire.

What was not indicated by these menus was the shift in etiquette and manners. “Lady Carcanet did not think it at all the thing for a young girl to dine at a restaurant alone with a gentleman” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:122-123), and even Miss Carcanet was documented saying: “Isn’t it *delightfully* improper to be dining alone with a gentleman in a restaurant!” (Newnham-Davis, emphasis in original, 1899:124). A stand-alone essay could be written on the topic of women dining in restaurants and whether, as Miss Carcanet’s comment implied, it was liberatory or if they themselves became objects of the male gaze in a patriarchal landscape of consumption. Yet, space does not permit this undertaking, but it should be stressed that women did, indeed, enter and dine in these spaces...even if they were not always allowed to read the menus.⁶⁰

Undoubtably, Miss Carcanet, who “had finished her education” in a “celebrated Parisian school” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:125) would have, however, been quite capable of both understanding and reading the menu. For, as is axiomatic, with the occasional European or Russian influence, the dishes on the above menus were French and the menus were written in French. This is far more than residue of France’s influence on dining in Britain, but symbolises the interconnectedness of the two nations, while also emphasising France’s dominance as superior in terms of cuisine and how

⁶⁰ See pp. 167-169 for further comments on the topic of women dining in restaurants.

educated an English person must be in order to consume it and its value on their home turf. Yet, as will now be discussed, wherever there is interdependence there is intolerance.

4.3.2. *French Menus: 'Why Not English?'*

On 7th December 1895, *The Chef* published a letter addressed to the editor, which was signed off by “An English Chef” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).⁶¹ The letter was entitled “Why Not English?”, and opened with the sentence: “Sir, – Has not the time arrived when our menus should be written in English instead of in French?” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). The author of the letter did give France the bulk of the credit for manufacturing the original chefs, “Our present system is a survival of the days when the great majority of chefs could write and speak only one language, that of France” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). However, the English Chef lamented: “Now-a-days, almost every chef is conversant with the English tongue”, whereas “[t]he average Englishman is somewhat shaky in his French” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). They exemplified by stating that “under the disguise of ‘*Chateaubriand aux Pommes*’” an English diner would have “difficulty recognising” the dish as “fillet of beef with potatoes” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Thus, argued the chef, the English national “eats many things that do not agree with his stomach” because “he” cannot understand the menu (*The Chef*, 1895:6). In order to vanquish this problem, the chef suggested: “If the French titles of dishes must be retained, then, in the name of common sense, let the English equivalent accompany them” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Yet, the reader is left with the feeling that the English chef would do away with the French language in its entirety if he could.

In the issue published three weeks later, on 28th December 1895, a reply to the English chef was featured under the same title of “Why Not English?” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). The letter was signed, simply, “Epicure” (*The Chef*, 1895:6),⁶² and was a polite explanation of why, in his eyes, publishing menus in English was an absurd idea. The self-stated epicure began as such: “Permit me to reply that French is the language

⁶¹ Interestingly, this letter was printed in the first edition of *The Chef*, which implies that the editor was receiving mail before the journal’s initial publication.

⁶² By definition, an epicure is a person who takes pride in their knowledge of fine food and wine.

of polite society all over the world” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). He added: “To print our menus in English would be to lower the whole tone of the art, and to admit to its inner mysteries men who have neither education or taste, and upon whom the higher triumphs of gastronomical science would be totally thrown away” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Furthering on from this: “A traveller would be non-plussed as to what to order. But, as it is, there is one universal language among culinary artists, and it is understood by most people who can appreciate high-class cookery” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

Albeit that the English chef did have critique from one reader of *The Chef*, he did win the support of someone who referred to himself as “Philo” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Philo’s response was also published in the 28th December 1895 issue, under the same title, and in it he wrote that he had “thoroughly [appreciated] the spirit of [An English Chef’s] remarks” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). The English chef’s supporter went on to say that, despite the fact that he could “get through a French novel with ease”, he did “frequently puzzle over the contents of a menu” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Thus, he simply could not “see why menus for Englishmen should not be written in English, and, if French must be used, the translation should be given” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

The English chef’s response to menus written in French at first seems quite logical, even if, as will be discussed in the following chapter of this thesis, one cannot help but wonder if his nationality has caused some resentment in an industry where French chefs had dominated. Maybe even pride for English fare can be located in his correspondence, as his ‘*Chateaubriand aux Pommes*’ example is far removed from the cuisine listed on the example menus and more in line with the cuisine served at the English taverns, inns and hostelrys. Yet, before turning to an analysis of Epicure’s response, it is argued that Philo’s response was one that, in part, related to his argument. Philo remarked that he was able to “get through a French novel with ease” (*The Chef*, 1895:6), what he was doing here was not simply making a case for menu items to be listed in English but presenting his own capital. He was economically and/or socially privileged enough to have learnt the language – embodied cultural capital was evidenced by his ability to read a French novel – but, primarily, he was showcasing symbolic capital. As Epicure asserted, there is a worth to this language that grants status in England, and this was something that Philo was surely aware of.

The publication of menus in French, as Epicure suggested, limited access to the field of the culinary arts. The inability to decipher a menu indicated a lack of relevant capital accumulation, and this inability acted as blockage to those positioned in the lower two levels of the interdirectional model, keeping the upper class safe from those who may wish to ‘colonise’ their fields. In his own words, Epicure sought to justify the use of French on menus to keep those he perceived as lacking “education or taste” from encroaching on a form of “science” and “art” that was “high-class” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). That is, learning to decipher French menus so as to differentiate themselves from members of the lower classes did incur a capital cost for the higher classes, but this invidious comparison served to discourage pecuniary emulation. Hence, Epicure illustrated an attempt at the “preservation of higher status and the distinguishing personality characteristics [that] requires a form of foresight, self-restraint and prudence beset by anxiety” (Elias, [1939] 2012:472). It may have made the upper class’ lives easier to have menus published in English, but Epicure’s anxieties about an interruption to the doxic standard of publishing menus in French foresee a subsequential highly negative impact.

4.4. Overview: Consumption in England

It was the purpose of this chapter to address consumption in England, with a specific focus on London, before, during and after the rise of the restaurant. It therefore began by discussing the ideas of Bowden (1975), who claimed that puritanical perfunctory dining influenced how England was to eat for centuries. Even if food were to lose its connection with simply filling a functional role, the foodstuffs consumed were the same. The writing of Broomfield (2007), discussing pre-Industrial England, was turned to so as to support this point. The English, much like the French, had developed a cuisine that symbolised the nation. Food was judged to be simple and plain – epitomised by meat, gravy, potatoes, and fruit tart. Yet, what also changed over the course of history was the way that people dined, following the decline in Puritanism, people began to dine on this established English cuisine with gusto; a new gastric effervescence was to define this dining. This chapter considered those who both had developed a predilection for ‘English’ manducation and those of a younger generation who were to advocate for ‘civilised’ or ‘refined’ cross-cultural prandial practices.

The voices of this younger generation were considered further when focusing on the establishment and rise of the grand hotels of London. At the same time, the manipulation of the face of London to cater for their cosmopolitan tastes was – to draw on Bourdieusian terminology – deemed symbolically violent. A distinct power differential was observable, whereby the class of labourers who helped build London's luxury hotels, and the railways that would make them accessible, lost their living space to accommodate structures that many would never be able to visit. Building on this, Elias' 'civilising' process was considered in relation to these classed and racialised interdependences, and then extended to consider consumption for those who could afford to frequent London's hotels. It was concludingly argued that once established, doxa pertaining to the consumption of culinary artistry had become so ingrained in the habitus of those who could patronise these procedural spaces that a specific journal, *The Hotel World*, had to issue reminders of how new these spaces were.

The last chapter segment turned to consider this culinary artistry in more concrete terms. Three menus, from three London establishments, at distinct price points were considered. The purpose of which was to exemplify the food and drink served; evidence the marked contrast from the food discussed in the first chapter segment; and to show processes of 'civilising' in regard to food's preparation. Blending the ideas of Marx, Elias and Bourdieu, it was argued that English fair had become 'repulsive' and that preparatory techniques, imported products, and edible decoration had become fetishised, imbued with metaphysical qualities that connoted luxury and affluence, and was consumed in a symbolically violent fashion. Spang's ideas were also returned to in order to showcase the public display involved in the practice of dining. Connectedly, France's influence was returned to so as to stress the country's relationship with England, and highlight France's perceived culinary superiority. Such superiority is emphasised in a dispute that played out in the trade literature concerning the publication of restaurant menus in French. Ultimately, it was argued that the publication of these menus in French was a way of ensuring a display of Bourdieu's embodied cultural capital for the readers, while allowing them to guard against Veblen's pecuniary emulation.

5. The Profession of Preparing Food

Now that consumption in England before, during and after the rise of luxury restaurants has been considered, along with the attitudes towards this shift in culinary culture, it is relevant to pay attention to those who prepared the meals served in these establishments. In order to do so, this chapter is broken into two sections. The first of these looks at the skill and status associated with the profession, specifically focussing on the scientific nature of the culinary arts, before addressing why the role of a cook or chef was not one that received the same respect as other trades that required in-depth knowledge and training. 5.1 will then conclude by introducing the argument that symbolic violence occurs in luxury restaurants, which will be elaborated on further in Chapter 6. The second section of this chapter considers the stereotyping of French and English chefs by the English, and how both positive and negative ascriptions served to create tensions in the English habitus. It is here that the discussion of status and culture is returned to, which will lead into chapter seven and the examination of the men that served the food that these cooks and chefs prepared.

5.1. *Cooking as a Skill*

With the move away from the simplistic English fair to the Frenchification of meals, food preparation itself became considered an artistic and/or scientific skill. As was seen in the prior chapter, with food preparation being describe as a ‘science’ and a ‘art’. Despite chefs such as the renowned Carême and Escoffier stating that they were simplifying culinary styles, the English had not eaten in such a way before. Thus, a new form of respect and admiration for culinary creativity became embedded in many an upper-class habitus, even if this same respect and admiration seldom transferred to related job roles that required capital investments in order for one to harness such creativity. So as to discuss the complexities of this topic further, an article published on 22nd January 1898 in *The Chef*, entitled “Cookery as a Profession”, is considered (*The Chef*, 1898:9).

The article opened by stating: “It is generally considered that cookery, at least in its higher accomplishments and more perfect developments, has of late years attained the

position of a fine art” (*The Chef*, 1898:9). It continued by explaining that people’s senses have been trained and newly educated:

People of education no longer eat merely to satisfy the cravings of nature for food, but in order to gratify the refined instincts of a trained palate. The coarse food and strong beverages in which the previous generations delighted have been replaced by scientifically prepared dishes of delicate flavour, and carefully selected wines of subtle aroma. There are, in a word, fewer gourmands and more gourmets than there were a generation ago.⁶³ The natural result of this is that a demand has arisen for a race of educated and highly trained cooks who can minister to the taste which has been created. The status of the cook has, consequently, greatly improved, although not to such an extent as it deserves. When we consider the training which it is necessary a thoroughly qualified cook should undergo, and the knowledge he must possess, we must admit that his position is an honourable and responsible one (*The Chef*, 1898:9).

The article proceeded by detailing the amount of embodied cultural capital that the cook must amass in order to cater to the tastes of the new English gourmets. In order to do so, they liken the chef to a physician:

In many respects [a cook’s] calling is analogous to that of the physician; it is the function of the one to keep the body in health by supplying it with nutritious and easily assimilated food, and of the other to restore by remedial measures the health that has been lost or impaired. And it follows that, as a scientific diet is the best means of both keeping and restoring health, the good cook must possess much of the knowledge of the physician, and the good physician much of the culinary lore of the cook. The training of the cook is, in fact, quite as prolonged as that of the medical intelligence and mental capacity. Why then should the occupation of the one be deemed menial, and that of the other be a passport to the highest society? (*The Chef*, 1898:9).

It is worth bringing back to mind Spang’s (2000) remarks on the medicalisation of the culinary sphere. This article directly corresponds with the ideas that restaurants sold dishes that were able to restore health and were nutritious. A theme that was commented on in the trade press regularly. For example, *The Hotel World*’s untitled

⁶³ In this context, the word ‘gourmand’ is used to mean ‘glutton’. ‘Gourmet’, here, is used to describe a person who is an expert judge of taste concerning food and drink.

article, published on 21st February 1883, noted: “At any rate, hotel-proprietors have shown, and are still showing, what dainty, delicate, yet *nutritive* dishes can be served up with the aid of unequalled French *chefs*” (*The Hotel World*, first emphasis added, second emphasis in original, 1883:4). Although the author of “Cookery as a Profession” takes this one step further by stating that the good cook needs to have accumulated much of the same capital, in the form of knowledge, as a medical professional would have (*The Chef*, 1898:9). It is felt that the author might be overstating the role of a chef and/or cook. Plus, many of the dishes served to those with a ‘trained palate’ were certainly not healthy, e.g., the effects of consuming large quantities of butter and cream are now known, and the practice is not recommended. However, in fairness to the article’s author, late Victorian medical practices were not exactly as refined as today. Gout, for example, was treated with electric baths (Gordon, 1993) before radium was discovered and professed to be a cure (Agnew, 2021). Nonetheless, the point that the author made regarding the fact that cooking requires skill, training, and knowledge is certainly accepted. They go on to elaborate upon this:

We are convinced that in the domain of cookery there lies a wide field for the employment of talent of the highest order, and for the profitable display of all the inventive and intellectual faculties. But, in order to attract to it men and women of education and ability, it is necessary that we should get rid of the idea that there is anything derogatory to one’s self-respect or dignity in making one’s living by practising the culinary art. A science upon which the health, happiness and comfort of the people so largely depend, ought surely to be held in the highest honour and estimation. A hotel manager ought to look upon the chef as his *confrere*, and not as his subordinate (*The Chef*, 1898:9).

While food consumption in restaurants might have been linked to health, there were certainly other reasons why people visited restaurants. That is, thinking back to Newnham-Davis, his reviews did not focus on the health benefits of dining, but the food, its look and taste, the restaurant décor, the staff, his companion, and other diners. As the author of the article noted, people no longer ate purely for reasons of subsistence. Dining, a form of consumption, was a leisure practice that not only aligned with all three categories of the spare-time spectrum but was a labour in and of itself. By its nature, this type of leisure practice needs to be symbolically violent as a restaurant diner entered a field expecting to both accrue and expend varying capitals, and they required

people to provide them with food and drink in order for them to do so. Hence, there was a stark difference between the act of visiting a luxury restaurant and consuming a nine-course meal and visiting a physician to be prescribed electric bath treatment. Put more simply, a chef and physician do both provide specific services, but it is proposed that these professions grant differing status because the type of capital that their customers expend and receive when entering the relevant fields differs drastically.

The problem associated with the profession being subject to symbolic violence is evidenced in a multitude of ways. In the late Victorian period, there was an evident contradiction taking place in the English habitus that contributed to such violence. As explained previously, one's habitus is never fixed or stable; each waking day a person's habitus changes as capital is gained or spent. It is pertinent to remind that capital can be gained by simply thinking, i.e., "heightened consciousness associated with an effort of transformation" can modify one's habitus and capital (Bourdieu, [1997] 2000:160). For example, if there was a situation where a person's manners were scrutinised, then the same person may reflect on this incident in order to transform their manners, or if a value-based opinion is shared with someone, this person may internalise the worth of this value, even if it conflicts with other values that they hold. By nature, one's habitus has the capacity to be contradictory. As was put by Bourdieu: "Habitus is not necessarily adapted to its situation nor necessarily coherent" (Bourdieu, [1997] 2000:160). No matter the greatness of a human, they, at one time in their life, would have contradicted themselves. "In particular, Bourdieu...believed that the enduring discrepancy between his high academic achievement and low social origin had instituted within him a habitus clivé, a sense of self 'torn by contradiction and internal division'" (Friedman, 2016:129-130). This habitus clivé can cause symbolic violence to be exhibited in contradictory ways, and it is now the task of this work to consider the English's reception of French and English chefs.

5.2. *The Stereotype of the French and the English Chef*

As outlined in Chapter 1, embodied cultural capital can be far more than what is learnt, it can also be granted by one's own biology. One's nationality can act as a preordained symbolic force of distinction: to be born French or to be born English and to pursue a career in the culinary arts was to be granted specific associations or stereotypes purely

based on said symbolic capital. To begin by looking firstly at French chefs, as the untitled article published in *The Hotel World* on 21st February 1883, highlighted, French chefs were highly prized in the capital: “There is not, we verily believe, a single London hotel of any pretensions whatever, that does not possess its accomplished and esteemed French *chef*” (*The Hotel World*, emphasis in original, 1883:4).⁶⁴ If one were to eat French food, it was fitting that a Frenchman were to prepare it. However, there is, as the author of the article agrees, nothing that should make a Frenchman any better at cooking French food than the next person, but it concluded that they were. In another article, “The Paris Cookery Exhibition”, published on 5th December 1896 in *The Chef*, the “Paris correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*” is cited (*The Chef*, 1896:11). In the article the correspondent expressed the same sentiment regarding French chefs’ culinary superiority: “People who may still entertain a doubt as to whether cookery should command a recognised position among the refined arts [should visit Paris]... Our French friends have long held the foremost place in this particular line” (*Daily Telegraph*, cited in *The Chef*, 1896:11). The English believed that the French were superior cooks. Yet, along with this positive – if still racist – stereotype, came some more problematic ones.

In a report that appeared in the *Aberdeen Journal*, dated Wednesday 1st January 1890, which was entitled “The French Cook and the Stockbroker’s Daughter”, race and class were scrutinised (*Aberdeen Journal*, 1890:5). The article detailed how the London stockbroker, described as “one of the richest men on ‘Change’” hired a “young” “French” chef, who fell in love with his daughter (*Aberdeen Journal*, 1890:5). The “Lothario of the kitchen”⁶⁵ was said to have “conveyed his feelings in diverse emblematic and allegorical devices of dinner and dessert” (*Aberdeen Journal*, 1890:5). The daughter, according to the report, “failed to catch the point”, “and so, boldly dropping pastry for paper” the Frenchman wrote to the daughter, who gave the letter to her stockbroker father (*Aberdeen Journal*, 1890:5). In consequence, the chef was fired.

⁶⁴ The word ‘chef’ appears italicised because the author is making a point of stressing the difference between a chef and a cook.

⁶⁵ Lothario was “[a] character from Nicholas Rowe’s play *The Fair Penitent* (1703), a womanizer” (Delahunty and Dignen, [2001] 2012:220).

While the article appeared light in tone and focussed on a chef hired to work in a home, rather than a restaurant, the undercurrents reveal symbolic violence, and that the chef did not comply with the rules of the doxa. The stockbroker's economic/symbolic capital was evidenced by the wealth that he had made on the stock market. In essence, the reader was made overtly aware of the fact that the stockbroker possessed a greater capital worth than the chef, which was also substantiated by the fact that the man was hired by the stockbroker. Age was equally meaningful in the feature, declaring that the chef was young led the reader to believe that the stockbroker had more cultural capital than the chef.⁶⁶ The issue of the chef being French also brought racial tension to the article – it questioned why a foreigner, of an inferior class and in a low status job, should be interested in a 'superior' British woman. Lastly, by describing the chef as a 'Lothario', the reader was driven to believe that he was irresponsible and selfish. This also worked upon the notion of Othering by culturally stereotyping people from Latin countries as being promiscuous in nature; a stereotype that the English have held since the 1600s. For example, in a play written by 'W. S.', and attributed to William Shakespeare, printed in London in 1602, entitled "The True Chronicle Historie [sic] of the Whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell", the character of Cromwell speaks these lines:

My Lord, no court with England may compare,
 Neither for state nor ciuill gouernement:
 Lust dwelles in *France*, in *Ilalie*, and *Spaine*,
 From the poors peasant to the Princes traine
 (Shakespeare, [1602] 1918:179, 3:3:76).

This stereotype was further cemented by the romantic mimetic leisure pursuits of the court society. As posited by Elias: "in regions where the courts were great and wealthy and their influence as style-building centres correspondently strong", such as "Paris and Vienna", "[a]n echo of this can still be heard in the present day, not only in their reputation as centres of 'good taste' or of luxury...but even in their cultivation of sexual relationships" (Elias, [1939] 2012:469). That is, the population of Paris, and by extension, France, were given an "erotic character", "even though reality in this respect

⁶⁶ See Chapter 6 for a discussion of age's relevance in regard to employment.

may no longer quite match the reputation so frequently exploited” (Elias, [1939] 2012:469).

This association with lust, passion, and love, it is argued, was something that was seen to be a culturally stereotyped character trait that English people believed French chefs also transferred to their work. This association often bled into literary descriptions. For example, the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent described how the French chef’s *d’œuvres* were “arranged with loving tenderness” (*Daily Telegraph*, cited in *The Chef*, 1896:11). This association was probably aided by the fact that the words used to describe someone who enjoyed and appreciated food, while having different moral connotations, were all French. According to Parkhurst Ferguson, “the dictionary-encyclopedia of Pierre Larousse (1866-79)” stated that “*gastrolâtrie*” was defined as “the passion for good food pushed to a sort of cult...incompatible with generosity”; “*gastromanie*” was defined as “love of good food pushed to excess”; “*gastronomie* came across as a model of discipline, control, and moderation”; a “*gourmand*” was defined as a person “who eats eagerly and to excess”; and “*gastronome*” was defined as the person who “loves, [and]...knows how to appreciate good food” (Larousse, cited in Parkhurst Ferguson, 1998:608).

Another example of French chefs being used as a form of humourable cliché was found in the *Daily Telegraph*. On the first page of the newspaper, published on 2nd January 1890, there was an advertisement for an attraction at the World’s Fair. Readers were invited to watch “Blondin’s funny and amusing performance as a French Chef”, which took place “Every Wednesday Afternoon” [sic] (*Daily Telegraph*, 1890:1). As part of his act, which caused “roars of laughter”, Blondin would be seen “cooking omelets [sic] on his high rope” (*Daily Telegraph*, 1890:1). Whilst the tone of the advertisement does not summon the same images of Othering seen in the *Aberdeen Journal*, it sought to exemplify how the stereotype of the French chef, presumably sporting a *toque blanche* and a neckerchief,⁶⁷ was becoming imbedded in British

⁶⁷ “The *toque blanche*, the tall white chef’s hat, keeps the chef’s hair out of his eyes and out of the food and also, like stars on a general’s hat or the distinctive hat of an admiral, makes it easy to see who is in charge in a crowded kitchen. Before Carême, the chef’s hat was floppy; he put cardboard in his to make it stand tall. The toque is supposed to have 100 pleats, to represent the minimum number of ways a good chef

culture to the extent that it served as a cliché and an outlet of humour. An image that would be capitalised upon in a variety of pop culture formats from the late 1800s to the present.⁶⁸

Figure 5.1: Chef with *Toque Blanche*



Source: *The Chef* (1896:3).

It is apparent that in the above cases the nationality of the chefs was emphasised for humorous purposes. Yet, the stereotype of the French chef in Britain, in part, was due to the worth that the nation placed on French cuisine and those who could prepare it. Despite the fact that a culinary training school appeared in England before it did in France (Trubek, 2000), it was observed that any ‘proper’ chef should have worked or trained in France. Yet, being a French chef, i.e., a French national who prepared cuisine, supplied these men with embodied cultural capital that acted as an explicit marker of authenticity and distinction. That is, a chef who was French was seen to have a degree of authenticity that a German or Brit who had merely trained in France did not

can prepare eggs” (Civitello, [2007] 2008:196). The neckerchief was used to protect food from the chef’s sweat (Civitello, [2007] 2008), which would be absorbed by the neckerchief.

⁶⁸ Consider, for example, the character of Chef Louis in Disney’s *The Little Mermaid* (1989), and the anonymous French chef that appeared in Disney’s *The Simpsons*, ironically, making omelettes in an episode entitled ‘Gift of the Magi’ (1999). Both these fictional chefs were depicted as passionate about their work but in an unhealthily intense manner.

and could not gain. However, there was a complex system of contradictions here, for the embodied cultural capital granting a French chef their authenticity also worked to connote Otherness. To be a Frenchman in England bestowed a form of inherent culinary superiority, but also acted as a marker of inferiority due to the national tensions that the English had with their longstanding political rivals.

As posited, the days where many a ‘civilised’ man would have dined on a “quiet chop or a dish of meat and vegetables” (Pardon, 1862:47), were viewed by the late Victorian and Edwardian diners as having passed. French food, prepared using French techniques, was the fashion for them, and woe betide the English chef who had no intention of changing to cater for these new cross-cultural tastes. This section now discusses an English view on English chefs or, as the aforementioned untitled article of focus, published in *The Hotel World* on 21st February 1883, derogatorily referred to them, “cooks” (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4). The publication was written as to be humorous but written in earnest. Here it introduced a theme that will be repeated and further evidenced throughout the next two chapters: Englishmen were seldom viewed by the English as possessing the ability to work in the field of the culinary. As will be detailed in Chapter 8, the cross-cultural influence that made these men worse than tolerated by their own countrymen did lead to a nationalist backlash against those who had ‘stolen their jobs’.

‘You may live without love, you may live without books, But civilized man cannot live without cooks,’ sang the witty Lord Lytton. But the couplet, though excellent poetry, is only partially true. You may live very comfortably indeed – as a rule – without English cooks. We pen this latter sentence with a feeling of unutterable sadness – for we are intensely patriotic, if naught else. Truth, however, will out. We may be good eaters, we generally are good drinkers; but we are not good cooks. No nation, perhaps, hope to excel in everything. Though one English soldier is reputed to be equal to ten Frenchmen, still let us be honest, and cheerfully allow that a single French *chef* is equal to – ay, surpasses – a whole army of British cooks. Unhappily, this is no new fact. Were it only just discovered, we might entertain a feeble hope that our defective cookery would be speedily remedied (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4).

Much could be said here about the political rivalry between the two countries in the age of new imperialism, and the military references. Yet, what becomes evident is that

the author, a correspondent or editor for *The Hotel World*, as patriotic as they say that they are, is lambasting the English for their lack of culinary talent. They went on to question why this could not be remedied:

Why cannot we improve our cooking? We have similar materials and similar utensils as our light-hearted neighbours, and yet we cannot produce similar results. Are our cooks too stubborn, too conservative, to learn? Are they so indissolubly wedded to the ancient and unsatisfactory ways and methods, that they are blind to the infinite superiority of French cookery over their own? It seems so. Seriously, what are our staple dishes? Mutton, boiled, with caper sauce; mutton, roast, with onion sauce. Then we have the good old English fare of roast beef, plus something mysteriously termed horse-radish. We must not forget our fish, for it would be really excellent were it not spoiled in the cooking; nor our poultry, which is excellent, did we only know how to dress and serve it. Nor must we forget our vegetables, for they are truly curiously prepared. These, then, are our staple dishes (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4).

The conclusion reached by the author of this piece was that the English who prepared food were too doggedly obstinate to accept change and learn new skills. The culinary field might have changed in England, and with it the doxa that governed it, but the author asserted that these English ‘cooks’ sought to maintain that their capital was worth something when it no longer was, and refused to exchange it because of their unchanging habitus. Or, to frame it differently, the tastes that they clung to and were familiar with had become ‘repulsive’ and had no appeal to the higher classes of London’s society. Here a parallel might be drawn between the correspondence of ‘An English Chef’ and ‘Epicure’ that was published in *The Chef* on 7th and 28th December 1895. Yet, while Epicure wanted to keep those that “have neither education or taste” away from “the higher triumphs of gastronomical science” (*The Chef*, 1895:6), the author of this article asserted that it was the English that did not have it in them to change in order to master this science. This was a common view and is why it was posited that ‘An English Chef’ may well have had some resentment working in an industry where he was likely seen as inferior in comparison to a French chef and therefore lacking in the appropriate means of cultural distinction. Not to mention that the example of ‘beef’ provided by the English chef was considered rather unfavourably in the above extract, as it also is again, in the following paragraph of the article, where

the author identifies that it was because of French cooks that a good meal in England can be obtained:

Paradoxical, though, as it may appear, in the light of what immediately precedes this, well cooked and tastily served dishes, – dishes for which Epicurus himself might have reasonably entertained a *penchant* – are to be obtained even in England, the land of fogs, tough beef, and stupid cooks. For, as we import French wines, French fruits, and French wit, so we import French cooks... Thus is it possible, through the action of that ubiquitous and highly-honoured class – hotel proprietors and managers – for Englishmen to acquire dishes in their own land, that need not blush when placed beside those of the best Parisian cafés... This action of hotel-keepers in introducing French cooks and French cookery cannot be too lengthily dwelt upon, nor too greatly commended. It was, in truth, the advent of a mighty revolution, which is now going on – slowly, but none the less surely. It showed conclusively how the most simple meats and ordinary vegetables could be so prepared as to tickle the most fastidious palates (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4).

Key in this extract was not only the stereotype of the inept English ‘cook’, but also the interdependence that England and France had formed. For the English, they were able to obtain food, drink, and those who could work with these ingredients from their neighbour. For the French, this was a trade deal, which it is argued aided their continued gastronomic prestige. It was also built into a French chef’s training that he must spend time in other locations so as to improve his artistry. Indeed, the training that French chefs received was seen to be one of the reasons that they were deemed to have mastered the art while their English counterparts had not. As an article published in *The Chef* on 18th July 1896, entitled “How French Cooks are Trained”, stated:

It is very often asserted that the French are born cooks. There is, however, but little truth in this, as any Frenchman will readily admit. The reason why the French che [sic], and indeed most foreign cooks, excel the English, is to be found in the following very plain facts... They give years of practice in order to obtain the best systematic training under competent masters, who themselves must be perfect in the art (*The Chef*, 1896:7).

This article additionally provided another reason why the French were superior in the culinary domain, which worked to contribute to the negative stereotype of the bad English ‘cook’: “The French, we find, take up cookery as a profession much more

seriously than the English do; the French pay to learn cooking, while in England men expect to be paid to learn to cook” (*The Chef*, 1896:7). Hence, not only were English cooks labelled as ‘stubborn’ and ‘too conservative’, but also more apathetic – lacking in passion – and more concerned with money. The article thus continued by detailing the French cook’s training regime:

Gifted with a sound education, which the average Frenchman receives, after leaving school he is apprenticed to a hotel or restaurant [sic] for a period of from two to three years, at a premium varying from five hundred francs to one thousand francs. As apprentice, he must start at the beginning. Usually he will be put under the vegetable cook, where he will be taught to wash and scrape potatoes, carrots, turnips, &c.; to prepare, cut, and cook vegetables for the table.

Then say after three months, he will be placed under charge of the *garde à manger*, or larder-cook, where he will stay six months or more. Here he will learn how to cut and trim raw meat, pickle meats, and clean and fillet fish; boning, trussing, and stuffing poultry and game.

Next he will so for about six months to the confectionery department, learning to make pastries, ices, puddings, jellies, &c.; and then he will learn broiling, baking, frying, and roasting.

After this he will make his way to the stove, learning to make soups, sauces, braising, and garnitures for entrées. Each branch is to be learned separately

Last of all, the chef will take the apprentice under his own care, and give him final instructions as to the way of compiling a menu, the best methods of using the materials, the appropriate seasoning of sauces, the proper culinary changes of style and colour in food prepared for the table.

Besides the premium paid, it is usual in France for the apprentice to pay for his washing, which is not a small item; further, he must give, in most cases, a fee to the chef, otherwise he would learn little from him.

Thus terminates the apprenticeship; but the education is not at an end yet. To perfect himself, the young cook must spend a few years in other towns and in foreign lands. In each place there is something new to learn. Every nation has its own cuisine, and by cultivating these and the different styles he will be enabled, when once appointed chef to choose and prepare what is daintiest and most appropriate in carrying out his duties to the credit of his master and himself (*The Chef*, 1896:7).

The intensity of the training regime is stressed here. Yet, if it was simply a lack of thorough training and a poor attitude that made the English bad cooks, why could this not change? As the untitled article in *The Hotel World* concluded, “there is no valid reason why we, as a nation, should not excel other countries in the matter of cooking, as we do in many other things” (*The Hotel World*, 1883:4). In order to provide better training and to change English attitudes, which might have eliminated the stereotype of the bad English ‘cook’, a solution was proposed in 1910: a culinary school that would train “boys” to become chefs (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200). As detailed in an article, entitled “Chefs in the Making”, published in *The Restaurant* in April 1912, the “ultimate effect of the school” was to teach young men, “aged between 14 and 16 years old”, the culinary arts with the aim of “improving the standard of cookery among British chefs” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200). The “Cookery Technical School (for Boys)” was opened in September 1910 (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200). Previously, “there was no technical school under public authority for teaching boys how to make chefs of themselves” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200). Instead, as has been emphasised, chefs in England were foreign or, if they did break the stereotyped mould that their identity had been poured into, English chefs trained in France before returning to England. There were also, obviously, exceptions where English chefs did work and train in England and were successful, even if their lives were not as easy as those of their French counterparts.

This article, however, did not share the sentiment expressed by the authors of the articles detailed in both *The Chef* and *The Hotel World* that have been explored. That is, it presumed that cheffdom was interpolated into one’s habitus prior to training:

It is probably just as true of chefs as of poets that they are born, not made. That is to say, nobody can be taught to be a good cook who has no taste for cooking. Moreover, the man who has a strong taste for the work will make himself a chef in spite of any difficulties in his way. We happen to know that Mr. Iwan Kriens, the chef instructor of the technical school of cookery, himself became a cook because he meant to be a cook – he made up his mind to it when a boy of 13 – and not because his parents or guardians had any such intention. That, however, does not at all controvert the fact that no incipient cook can become a chef without careful instruction, nor by any means imply that the making of good cooks can be done in a haphazard way. Quite the contrary is true... It may be safely said

that, if it should turn out that any of the boys do not become good cooks, it will be either because they were born without the requisite faculties, or from lack of taking advantage of their opportunities (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200).

Like the other articles, this one also asserted that an Englishman failing to become a good cook was because of his own flawed attitude. That is, all three articles shifted the blame onto individuals, taking no account for the fact that maybe national prejudice and a fetishisation of French chefs was actively stopping these men from achieving. The article, itself, reproduced this narrative when it stated: “During the first year 15 pupils (all of them English) started their three-year course of instruction in cookery... This is a good start considering the haphazard way in which the English, as a rule, consider the question of cookery” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200). Yet, this article also put forward a supplementary alternative in that maybe some English men failed because it was simply not in their blood to be good cooks. This, it is proposed, reads very much like an argument rationalised as a result of the cognitive dissonance produced by a nation that took pride in their ability to achieve, but had placed a greater worth on the achievements of their rivals.

It is also worth noting, that much like the French model, students were expected to pay to train in their profession. There was “a term fee of £3 3s. 0d.”, but some “domestic cooks” were awarded “a scholarship” based on the results of a “competitive examination” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200).⁶⁹ The young men also undertook a ‘Frenchified’ curriculum. As part of their training, which included practical cookery as well as cookery theory, they were taught French. As per, the menus that the boys worked to produce, and thus master “the difficult art of cookery” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200), were written in French. One such menu is outlined below, with translations provided in brackets:

Consommé Célestine.

[Consommé with shredded crêpes.]

Cabillaud Crème au gratin.

[Fresh cod in cream sauce, topped with breadcrumbs and cheese, and baked.]

⁶⁹ In 2022, the term fee would equate to £399.91.

Pouding de Volaille Richelieu.

[Richelieu poultry pudding.]

Pommes Fondantes.

[Fondant potatoes.]

Carottes Glacées.

[Glazed carrots.]

Omelette au lard.

[Bacon omelette.]

COLD WORK IN LARDER.

Mousseline de Jambon.

[Ham mousseline.]

Galantine à l'Italienne.

[Italian galantine.]

Médallions de Volaille en Aspic.

[Medallions of poultry set in aspic.]

(*The Restaurant*, 1912:200).

Additionally, they were taught to economise at the school: “it is evident that nothing is wasted” including “‘left overs’ and scraps” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:200). The ability to economise was another stereotype that the French were imbued with, while the English were seen to be wasteful. In a long-running weekly feature, entitled “Above and Below the Salt”, published on 8th January 1898 in *The Chef*, the author did not simply discuss how French and English food stuffs differed, but centred their ideas around the fact that the French had the culinary advantage because of their ability to economise. Quoting Catharine Beecher, the author stated: “as to the virtue of economy in our nation among the wealthy class, it seems to have become one of the lost arts” (Beecher, cited in *The Chef*, 1898:13).⁷⁰ Yet, they declared: “We trust with so many earnest searches the lost will soon be found” (*The Chef*, 1898:13).

⁷⁰ Beecher (1800-1878) took on many roles. She was an activist that fought against the Indian Removal Act (Vander Hook, 2010), an advocate for formal education (Leavitt, 2002), a philosopher (Gardner, 2013), and an anti-suffragist (Vacca, 2004), but she also wrote domestic-advice manuals that were specifically aimed at women (Leavitt, 2002) and “is credited as the founder of the home economics movement” (Smith, 2001:362).

The author would go on to teach the reader how to economise by cooking soup, and the correct method in order to achieve this. However, prior to presenting the instructional function of the article, they pushed home the fact that:

A proper knowledge of economy forms the basis of French cookery; the knowing what to save and how to utilise it... I have seen in France a cook prepare most excellent and digestible food out of substances that two-thirds of our ignorant and often unteachable cooks would throw away as useless (*The Chef*, 1898:13).

They also reflected on the fact that soup was unpopular in Britain – which Newnham-Davis (1899) illustrated when visiting The Blue Posts – but went on to explain that this was because the English were not making it correctly: “We are not a soup-eating people – ‘Pitty ‘tis ‘tis [sic] true’; though soup is one of the most nourishing and economical dishes, if properly prepared” (*The Chef*, 1898:13). It was not explicitly stated within the article but presumed that the reader would have had a pre-existing knowledge of the association that France had with soup and stock. Yet, it was not presumed that the reader would know that “[t]he French keep a soup kettle”, or what one is: “a casserole (or earthen pipkin) – in which the stock is prepared” (*The Chef*, 1898:13). This, in turn, showed the connection that Britain had with France, but also demonstrated the way that objects, when used correctly, could furnish their user with cultural capital.

Another example of economical French culinary management was provided in an article featured in *The Chef*, entitled “Economy in the Kitchen”, and published on 25th April 1896 (*The Chef*, 1896:10). In it a list of “causes of waste in the kitchen” was provided by a “French chef” (*The Chef*, 1896:10). Once again, in the article, there was a reference to soup: “Scraps of meat are thrown away... Bones of meat and the carcass of turkey are thrown away, when they could be used in making a perfectly good soup” (*The Chef*, 1896:10). There were also other references to food, to provide a couple of examples: “potatoes...left to sour and spoil... Apples are left to decay for want of sorting over” (*The Chef*, 1896:10). Yet, the chef also made a reference to poor practice when it came to general food handling, stating that boxes were left open, and that things were carelessly spilled. They go on: “Dish towels are used for dish-cloths, napkins for

dish-towels and towels for holders.⁷¹ Brooms and mops are not hung up. More coal is burned than necessary by not closing dampers when the fire is not used. Lights are left burning when not in use” (*The Chef*, 1896:10).

It was clear that this stereotype persisted into the Edwardian period too. In a feature entitled “Business Management”, published in the September 1909 edition of *The Restaurant*, written by one “G. S. W.”, who was described as a “practical expert”, the author lamented about food waste and how French chefs were better at economising than the English (*The Restaurant*, 1909:34):

True economy is the soul of all business, but more so in that of a restaurant. There is perhaps no word so little understood as the word economy. I would like to see more efforts made to make the best of every scrap that comes to hand. With only a little care and taste anything can be made pretty and nice at very little cost. Many things are put in the dust-bin that could be used and made into tasty dishes. ‘*Waste Not*’ should be the maxim of every restaurant management and it is *when* this maxim is strictly adhered to and put into practice that a restaurant pays best.

It is very much to be regretted that many – a great many – of our English cooks are very far behind their French colleagues...although I may seem to make a strong statement, I will say that it is true...

All nations may learn from one another; as a rule English cooks have much to learn in the art of thrifty cooking. They have not the faculty of our neighbours across the Channel of making a delightful something out of the despised remains too often thrown away as worthless (*The Restaurant*, emphasis in original, 1909:34).

To close this chapter, and to circle back to the idea of a cook as a physician, an extract from *Cassell’s Household Guide*, published c. 1880s, is considered. While this *Guide* was a household advice manual, it emphasised some of the core points previously discussed while additionally emphasising the nutritional value of being economical:

EVERYBODY knows that a good cook is an economical cook, so that a knowledge of the elementary rules regarding the preparation of food must prove an economy to all, and not

⁷¹ ‘Holders’ refers to the cloth used to hold a hot plate or dish.

only an economy of money, but of life and strength, by enabling people to get better food and thus obtain more actual nourishment out of the materials they can afford to provide.

The great secret in cooking is to make food palatable and not to waste the nutriment contained in the meat neither to let it boil out or steam out. If you boil your dinner, always keep the liquor in which it is boiled; there must be the very essence of the meat in it, and it is therefore always good for vegetable soup. Always cover your pot, and let the steam, which contains the strength fall back into the stew. Never waste anything. Remember the old adage, 'Waste not, want not.' Save every bone, every leaf; every crust, and make them into soup... It should always be remembered that 'wholesome fare' is well-prepared fare, and fare necessary to keep up the system (*Cassell's Household Guide*, c. 1880s:4).

In this extract the emphasis on soup is again observable, as is the notion of using all the components of foodstuff. Yet, in the *Guide*, there is no mention of a nationality, but certainly an emphasis on the fact that it is *good* to be economical. That is, being economical not only made one a "good cook" (*Cassell's Household Guide*, c. 1880s:4), but also made one a 'better' person more broadly. By fostering economisation, a cook was viewed as being able to bolster the "life and strength" of others (*Cassell's Household Guide*, c. 1880s:4). Hence, a moral connotation was imbued in the skill of economisation, and this would have also given those French chefs, with their supposed abilities to make restorative delicacies from that which would be deemed as waste by an English chef, further capital.

5.3. Overview: The Profession of Preparing Food

Paralleling ideas in Chapter 4, this chapter began by addressing the skill that it took to prepare food, but with a focus specifically on those who undertook such preparation. The themes of cooking as 'art' and 'science' were, as such, returned to. Yet, it was acknowledged that the low status attributed to the profession hinged on the fact that, by its very nature, the profession required someone to be subjected to symbolic violence. Dining, it was posited, covered all three categories of Elias and Dunning's spare-time spectrum, but was also a form of labour. That is, dining contributed to the procurement of capitals – material, cultural, social, or symbolic resources – in the present or in the future, and consciously or unconsciously. Chefs, positioned in relation to diners, enabled these folk to both leisure and labour, and thus power differentials were established.

Indeed, chefdom required skill, but contradictions and complexities taking place in the English habitus led to further symbolic violence, which was discussed more deeply when looking at French chefs. These men contained a unique form of embodied cultural capital that was unobtainable to others because of their nationality. A French chef was seen to ‘innately’ possess some form of culinary superiority. Yet, their job title granted them a ‘low’ status, as did their position as foreigner in England. Thus, it could be seen how Bourdieu’s capitals take on different meanings in different contexts, and that a characteristic is able to carry contradictory values, in this case, superiority but also inferiority. Likewise, the English appeared to associate the French with passion and lasciviousness, which was viewed both negatively but also positively. That is, the French chefs could be a threat, but also had a lust for their work and handled food with affection.

This chapter then turned its attention to English chefs, who, despite holding a ‘superior’ status as natives, were deemed to possess a culinary inferiority. In the conclusion of this thesis, contemporary secondary source data indicates that this has not changed. Yet, in this chapter, primary data suggested that people saw English chefs as unwilling to comply with the modified doxic standards of the culinary field. That is, a sense of pride stopped them from trying to change their ways to cater to the new cross-cultural tastes of the English diners. However, again, trade press content was also used to illustrate the idea that some people are just inherently good chefs. It was argued that this content appeared to display a form of cognitive dissonance. Chains of interdependence are never free from tension, and the English had, indeed, fetishised their long-standing political rivals in the field of the culinary and alienated their natives in the process. The chapter closed by exemplifying how, in other ways, the French chefs were deemed to be superior in more practical manners: they were seen as possessing the ability to economise, but the English were viewed as wasteful in the kitchen.

6. The Profession of Serving Food

The prior chapter's focus was to discuss those who prepared food and it is the task of this one to concentrate on those who served it. This chapter, drawing on a range of rich press content published on the topic of waiters, does build upon the prior as there were similarities between the attitudes people held about both English and foreign chefs and waiters. It has two sections: 'The Qualities of Waiters in London', followed by a 'Theoretical Analysis'. In 6.1, employment listings from trade press content are outlined so that key details about them might be considered in further detail. That is, the age of waiters, their appearance, and their nationality are discussed by drawing on further press content. The topic of nationality was found to be quite complex when considering these men, and therefore this subsection is broken into four parts which looks at those who employed waiters, their training, multilingual abilities, and the foreign and English waiters' stereotypes. From the delineation provided in 6.1, it is clear that waiting staff had to embody a range of contradictory qualities in order to comply with the doxa and were subject to processes of objectification and fetishisation, which are topics explored further in 6.2. The analysis leads the chapter to conclude that these men were feminised in patriarchal spaces, and victims of class-based assumptions, while embodying high-class male culture.

6.1. *The Qualities of Waiters in London*

As the shift in dining practice changed for patrons, there was a shift in the focus of the qualities needed for waiters in England. These qualities will now be discussed in order to ascertain the cultural interdependencies in these restaurants, while also negotiating the capital that the staff in these restaurants needed to possess. For this to be achieved, three listings from the 'Wanted Places' and 'Situations Wanted' sections of a trade press journal and one employment circular have been reproduced.⁷² The first is taken

⁷² With the exception of the extract from *Our Own Circular*, which is published in its entirety, please note that fewer listings have been included than were published in the original editions of *The Chef*. However, the copy for each individual listing is directly reproduced as it was in the relevant publication. Due to the fact that publications reprinted exactly what was provided by the waiter seeking work, grammatical errors are present and rife, especially in the *Our Own Circular* listings, but will not be indicated individually.

from the “Wanted Places” segment of *The Chef* and was originally published on 9th May 1896; the second is also from the “Wanted Places” segment of *The Chef*, but was published on 1st January 1898, after the journal had rebranded; and the third listing originally appeared in the “Situations Wanted” segment of *Our Own Circular* on the 2nd July 1898:

Figure 6.1: ‘Wanted Places’ as Waiters

WAITERS, &c. – <i>continued.</i>
AS WAITER of VALET; young man, age 23; height 5ft. 10ins.; English; good references; small wages.
AS UNDER WAITER or as BILLIARD MARKER; young man, age 20; 5ft. 7 ins.; wages 10s.
AS HEAD-WAITER; (Englishman), age 38; height 5ft. 8in.; good references; wages £1 a week.
WANTED, a YOUNG WAITER, (Foreign preferred) for London Hotel.
AS WAITER; youth, age 20; tall, of good appearance; German; good references.
AS WAITER; Young German; age 19; tall; no English experience; wages no object.

Source: *The Chef* (1896:14).

Figure 6.2: ‘Wanted Places’ as Waiters

WAITERS, Etc.
HEAD WAITER, German, speaks French and English. Hotel or Restaurant, good appearance.
AS FIRST or SECOND COFFEE or SITTING-ROOM WAITER, or single handed; town or country; age 23; height 5ft. 9 in.; good references; English.”
AS WAITER (German) speaks French and English. Good References. Coffee or Sitting-room.

WAITER; English; age 22; Hotel or Club; excellent references from West End Club, also Hotel references.

WAITER; age 25; used to Sitting of Coffee-room; English; good appearance; satisfactory references.

Source: *The Chef* (1898:10).

Figure 6.3: 'Situations Wanted' as Waiters

AS WAITERS.

Man, Belgian, speaks English, age 22, wants situation in private family, good references. Box 18 "Our Own Circular" offices.

German Waiter wants situation in Boarding House or Family, age 19, speaks French, excellent references.
Address: Box 20, 12, Charlotte Street, London, W.

Waiter, French, speaks English, age 19, wants situation in Hotel or Boarding House, good references. Box 44,
Office of this paper.

Frenchman, age 25, experiences, speaks English, wants situation in Restaurant as Superintendent. Box 66, 12,
Charlotte St.

Young Man, German, age 18, seeks situation in boarding house, speaks English. Box 14, office of this paper.

French, age 23, in Hotel, speaks English, good appearance, quick. Box 5, office of this paper,

Austrian, 26, in hotel or restaurant, speaks French, English and German, Box 1, office of this paper

Hungarian, 19, in boarding-house or family, speaks a little English, Box 2, office of this paper

In hotel, restaurant or family; age 24, speaks French, German and English, Box 3, office of this paper

Austrian, 20, speaks French, German and English, Box 4, office of this paper

In hotel, restaurant of family, age 19, speaks English, German and French, Box 7, office of this paper

In restaurant or hotel, age 24, speaks German and English, Box 8, office of this paper

In hotel or restaurant, age 20, speaks German, English and little French, Box 9, office of this paper

Hotel, restaurant or family, age 19, speaks English and German, Box 10, office of this paper

Young Man, Austrian, age 20, requires employment in Restaurant, smart, speaks English, good references. Box 49, office of this paper.

German, age 19, seeks situation in private family, country or seaside preferred. Box 305, office of this paper.

Italian, age 20, wants employment, good references, speaks English. Box 66, 12, Charlotte Street. Fitzroy Square.

Source: *Our Own Circular* (1898:4).

6.1.1. Age

Please note that the topic of ‘suicide’ is discussed throughout 6.1.1.

From the above listing it is evident that there was a preference for ‘young’ waiters and the embodied capital that youth provided these men. Waiting was not a profession that was viewed as suitable for older men. As put by Medley and Lesser, in *An Inquiry into the Waiter’s Calling*, “one seldom sees an old waiter” (Medley and Lesser, 1911:13). In “Work and Wages in Hotels and Restaurants”, published in *Good Words* in January 1892, Leppington, speaking about the aging waiter stated: “Hard-working and frugal, he keeps a comfortable home over his head, and puts by as well, so that by the time he attains middle life, he is in a position to emancipate himself” (Leppington, 1892:754). Middle age seemed to be the age of retirement from the profession for most waiters. As explained in a letter headed, “Waiters’ Wants and How to Get Them”, printed in the September 1900 edition of *The Waiters’ Record*: “It is well known, and proved by statistics, that waiters rarely make old bones, and when most men of other branches of business are still in the prime of their life the waiter mostly is done for” (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1900:2-3).

Yet, if a waiter had not saved, and could not retire or purchase his own small restaurant, his prospects were limited. This was evidenced by an article that was entitled “The Old Waiter’s Despair”, published in the *Daily Mail* on 25th March 1899,

which told the sorry story of a waiter by the name of Thomas Keddie (*Daily Mail*, 1899:6). The report detailed that the fifty-two-year-old was let go off “owing to change in the catering” and “all his efforts at getting another situation [were] futile, on account of his age” (*Daily Mail*, 1899:6). Keddie is said to have tried to end his life on account of the age-related bias. Suicide was a criminal offence, and it was not until 1961 that, “in keeping with the needs and the outlook of the present day”, the law was changed (Hansard, 2nd March 1961:col. 247). Keddie was committed to an infirmary, but the *Daily Mail* reported that the court pledged that an attempt would be made “to get some work for him” upon his recovery (*Daily Mail*, 1899:6).

Keddie’s situation was not uncommon, and other elder waiting staff were also reported to have attempted to take their own life on account of their age. In an article entitled “Waiter’s Despair”, published in *Lloyd’s Weekly News* on 10th September 1905, another survivor’s story was told (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905:23). Joseph Bryan, aged fifty, was said to have been “charged, on remand, at Westminster police-court” for “attempting to commit suicide” (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905:23). Unable to pay his landlord, Bryan was going to lose the room that he rented, and “was found insensible on a bed, with several empty laudanum bottles by his side” (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905:23).⁷³ He was taken to hospital, so as to recover, before court. When asked why he attempted suicide, he “gave as his reason...that he was too old to get employment” (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905:23). The newspaper reported that he had worked as a waiter in the House of Commons for seven years, before “he and others were replaced by younger men” (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905:23). Following his dismissal, Bryan had had no permanent employment for five years (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905). Thankfully, Bryan was discharged “on the promise not to repeat the offence, and he was referred to the missionary to see if anything could be done for him” (*Lloyd’s Weekly News*, 1905:23).

On 11th June 1902, in an article entitled “Suicide of a Waiter”, the *Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune* reported on the case of John Palmer, a forty-eight-year-old waiter (*Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune*, 1902:2). After

⁷³ Laudanum is a tincture of opium and was sold ‘over the counter’ as a pain killer in the Edwardian era.

disclosing his full address, the paper claimed that he poisoned himself, and that his widow had “deposed that the deceased had only had occasional work in consequence of which they had much trouble” (*Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune*, 1902:2). It then tells of how Palmer had left home, on the morning of Friday 6th June 1902, for a wedding breakfast, presumably to work, and passed away on the Sunday after, before turning to witness statements provided by people who had seen Palmer while he was consuming and after he had consumed the lethal poison (*Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune*, 1902). It also supplied a short, sombre, sentence: “Deceased had worried about the children” (*Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune*, 1902:2). It is imagined that ‘the children’ that the *Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune*’s reporter referred to belonged to Palmer and his widow.

The City Waiters’ Provident Society’s Journal, in an article headed with the society’s name, published in December 1867, revealed that this was not an issue limited to the latter years of the 1800s and the early years of the 1900s:

You all know from past experience that many who have been good waiters, and who have held responsible situations, who, when they have grown too old, when their activity has somewhat left them, they invariably have to leave their situation to make room for younger branches, who fill up their places. What, then, is the consequence in a majority of cases, the man had not had the opportunity of saving any money, and he is obligated to apply for a little – and a very little it is that he gets – of extra waiting, and the result is, as at matter of course, after a short time he becomes almost destitute and gets cast down...the once active, sturdy, and industrious waiter, is now all but worn out (*The City Waiters’ Provident Society’s Journal*, 1867:2).

The City Waiters’ Provident Society set up “the Benevolent Fund”, which – as outlined in another self-titled article, published in the March 1868 edition – “was established to induce the Waiters to join the Society; so that in case of old age, they would be entitled to something per week to keep them out of the work-house” (*The City Waiters’ Provident Society’s Journal*, 1868:2). Without employment, savings, a business, or financial aid from a friend, relative or society, the workhouse was the only option for many, regardless of age. The workhouse did provide accommodation and employment, but the conditions of these institutions in the Victorian and Edwardian

eras were harsh, and they were feared by many (Higgs, [2007] 2013). The terror of the workhouse system may well be why the men discussed above decided upon the actions that they did. The Old-Age Pensions Act of 1908 would try to alleviate some of the pressures for elderly people living in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.⁷⁴ It entitled people who were aged seventy or older, who had been living in the Kingdom for twenty years or longer, to apply for a means-tested pension of 5s. per week (Thurley, 2008). Yet, even if the Act had been brought in earlier, neither Keddie, Bryan or Palmer would have qualified to receive the pension as they were all too young, and 5s. would have still been difficult to live on. To clarify, 5s. in 1908 has the same purchasing power as £33.42 in 2022.

While it was clear that older waiters did struggle to retain and find employment, there were some restaurants willing to offer these men work. For example, a letter appearing in the September and October 1901 edition of *The Waiters' Record*, printed in the "Hear All Sides" segment and headed, "Waiters and the Holborn Restaurant", compliments the restaurant for employing older waiters (*The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3). The letter's penman, "W. G. Deuvall", praised the Holborn Restaurant as a place where, "[o]ld age is not despised" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3). Deuvall's use of the pronoun 'we' in the letter, when referring to the waiting staff, implied that he was in employment at the named establishment. This is important as the letter was a response to *The Waiters' Record*, following the publication's critique of the working conditions at the establishment, in a prior edition, which painted the Holborn in a less than positive light. Therefore, the reasons why Deuvall was writing such a letter could be brought into question. Was he offering an honest insider's perspective, protecting the restaurant's reputation and therefore his livelihood, or was he asked by management to address *The Waiters' Record* following the critique? No matter the reason, the editor of *The Waiters' Record* did not deny that the Holborn Restaurant employed older waiters, even if the response was less than complimentary and rather sarcastic:

⁷⁴ For a detailed account of the Old-Age Pensions Act of 1908, see Casson (1908).

[In answer to the above letter you stated that Mr. Hamp was kind to the trembling old waiters and gives them a day's work now and again.⁷⁵ I should think that is nothing in his favour considering the men have worked from 15 to 20 years for him at half price, and also considering that the old men are in such a terrible state... – Ed.] (*The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3).

While the Holborn restaurant appears to be a bit of an exception to the rule, the evidence affirms employers' preference for younger waiters. There were a variety of reasons as to why, but it is probable that, to some degree, youth was prioritised because of the assumption that it lacked symbolic power, i.e., because waiters were still only 'young' they were deemed submissive and subservient. Younger waiters, new to the trade in London, were unlikely to have gained social capital, and therefore their employers could mould them with more ease too. Likewise, waiters were and still are *serving staff*, they are at the beck and call of their customers. Hence, having a younger man undoubtedly played into perceived adultcentric conventions concerning 'maturity' as interchangeable with 'dominance'. Youth was also synonymous with beauty. Put differently by Medley and Lesser: "Waiting is an occupation demanding...a well set-up appearance, [a quality] not usually to be found in men who have passed middle age. A good appearance and physique are, it need hardly be said, among the waiter's most valuable assets" (Medley and Lesser, 1911:13). Waiting is a customer-facing profession, and as ageist as this may be, it is still commonplace to see someone who is 'attractive' and 'young' as the face of a brand.

It was additionally anticipated that younger waiters had an "alertness of eye" and "smartness of movement" (Medley and Lesser, 1911:13). Plus, they were likely faster and more able to handle the excessively "long hours" (Medley and Lesser, 1911:13). As outlined in *St. James' Gazette*, in an article simply entitled "Waiters", which was published on 11th April 1891: "The hours of the London waiter are long" (*St. James' Gazette*, 1891:12). Speaking exclusively about Swiss waiters in London, the author of the article stated: "He goes to work at 7 A.M., does scrubbing and cleaning till [sic] 10 or 11, when he comes home to dress. He returns to work at 12, remaining till [sic]

⁷⁵ Mr. Hamp was the manager of the Holborn Restaurant. He was praised by some, critiqued by others, and was well known enough to be caricatured by *Punch* in the article, "An Evening From Home" (*Punch*, 1892:264).

midnight” (*St. James’ Gazette*, 1891:12). In *Good Words*, Leppington offered another perspective: “A waiter’s hours of duty strike us at first sight as longer than those of any other calling” (Leppington, 1892:755). However, he reminded his reader that they are “not actively engaged the whole time” (Leppington, 1892:755). While it might appear that they are there from early morning to the end of supper service, excluding their “rest” periods, Leppington claimed that they were actively engaged in work for, give or take, twelve hours a day (Leppington, 1892:756). He also noted that, in terms of time off: “One Sunday in two or three, or half of every Sunday, is usually allowed the waiter” (Leppington, 1892:756). Yet, there appeared to be some exceptions to this. In the May of 1901, it was raised in the “Notes by the Secretary” segment of *The Waiters’ Record* that the manager of the Criterion, which still has its restaurant operational today, had made it a prerequisite that waiters work Sundays:

The latest piece of brutality we have to record comes from the Criterion, where the desperate bully that poses under the style as manager has given orders that no waiter be off duty on Sundays. What effect this order has on the health of our poor affected comrades...does not trouble the brute (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:3).

In a debate in the House of Commons, the issue of long hours for waiters and waitresses was raised by Mr. Keir Hardie in regard to the Factory and Workshop Act: “I beg to ask the Secretary of State of the Home Department whether he is aware that waiters in many of the principle hotels and restaurants of London are worked over seventy hours per week” (Hansard, 7th July 1901:col. 1323). Home Secretary Mr. Ritchie’s response was that he had “no jurisdiction in the matter” and any clause concerning waiting staff was “outside the scope of the Factory Bill” (Hansard, 7th July 1901:col. 1324). Politics aside, the working hours of waiting staff were, indeed, gruelling. Thus, it is likely that youth, as embodied cultural capital, allowed waiters to get through the long working week, without the physical pain linked to age and the strains of the job requirements.

As Waters and Dick have posited: “Prolonged standing at work has been shown to be associated with a number of potentially serious health outcomes, such as lower back and leg pain, cardiovascular problems, fatigue, discomfort, and pregnancy-related health outcomes” (Waters and Dick, 2015:148). This research is supported by other

studies that have also identified the serious risks associated with prolonged standing.⁷⁶ The Amalgamated Waiters' Society's manifesto also touched upon the physical cost of waiting. The society, despite being quite London-centric, had said manifesto published in *The Edinburgh Evening News* on 24th September 1897, in an article entitled "What the Waiters Want" (*The Edinburgh Evening News*, 1897:4). Some lines taken from it read as follows:

We support the eight hours day because in our business we work continuously, on Sundays as well as week days, from 12 to 18 hours. As a result, we suffer from varicose veins, swollen feet, and are generally so broken down in health that we die an early death (*The Edinburgh Evening News*, 1897:4).

In the first issue of *The Waiters' Record*, which was a periodical that acted as the Amalgamated Waiters' Society's mouthpiece, the Society continued to highlight the health issues waiters suffered from. In an article entitled "Waiters' Grievances", the author wrote: "Long hours, foul atmosphere, and bad food produce their inevitable results. The mortality among waiters is very great indeed" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2). The article continued by inferring that many waiters' deaths were due to "consumption", "typhus", and "suicide" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ See, for example, Macfarlane et al (1997); McCulloch (2002); and Łastowiecka-Moras (2020).

⁷⁷ 'Consumption' is better known today as 'tuberculosis'. Tuberculosis was historically referred to as 'consumption' due to the disease's perceived tendency to 'consume' the body mass of the infected. *The Waiters' Record's* inference that tuberculosis was responsible for the death of many waiters in the period was credible when considered in relation to another of the grievances listed in the article: "He [the waiter] has to spend long busy hours in rooms full of smoke and foul air" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2). Waiters, especially those working in clubs, would have consumed a large amount of secondary cigar smoke, which would have made them more susceptible to the airborne disease, which tends to affect the lungs.

Typhus, spread by lice, mites, ticks, fleas, and rats, was common in Victorian England. "In the period 1846-8" there was "a typhus epidemic of terrible magnitude" (Thorne Thorne [sic], 1888:14). However, in the latter years of the era, the spread of typhus had been controlled. By "1885 there were only 28 [typhus] deaths" recorded in London (Thorne Thorne [sic], 1888:14). Hence, the validity of typhus being a key cause of waiters' deaths in 1900 is questionable. Yet, the "Waiters' Grievances" article does make numerous references to air quality and poor ventilation (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900), which, at the time, was believed to help spread the disease and would have therefore been perceived to have validated the author's concerns about typhus.

Lastly, as can be observed from the listing that appeared in *The Chef* in 1896, young men were often paid less. (Albeit, the listings in *The Chef* were rare – waiters seldom ever published their expected wages when looking for positions, whereas chefs normally did.) The Head Waiter was asking for £1 per week, which is the equivalent of £147.87 in 2022, and one of the twenty-year-olds was asking for half of such a wage, hence, the equivalent of £73.93 per week. Pay will be covered in more detail in the following chapter of this work, but it is important to note the distinction in terms of age.

6.1.2. *Appearance and Attachments*

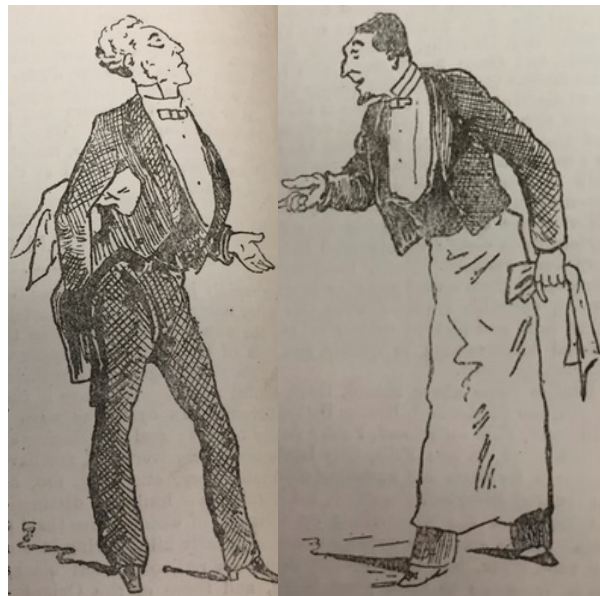
Height was another key attribute for waiters. While none of the men in either the 1896 or 1898 listings in *The Chef* appear over 6 ft., as was concluded by Galofré-Vilà et al, drawing on the work of Floud et al (1990) and Hatton (2014): “Since the nineteenth century, average heights for males in England have increased substantially” (Galofré-Vilà et al, 2017:23). By the turn of the twentieth century, “they reached 172 cm” (Galofré-Vilà et al, 2017:23), which is 5 ft. and 6½ in. Hence, all the waiters were ‘tall’, i.e., above the average height. That being said, “[t]he British Waiters’ Society and School of Instruction” boasted in their adverts, one of which was published in the December 1910 edition of *The Restaurant*, that they did have “several men over 6ft.” on their books (*The Restaurant*, 1909:119). There were certainly practical reasons for employing tall waiters. Yet, Victorians also understood that there was a connection between health and height. As Perkin has stated:

[T]he segregation of the classes was physiological as well as economic and locational. Between 1880 and 1910 13-year-old working-class boys in London and Glasgow were on average 2½ inches shorter than their middle-income group contemporaries, and 4 inches shorter than upper-class boys, and there was little evidence of much increase in average height or narrowing of the gap between the two dates (Perkin, 1990:35).

Sadly, it is highly believable that mental health issues were a cause of death for waiters in the Victorian era. Mental health issues are, indeed, still a prevalent cause for concern in restaurants today. See the websites of #FairKitchens, A Balanced Glass, and I Got Your Back, for examples of initiatives that aim to improve the mental health of people employed in the hospitality sector and for further information about the topic.

Good appearance, as cited in the listings and Medley and Lesser's (1911) book, was obviously mandatory, and still is today. A waiter's outfit typically consisted of a shirt; frock coat or dress coat with trousers; or morning suit or court suit; and, in some establishments, aprons and black ties. For example, the aforementioned British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction advertisement also detailed how their men had "court suits" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:119). That is, they were assuring their potential clients that their waiters would be properly dressed. Yet, back in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, waiters were obligated to supply, and maintain the care of their own uniform. As Leppington noted: "As a rule, except in clubs, waiters find their own clothes, and pay for their washing themselves" (Leppington, 1892:755). As it might be imagined, without machines powered by electricity, dry cleaning and washing were labour-intensive processes that took longer than they do today.⁷⁸ Hence, it is likely that waiters needed to own more than one set of appropriate outerwear, and multiple shirts.

Figure 6.4: Illustrations of Waiters in Work Attire



Source: *The Caterer* (1878:8).

⁷⁸ 'First generation' or 'transfer' machines for dry cleaning were introduced in the 1930s (Morrison and Murphy, 2013), and the first electric washing machine was patented in 1907 (Gref, 2010).

Men were also required to consider other aspects of their presentation. Controversially – both at the time and now – one such aspect was their facial hair. Specifically, as depicted in figure 6.1, the issue in the Victorian and Edwardian eras was not with beards, but with moustaches. Across the continent of Europe, management and clientele were asking waiters to remove their moustaches. To illustrate, in October 1890, a young nobleman dining in Vienna complained that the waiters with moustaches looked too much like the clientele, and that he would not accept service in hotel restaurants unless the men removed their moustaches (Eyben, 2019:188).

The requirement for non-moustachioed waiters was observable in England too. The Amalgamated Waiters' Society were particularly displeased that men should be asked to remove their facial hair. In the August 1900 edition of *The Waiters' Record*, in an article headed, "What We Demand", the Society's committee outlined the "rules" of the society, which included certain "conditions" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:1). Condition number five read as follows: "5. Neither shall any proprietor or manager interfere with the waiter's moustache" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2). The society's anger concerning the matter of waiters being asked to remove their facial hair continued into 1901 where they took to 'naming and shaming' management who asked their staff to remove their moustaches. For example, in the July 1901 edition of *The Waiters' Record*, in the "Notes" segment that, in this edition, carried the title "Which Restaurant Managers Should Read", the publication sought to comment on the following managers:

We hear that Mr. Bertini's place is picking up since he pays less attention to his waiters shaving their moustaches, which we are pleased to hear.

Odenino's Imperial Restaurant is not as successful as anticipated, why does not Mr. Odenino permit his waiters a moustache? We have known some of his waiters with moustaches looking very smart and handsome; now they look the reverse. No wonder they fail to attract their old customers... Mr. Odenino should take our hints.

We record with great satisfaction that Signor Monico will permit his waiters to wear a moustache in future. Good luck to him, it is never too late to mend (*The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3).

The aforementioned W. G. Deuvall also made a point of commenting on facial hair in his letter defending the Holborn Restaurant that was published in *The Waiters' Record*. In Deuvall's own words: "we have no bullies here, nor are we hunted about, and we have perfect freedom to grow our hair where and how we please" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3).

The Paris waiter's strike of 1907 would have doubtlessly pleased the committee of the Amalgamated Waiters' Society. Whilst the strike focussed on a variety of issues the Parisian waiters were facing, one concern that was central to the strike was that of moustache bans. As was observed by Van den Eeckhout: "Parisian waiters, striking between 19 April and 3 May 1907, demanded one day off per week, the right to wear a moustache, the abolition of charges, and the introduction of minimum wage" (Van den Eeckhout, 2015:372). While not all of their demands were met, waiters won the right to sport a moustache in the French capital. This would be something Newnham-Davis commented on in *The Gourmet's Guide to Europe*, published in 1908. When discussing Paris' *Restaurant Italien*, he stated: "The waiters all wear moustaches. This, until last year, was a proof evidence that they were not Parisians; but since the great strike every waiter in Paris may grow a moustache if he wishes to, and many of them have done so" (Newnham-Davis, 1908:40).

Turning now to a differing topic, while no reference to this appears in the listings, waiters were often preferred for long-term employment if they were not romantically attached. An article that was published in *Punch* in 1848, entitled "The Model Waiter", whilst designed to be entertaining, served to illustrate the requirements of a waiter (*Punch*, 1848:103). Some have already been touched upon, but pertinently, it opened with the following: "EVERY Model Waiter [sic] is single. What time does he have to make love...and he has far too many spoons to look after, to think of increasing his responsibilities with family and children" (*Punch*, 1848:103). Hence, many waiters did not engage in romantic relations and a probable cause of this was because the hours that they worked did not permit them to do so. Adding on to this, the on-site accommodation arrangements, which generally consisted of same-sex bunks, likely reduced the waiters' opportunities for sexual relations.

It was also highly plausible that waiters, intentionally, chose not to enter into long-term relationships. Firstly, the wages that waiters earned were not suitable for sustaining a family. To return to two of the articles discussed earlier in this chapter, it was stated that Keddie was widowed with two sons (*Daily Mail*, 1899), which may well have contributed to his lack of savings and his hardship upon losing his position. Likewise, Palmer left behind a widow, and it was noted that he had “worried about the children” (*Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune*, 1902:2). Another reason for remaining a bachelor may well have been because many waiters, as the next subsection will expound upon, were not English nationals, and some did not desire to stay in London permanently. It is therefore feasible that many opted to remain single as they had no desire to settle in the capital.

6.1.3. *Nationality*

As identified in *The Chef* listing published in 1896, one London hotel was actively preferencing the employment of a foreign waiter. The nationality of the waiting staff of the period was an important factor for employers to consider and, as is also observable in the listings, the majority of waiters looking for work clearly stated their nationality. Due to the weight that their nationality held or, to the contrary, did not hold, this subsection is split into four different parts that seek to detail the intricacies of waiters’ foreign relations, heritages, and national stereotypes. The first focusses on management and ethnic nepotism; the second considers training undertaken for the profession of waiting; the third outlines the importance of multilingualism; and the fourth reviews the reputation that native waiters had and the opinion that the English had of foreign waiting staff.

6.1.3.1. *Hotel and Restaurant Management*

The greater number of London’s hotel owners and managers, in the periods of interest, were not English. As evidenced by Anderson’s survey of data, which was “drawn from contemporary publications as well as the [1889, 1901 and 1911] censuses”, “the majority of senior managers were German, French, Italian, or Swiss” (Anderson, 2019:183). As she has stated: “Part of the explanation for this European dominance was practical” (Anderson, 2019:184). The reasons why this majority employed fellow non-natives was for the same reasons that they had become successful owners and

managers in the first place. That is, they had multilingual abilities, broad skill sets, and high levels of training. Anderson (2019) has also posited that cosmopolitan experience and connections gained by non-English owners and management were important for the reputation of the establishments that they were responsible for.

Even though this European cultural diversity was seemingly good for business, it did lead some to believe that what Van den Berghe has referred to as “ethnic nepotism” (Van den Berghe, [1981] 1987:222) was at play with respect to the employment of waiting staff. Ethnic nepotism is an extension of family oriented nepotistic actions whereby people exhibit similar actions in regard to those that they identify as being in the same ethnic group as them. Van den Berghe [1981] (1987) believed that this behaviour was encoded onto the very unconscious of humans.

In the words of Leppington: “A large proportion of hotel and restaurant managers are foreigners, and they prefer to employ their own countrymen” (Leppington, 1892:756). His view was echoed by an English waiter who wrote into the *Evening News* concerning this issue. This waiter’s letter was reprinted in the October 1909 edition of *The Restaurant*, in an article entitled “English and Foreign Waiters”:

May I give you my opinion on why there are so many foreigners holding situations in English hotels and restaurants – where we would expect to see Englishmen? It is chiefly because each manager prefers men of his own country to those of another. This can be proved by anyone who visits an [sic] hotel or restaurant in London; the majority of staff he will find to be of the same nationality as the manager. That manager will try to make you believe that his own countrymen are the best in the world... After twenty years’ experience, I can assure you that the only reason of so many foreigners being employed in hotels and restaurants is that the men who first started or modernized them were foreigners themselves; they push forward their own countrymen. It stands the reason that a manager will not recommend a Britisher for promotion when he can get a man from his own native land...if you ask a Swiss, Italian or French manager which men he prefers as restaurant waiters, he will tell you that the men of his own nationality are the best (*Evening News*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:70).

Whilst there might be some truth that ethnic nepotism did lead management to employ people who were perceived to share their ethnicity, it remains controversial to

label this behaviour as an innate tendency and removes the social interpersonal aspect that shared commonalities seek to support. However, there were clearly other more concrete and practical reasons for employing foreign waiters, which will now be detailed.

6.1.3.2. *Training*

Paralleling the prior content concerning the training of chefs, foreign waiters were often preferred because many would be trained in waiting, as a profession, before coming to England. Brits, however, did not train to become waiters until the British Waiters' Society and its affiliated School of Instruction were established in 1909. *The Restaurant*, in an article entitled "Foreign Waiters in London", published in the first edition of the journal in August 1909, referenced a German writing for the *Daily Mail*, who was said to have stated: "The German waiter...is forced by the laws of his union to serve, I believe, an apprenticeship of three years. He begins soon after leaving school, and at last has his business at his fingertips. He is a man who has 'learned his trade'" (*Daily Mail*, cited in *The Restaurant*, 1909:6). Albeit that the English waiter writing to the *Evening News* did mention that he believed that the "so-called apprenticeship system" was "only in force in Germany and Austria" (*Evening News*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:70). He was also highly critical of it: "What they learn during the supposed three years' apprenticeship, I really cannot see – unless it is scullery work" (*Evening News*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:70). *The Restaurant*, however, in their July 1912 edition, in a piece entitled "Beware, this Summer Time!: How to Become a Waiter in One Hour", claimed that waiters undertook a seven-year apprenticeship (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400).

Regardless of the length of the training and the critical comments that were originally published by the *Evening News*, it is hard to believe that any training did not leave those who had undertaken it better equipped to handle themselves, in regard to doxa governing the restaurant space, than those who had no training. This point was outlined in *The Restaurant* in the February 1910 edition, in an article entitled "Tax the Foreign Waiters", which critiqued "the daily press" for such a suggestion (*The Restaurant*, 1910:150). The tax on foreign waiters had been proposed by some working for the daily newspaper press in order to reduce the reserve army of labour consisting

of English waiters. However, *The Restaurant* posited that these journalists displayed such “zeal for their own country” that it “sometimes [outran] their discretion” (*The Restaurant*, 1910:150). Offering an alternative solution, the journal identified that more training for Englishmen could improve the situation:

Before considering any such proposal for the protection of British labour we should be disposed to enquire whether provisions ought not first be made for the proper training of such labour as applied to the restaurant and hotel industry. The only reason foreigners are so largely given preference as waiters is because they have invariably had a systematic training in which Britons are usually lacking. This is commonplace in the restaurant trade... The true friend of the British waiter will concern themselves with an improvement in their training, rather than the penalising of foreign competitors (*The Restaurant*, 1910:150).

6.1.3.3. *Multilingual Abilities*

Another key element, identified in the listings, was that many waiters seeking work would specify their ability to speak multiple languages. As Leppington wrote: “The foreigner...speaks two or three languages to the Englishman’s one” (Leppington, 1892:756). Hotel restaurants needed to cater for an international audience and, in consequence, it was favourable to employ waiters who were able to speak more than one language. As was put by a correspondent of *The Restaurant*, in the “Foreign Waiters in London” article: “Foreigners are among the best customers of London restaurants, and often require to be spoken to in their own tongue” (*The Restaurant*, 1909:6). A breakdown of the Savoy’s clientele, published in the *London Evening Standard*, under the title of “Hotels and the New Tax”, on 30th June 1909 served to illustrate this point. It was claimed: “No more than twenty per cent. of the visitors to the Savoy Hotel at a certain season were English. Forty per cent. were from the United States, nine from France, ten from Germany, four or five from Canada, and the rest from Italy, South America, and so on” (*London Evening Standard*, 1909:5). For context, the Savoy had 268 rooms that were capable of sleeping more than one person (Heard, 2011).

Communicating in multiple languages was not only reserved for conversing with customers; the ability was also needed when speaking with the back of house staff.

That is, waiters needed to communicate with the *brigade de cuisine*, i.e., the kitchen brigade. As was expounded upon in Chapter 5, English cooks and chefs were stereotyped negatively, while French chefs possessed an embodied cultural capital – which English chefs and cooks could not obtain – and were preferred because this form of capital acted as a marker of distinction. As was asserted by Mars: “Throughout the nineteenth century the cachet of employing a French chef continued and is often described as having begun and concluded with two great French chefs: Antoine Carême (1783-1833) and Georges Auguste Escoffier (1847-1935)” (Mars, 2013:224). Hence, French was a language commonly and sometimes exclusively used in kitchens, and this continued into the twentieth century. This was evidenced by the English waiter: “The French language is only in demand owing to cooks being French” (*Evening News*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:70).

To illustrate, the famous Escoffier, who worked as the *chef de cuisine* in the Savoy in the late Victorian period and then in The Carlton in the Edwardian period, never learnt English. According to James, “the English language reflected the coarseness of English cooking”, which is why Escoffier, a native Frenchman, refused to learn it (James, 2002:132). It is interesting that Escoffier saw learning English as a form of cultural capital that might erode his pre-existing embodied cultural capital; one might also say that it could impact his symbolic capital and branding as a truly authentic French chef. Additionally, Escoffier may be seen as guilty of the ethnic nepotism that was spoken about earlier as he did employ French chefs and cooks to work under him. Hence, he serves to exemplify why it was imperative that waiting staff did speak French so as to communicate clearly with the back of house team.

French, as has been discussed, was also the language in which all high-end establishments published their menus. Again, French was used as a symbol of quality and a barrier to stop lower-class pecuniary emulation. What is more, according to the “Foreign Waiters in London” article, French was “universally spoken on the Continent”, and was likely to be spoken by those of the class that these restaurants appealed to (*The Restaurant*, 1909:6). In consequence, it was not only a language connoting culinary superiority, and a language understood by the upper-class English

(who, as evidenced by Epicure, comprehended its connotations),⁷⁹ but also a language used to communicate with European tourists.

Communicating with clients, the *brigade de cuisine*, and reading and pronouncing menus all meant that waiting staff needed to possess French, as a linguistic form of cultural capital, in order to undertake their work at a professional level. While a good knowledge of both French and English was necessary, it was also advantageous for waiters to have grasped German. As was stated in a poem that was entitled “The Good Waiter”, which was published in *The Chef* on 29th January 1898:

He can speak French and English,
And German understand
(*The Chef*, 1898:6).

Germans were a standard fixture in many hotels across the Continent, and England was no exception. As an article in *The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, entitled “The German Waiter”, published on 6th September 1890, reflected:

At the time of year when so many people are taking their annual holiday the subject of the German waiter cannot fail to have some little interest. In the first place he is ubiquitous. Not only is he to be met with in [sic] every seaside resort in England, but there is not a capital in Europe nor a watering-place of even second-rate importance where his presence is not familiar. There are no available statistics to show what his numbers really are, but it would be no exaggeration to say that German waiters all over the world would form a very respectable army. In London he has elbowed out a vast number of the native element, and in Paris he has to a great extent recovered his position, which for a long time he had lost in consequence of the war of '70...

Of course all German waiters are not perfect... Still the contention holds good that, taking the ordinary class alone, the foreigner has the greater aptitude for his calling.

One reason for this no doubt, is that abroad, notably in Switzerland and Germany the owners of hotels, after giving their sons a liberal education, send them to foreign countries to pick up as many languages as possible and to learn their profession from the very lowest rungs of the social ladder (*The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, 1890:1-2).

⁷⁹ See 4.3.2 for a detailed discussion of Epicure’s comments.

The very existence of the previously mentioned periodical, *The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, which was published in London with its copy almost exclusively printed in German, also reflected the number of Germans employed in the trade in England. (The menus that were printed in it appeared in French, and for some unknown reason – potentially so other press periodicals could reprint it – the above extract was published in English, but English copy in the periodical was rare.) As do the comments that originally appeared in the *Daily Mail* that were reprinted by *The Restaurant*, under the heading “Waiters – German and English”, in August 1909:

One word now about the German waiter. I have been over a good deal of England, and I have been served by him everywhere – in the hotels I stopped at, and in the restaurants I happened to drop into. And I have asked myself: Why is this? The waiters I questioned told me: ‘In the first place we come here to learn the language. Then, if we want to, we can go back to the Continent, learn French in Paris, and then become head waiter in some stylish hotel. But we also earn more money here. We do not do badly in Germany, but we do still better here, and as there is a steadily increasing demand for us, why should we not come?’ Well – why not, indeed? Some people seem to think it a money question; that the German waiter works cheaper. That is a mistake (*Daily Mail*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:18).

In the previously mentioned “Parisian Waiters” article, it was noted that French waiters were likely to earn more in England than in Paris: “On the whole, however, [French waiters] obtain less [in Paris] than is received by the waiter at an ordinary English hotel” (*The Caterer*, 1878:8). However, not all waiters were French, English, or German. *The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, in an article published in 31st May 1890 edition, which was entitled “An unsere Leser”,⁸⁰ estimated that that were “3-4,000” foreign waiters and cooks in the “United Kingdom” that provided their services in hotels and restaurants, identifying that a high proportion of these employees were from Germany, Austria and Italy (*The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, 1890:1). As noted in an article by “B. W.”, originally published in the *Daily Mail*, but reproduced by *The Chef* on 4th December 1897, under the title “About Waiters”: “Nearly the whole of the restaurant waiters of London are

⁸⁰ This translates to: “To Our Readers”.

foreigners. In the smaller restaurants they are Germans or Italians; in the better appointed Swiss or French” (*Daily Mail*, reprinted in *The Chef*, 1897:7). While these comments are slightly generalised, they outline the importance of Austrian, Italian and Swiss waiters in the capital.

Assael’s (2018) own trade press analysis has indicated that in 1885 there were approximately 7,000 German waiters in London, as well as 4,500 other foreign waiting staff, of which the Swiss were considered to be the second largest European grouping, and that by 1891, 2,000 Italians were employed in the capital as chefs or waiters. In light of census records evaluation, she estimated that this would mean that 25 per cent of all Germans and 40 per cent of all Italians living in London “were engaged in the trade” (Assael, 2018:159-160). Kershen has emphasised the role that Italians had on the industry: “It is clear that, by 1911, Italian immigrants in London were heavily engaged in the food and catering trades. In London alone there were 1,600 Italian waiters, 900 chefs, 1,400 bakers and confectioners and 500 café and restaurant owners” (Kershen, 2003:141).

One such famous Italian was Guccio Gucci, who emigrated from Italy in 1899 and gained a job at the Savoy as a kitchen assistant at the age of seventeen (Simmons and Vries, 2010). He was promoted to the position of waiter and saved up enough money to return to Italy, where he would start his luxury fashion business (Simmons and Vries, 2010). Gucci was doubtlessly influenced by the hotel’s grandeur and the tastes of its visitors (Simmons and Vries, 2010; Hill, [2011] 2022; Homer, 2020), albeit it improbable that he, as has been documented (Hill, [2011] 2022; Homer, 2020), was ever really the Savoy’s *maitre d’* (Simmons and Vries, 2010).

6.1.3.4. *The Stereotype of the English and the Foreign Waiter*

As was noted by *The Restaurant*’s correspondent, in the “Foreign Waiters in London” article, the class of Englishmen who could speak French were not the class of men who saw ‘waiting’ as a fitting career choice: “This calls for linguistic attainments which are rarely, if ever, found among Englishmen of social grade from which waiters are drawn” (*The Restaurant*, 1909:6). Hence, those working-class men that did seek to take up waiting positions were linguistically ill-equipped to undertake their role. Much like in

the Cookery Technical School (for Boys), which offered French classes to its students, when the British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction were founded, the school offered "a complete course of instruction...including foreign languages" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:119).

There was also an apparent belief among the English that waiting was simply a job that men would get while waiting to pursue a different career or that they ended up as a waiter because they could not fulfil the requirements for other jobs. As stated in the aforementioned "Waiters – German and English" article:

I could name a hotel – probably the largest in all England – that opened with English waiters exclusively. They had to give it up very soon, and with this hotel it was certainly not a money question. The English waiter who has been educated up to his trade is second to none; yes, I am prepared to say – best of all. He commands a fair wage, gets it, and is sought after at that. But there are not enough to go around; the very first-class places, and especially private establishments absorb him.

I think that the whole principle lies in the principle of growing up and then 'looking for a job'. The average English waiter will not do because, I fear, he has in most cases, become a waiter – or tried to do so – for want of finding a job as, say, a cabdriver, or something else. He has not yet realised that waiting, after all, is, I am almost tempted to say it, skilled labour. He simply goes at it, does not know the first thing about the trade, and as a result, does not give satisfaction (*Daily Mail*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:18).

Another instance of waiting being viewed as a quick and easy way to make money was critiqued by *The Restaurant* in "Beware, this Summer Time!" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). This article concerned *Answers* magazine – sarcastically described by the journal as "that organ of instruction and wit" – which had published a piece telling their readers – or as *The Restaurant* referred to them, "the subordinate" – how to make a wage in the summertime (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). *Answers* had instructed these men to put on a "dress suit" and go to a "Grand Hotel" (*Answers*, cited in *The Restaurant*, 1912:400). Apparently, this hotel would be "overflowing with visitors", with "[t]wo to three hundred...dining", and the *Answers*' reader would "become a very amateur auxiliary waiter" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). The "man in the dress suit" was assured that "extra waiters will be needed, and the manager will eagerly seize the proffered services" for a salary that may range from "3s. 6d. to 5s. per night, according

to the condition of the dress suit, maybe, and with tips the night's takings will rise to at least half-a-sovereign" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). Converted, *Answers* was promising their readers a sum between £22.21 to £31.74 per night and tips on top of this. For a temporary waiter, this wage was rather high. (See Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion of waiters' wages.) Likewise, the presumption that the would-be waiter would get to keep their tip and be paid a fix wage was dubious. Furthermore, *Answers* did not take into account other complexities, such as the amateur being asked to pay a deposit before the start of their shift. Hence, *The Restaurant* had every right to be sceptical.

The amateur waiter was also guaranteed that "no counterpoints may arise" because "the diners at the 'Grand' will not be from his 'avenue' in the suburbs" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). That is, he would not be recognised as a fraud because nobody would be from his area, and they would not be of his class. In response, *The Restaurant's* correspondent quipped: "It would, of course, be awkward if one's best morning girl were really dining at the 'Grand' with pa and ma, but still, the amateur waiter could, in this remote event, hide his face behind his coat tails" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). It was additionally recommended by *Answers* that the would-be waiter "know the elementary art of waiting" and that "this can be picked up in an hour's observation" of a "little handbook" (*Answers*, cited in *The Restaurant*, 1912:400). In reference to the note on handbooks, *The Restaurant* asked: "Could *Answers* tell us whether there are any such books published that will tell the manager of the Nation's 'Grands' how to entice once again to his hotel the custom of those diners who left because of the man from 'Arcady',⁸¹ who learnt waiting in a single hour and burnished up his mind with a little handbook" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400). The article concluded: "Oh! *Answers*, what twaddle" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:400).

⁸¹ "Arcady[:] Any place where rustic simplicity and contentment prevail" (Conner, [1998] 1999:8). In context, the term was used to make the point that the potential waiter would not be living close to the location of the hotel and would therefore likely be from a more rural area. *The Restaurant* correspondent could have also been using the term to conflate the connotation of 'simplicity' with the perceived 'ignorance' or 'stupidity' of *Answer's* readership.

The English article published on 6th September 1890 in *The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette* was also less than complimentary about English waiting staff. The author provided an explanation of why, in their opinion, German waiters were superior to their English counterparts. They noted that it was “easy to perceive how military training...should be of great service to [German waiters]” (*The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, 1890:1). Hence, the author reflected that this training might have influenced their personalities whilst in employment:

It is only necessary to watch the methodical and intelligent [sic] manner in which they go about their work to realise that their natural aptitude has been supplemented... The head-waiter is the officer and his word is law. There is seldom any disposition to call in question his authority. He may be a martinet, indeed he often is, and may also be harsh and overbearing to his subordinates, but there is the understanding that he must be obeyed and no one dreams of disputing his supremacy (*The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, 1890:1-2).

The author continued, turning to the German waiter’s “English confrère” to present “a contrast”: “It must be the experience of most persons to have been witness at some great public dinner or other function of the wrangling, often too little concealed, of the waiters” (*The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette*, 1890:2). The article then went on to imply that English waiters were complacent.

The English waiter, writing into the *Evening News*, also offered an insight into the way that English waiters were perceived, while seeking to promote opportunities for the British by asking a hypothetical question:

Supposing for an instance that those correspondents of yours are right who say that foreign waiters are thrifty, have obliging manners, are sober, and have all the other qualities which Britishers are not supposed to possess, what about the cooks, the porters, and the dish-washers who are behind the scenes? Have all these men got the qualities attributed to the foreign waiter? (*Evening News*, reprinted in *The Restaurant*, 1909:70).

In the “Foreign Waiters in London” article, *The Restaurant*, while defending foreign-born waiters, shed further light on the conflicting views concerning non-natives working in London restaurants. The article stated: “The prejudice against foreigners

taking the places of Englishmen is only natural, but it should be remembered that the profession of a waiter, in all large capitals at least, is is [sic], by its very nature, cosmopolitan” (*The Restaurant*, 1909:6). In this article there is a complex interplay between national pride, cultural elitism, and ethnic nepotism, but also an embracing of cosmopolitan culture and acceptance of difference.

As was put by Highmore: “Where there is difference, there is unevenness, seemingly inevitable inequality, and that acute mixture of fear and fascination that marks so many encounters with the new, the ‘foreign’” (Highmore, 2008:396). This is a dynamic that is still observable in contemporary culture and will be spoken about more in the conclusion of this thesis. However, here, it is posited that the “Foreign Waiters in London” article captured the contradictory habitus of the English patrons in terms of the experience of being waited upon, and a ‘natural’ fear of Otherness but also ‘natural’ need for Otherness. This fear could well be attributed to a ‘natural’ national pride and the anxiety of a perceived English cultural dilution, which stemmed from cultural elitism and the belief that Englishness was superior. The same ethnic nepotism that was used to describe the management and owners of these establishments was also evidenced in the article. That is, there was an observable multi-layered fear for the English people who abided in the capital. As mentioned in the prior chapter, there was this perceived sense of jobs being stolen – regardless of whether nationals actually did or did not want to work in these forms of employment – which played into the complexities of inherited ownership due to embodied cultural capital. Yet, the fear of the Other was also expressed in other ways. For example, it was feared that foreign waiters might be spies or may have gained their position in order to commit crimes. In a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Howard Vincent raised this point. He claimed that some “German and other foreign waiters...go into a hotel...secure a situation, and take advantage of the opportunity to rob their employer” (Hansard, 26th February 1903:col. 943).

Conversely, the article’s author recognised that it is ‘natural’ for foreigners to work in the job role. In this sense, there was an acceptance that London had been ‘Europeanised’, and that it was now a heterogenous site of cultural diversity in terms of these waiters and the luxury establishments that they worked in. The chains of interdependence essential for operations in the relevant field had connected the English

with their European neighbours and to have removed said relations would ruin a leisure pursuit that had become an integral way for visitors to London and locals to gain capital. Dining in luxury restaurants required that there be foreigners working there and, without the staff, a valid and fashionable form of meaning making would be rendered impossible. Furthermore, the relational web that formed the basis of the restaurant field and was responsible for sustaining it meant that even if all the players in the field were to be replaced with Englishmen, the capital that was to be gained from dining would lessen. Fine dining was a cosmopolitan practice and to 'Englishify' it would have been to render the practice redundant and thereby destroy the capital that might be gained from the culinary encounter.

6.2. *Theoretical Analysis: Qualities of Waiting Staff in London*

The contradictions of the upper-class customer habitus have already been identified. Yet, it is proposed that the waiting staff also needed to embody a range of contradictory traits and qualities, in the form of cultural capital, for them to be successful in their job. In this section, a theoretical evaluation of these contradictions will be assessed by focussing on the objectification and fetishisation of these waiting staff. Firstly, waiting staff's feminisation will be considered and, secondly, the way that they represented high-class culture, while falling victim to class-based assumptions, will be addressed.

Objectification has been defined by Gruenfeld et al as "a process of subjugation whereby people, like objects, are treated as means to an end" (Gruenfeld et al, 2008:111). It is posited that by reducing waiters to a series of traits, i.e., being young, tall, foreign, and of good appearance, was to objectify these men. Waiters were also ultimately seen as a means to an end, i.e., to serve restaurant customers effectively and to create the restaurant economic and social capital. Thus, in line with Marx's concept, they were viewed as commodities, in that these traits allowed them to have a specific worth. However, these waiters possessed more than mere use value and were subsequently the embodiment of a range of qualities that transcended their ability to serve customers. On that account, they were fetishised, in the Marxist sense of the term, in a series of ways and, thus, dehumanised and subjected to processes of alienation.

6.2.1. Waiters as Feminised

First and foremost, as Oestreich has stated: “Waiters were feminised in a masculine environment” (Oestreich, 2011:n.p.). Restaurants were spaces of both leisure and domesticity that were subjected to the regimes of patriarchal control. Furthermore, prior to the late 1800s, restaurant dining was almost exclusively a male activity. This is illustrated by *The American Stranger’s Guide to London and Liverpool at Table*, which explained:

A want of long standing still exists in London – and that is, the difficulty of finding Restaurants where strangers of the gentler sex may be taken to dine. It is true that some have been opened where gentlemen may take their wives and daughters; but it has not yet become a recognised custom (*The American Stranger’s Guide to London and Liverpool at Table*, 1859:8).

If women wished to consume food out of their homes, they would have to visit a tearoom, women-specific dining room or the residence of an associate. *The American Stranger’s Guide to London and Liverpool at Table* also suggested taking women, accompanied by male family members, to “Parisian Cafés”, “Verrey’s”⁸² or the “London Tavern” (*The American Stranger’s Guide to London and Liverpool at Table*, 1859:8).

As time passed, more women were seen in restaurant dining rooms with men, but a stigma did remain. What would now be referred to as a ‘publicity stunt’, undertaken at the Savoy, had tried to rectify this. The Marquess of Ripon, also known as Earl de Grey, was on D’Oyly Carte’s Savoy restaurant committee (James, 2002; Barr, 2018)⁸³ and had a socialite wife, the Marchioness of Ripon, also known as Lady de Grey. Lady Gladys de Grey was already somewhat of a social pioneer and ‘trend setter’ in Victorian England. For example, her residence was installed with a telephone (Borkowy and Harris, 2007) and, at the time, this was extremely novel. *The Motor Car Journal*, in an untitled article, described her as “one of the first ladies to take a practical interest in

⁸² It is imagined that the author was referring to “Verrey’s”, which Dickens, Jr. described as “[p]erhaps the oldest of the real restaurants in London” (Dickens, Jr., 1879:n.p.).

⁸³ Richard D’Oyly Carte commissioned the Savoy Hotel, which opened in 1889.

motoring” (*The Motor Car Journal*, 1909:450). She, on the suggestion of the general manager, Ritz, also became one of the first women to dine out in a restaurant, with other women, without any male accompaniment (James, 2002; Barr, 2018).

Lady de Grey’s decision to tamper with the doxic standards or to break “the rules of social protocol” (Barr, 2018:88), which actively encouraged pecuniary emulation, did have an impact. According to Barr, by “the end of the summer season of 1890, the Savoy was booming” (Barr, 2018:88). Nonetheless, while de Grey did have “advantageous positionality”, “[i]t is very difficult to change doxa” (Robinson, 2018:204). Hence, in the late Victoria era there remained a stigma – even if it was not quite as profound – attached to woman being present in restaurant dining rooms that were open to both sexes. This was exemplified by both Lady and Miss Carcanet’s comments, published by Newnham-Davis in 1899, and discussed in Chapter 5. As a result, “[u]ntil well into the twentieth century, [restaurants] were essentially masculine environments” (Mason, 2004:159).

It is argued that restaurants were *masculinised environments* by definition, rather than masculine, i.e., they were imbued symbolically with masculine and patriarchal qualities, but were never developed to present as masculine spaces. In fact, in appearance, these spaces were designed to mimic styles that were deemed feminine, unlike the clubs of the periods. Clubs, especially older clubs, “might have had little architectural grandeur but could boast pleasant and well-planned interiors” and favoured practical comfort, privacy, and sensibility (Milne-Smith, 2006:802). Qualities arguably associated with Victorian masculinity.⁸⁴ The Art Nouveau, French Baroque, and Rococo/Late Baroque styles that luxury restaurants implemented were, in fact, deemed to represent feminine qualities with a French influence. The Baroque style connoted King Louis XIV’s Court of Versailles, with its “luxuriousness” and “grandeur”, which was complimented by the “more feminine, dainty, and elegant [Rococo] style, under the influence of Madame de Pomadour and Madame du Barry, during the reign of Louis XV” (Das, 2009:95).⁸⁵ As was noted by Lazzari and

⁸⁴ For a detailed discussion of the Victorian ideals of manliness and gentlemanliness, see Tosh (2002).

⁸⁵ Madame de Pomadour and Madame du Barry were two of Louis XV’s mistresses.

Schlesier: “Rococo architecture was seen as female, with its emphasis on delicate, curving, colourful decoration” (Lazzari and Schlesier, [2005] 2012:376). Art Nouveau, at its time a contemporary approach to art and architecture, “exemplified dreaminess, irrationality, and eroticism woven into depictions of nature, women, and buildings” (Sluis, 2016:190). Furthering this, Anderson has argued that a lexicon of magic, which was loaded with female connotations, was often related to buildings “in which the materiality and experience of luxury consumption were combined” (Anderson, 2019:109).

The aesthetics of these luxury environments were delicate, dramatic, magical, and lacking in rationality (Anderson, 2019). Yet, while these restaurants were constructed utilising styles that were deemed to represent feminine qualities, it did not detract from the fact that the doxa that governed them were strictly patriarchal. In line with the period, the feminine was to be controlled by the masculine. “Manly independence was dramatized by feminine dependence, manly action by feminine passivity, and so on. Both body and mind were now sexed” (Tosh, 2002:464-465). As such, waiters, as men, operating in landscapes of feminised opulence that were controlled by male customers who possessed more status than them, were feminised in accordance with their environment and lack of status. What is more, their role as financially dependent on these male customers worked to demasculinise them further.

As Oestreich has stated, “because most of what they [the waiters] sell is *themselves* (not manufactured goods, not their own production), they perform a feminine/domestic task in a masculine/public zone” (Oestreich, emphasis in original, 2011:n.p.). However, to extend this further, waiters, as has been observed, were tasked with being subordinate and, by that very point, feminised and trivialised by those they served. This was worsened by the tip system, which, as will be explained in 7.3, made many a waiter completely dependent on the generosity of their patrons. Yet, some of the key attributes that have been discussed added to this subordination, such as being foreign, young, and smart, and therefore somehow ‘lesser’ in the eyes of older English men. Hence, waiting staff were further feminised, trivialised, and objectified, as it was not merely their references that earned them work, but rather literally, what their employers were looking for.

The judgment a waiter received based on his appearance also ultimately led to alienation. As amusing as many a popular newspaper found the Amalgamated Waiters' Society's protestations about facial hair removal, the moustache in the Victorian and Edwardian eras was a status symbol. This history of the moustache is convoluted and linked with fashions born of military prowess. Hence, connoting "virtues [that] had traditionally had a strong military resonance", such as "decisiveness, courage and endurance" (Tosh, 2002:460). Yet, *men* wore moustaches in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, but could demand of their servants that they shave. As was put by Eyben:

The late nineteenth-century context is the commoditization of upper-class dining as it shifted from the private home to the expanding sector of luxury hotels and restaurants, where any wealthy man regardless of his social origins could enjoy the fantasy of dining like a lord. In claiming the right to grow a moustache, waiters sought to define limits to that fantasy. Their subservient masculinity was context-specific. Their moustaches distinguished them from the immutable, submissive and effeminate masculinity of clean-shaven domestic servants (Eyben, 2019:190).

That is, the moustache acted as a device that allowed for waiters to emphasise the fact that they were not employed in domestic servitude and allowed for them not to be defined as such when outside of the restaurant. It, for them, was a form of capital that allowed them to mark themselves as distinct from the domestic servant class, and as men as manly as those that they served. To gatekeep the moustache, to actively bar the waiters from participation in what the upper classes and hotel management presumably saw as pecuniary emulation, led to invidious comparison on the part of the waiters. The resentment and anger of moustache bans brought the symbolic violence of the system to light in an obvious manner. Waiters were actively being demasculinised and forced to carry values that were linked with boyhood and womanhood, and servitude and submission. In a culture that "was structured around a heavily polarized understanding of gender" (Tosh, 1999:46), this was humiliating and alienating. Their manhood did not matter to their employers, only their ability to serve and to look a specific way while doing so: they were commodified in a manner deemed to be degrading. Worse, if they grew a moustache and were asked to remove it, complying was to accept the symbolic

violence, which further verified their servitude and submissiveness and stripped them of their masculinity.

6.2.2. Waiters as Objects of High-Class Culture and Victims of Class-Based Assumptions

While the waiter became a subordinate, demasculinised and feminised seller of his service, he also had to have an understanding of his clientele. That is, the waiter needed to ‘read the room’ and adapt to each diner, which was reflected in the aforementioned “The Good Waiter” poem:

He can speak French and English,
And German understand;
Knows when he is not wanted,
And when to be at hand.

He has a good appearance,
Speaks deferentially;
Adapts himself to all men
Of high and low degree...

Next time you rise from dining,
With all the world content,
Is nothing due the waiter
For pleasant hours thus spent?
(*The Chef*, 1898:6).

In the “Notes and Comments” segment of *The Waiters’ Record*’s August 1901 edition, another important point was raised: “The character of a waiter, waitress or bar attendant is their capital, their stock-in-trade; destroy and damage that, and they are at the mercy of the world” (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:1). Here ‘character’ can refer to habitus/hexis, e.g., principles, manners, countenance, etc., and embodied cultural capital, e.g., knowledge of upper-class fashions and trends. To destroy a waiter’s reputation was to lessen his symbolic worth, and waiting staff were certainly aware of the surface-level class assumptions that were made about them and their position in the

social hierarchy of their place of employment, and the violence, symbolic or otherwise, that could be enacted against them.⁸⁶

As has been seen, waiters needed to, ideally, speak three, if not more, languages, with eloquence. Yet, thinking back to “Philo” and the comment that he made about frequently puzzling over the contents of a menu that was written in French (*The Chef*, 1895:6), it is observable that waiters needed to possess more embodied capital than those that they catered for. Plus, they needed to not only read the menus competently, but learn what the dishes and beverages outlined on them were. To recall Newnham-Davis’ menus, while some dishes were self-evident, such as “*parfait de foie gras*” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:211), what “*belle de nuit aux violettes*” (Newnham-Davis, 1899:78) was remains a mystery. Not only were the language skills and knowledge of dishes and drinks *expected* to be better than their patrons’, as has been seen, training was preferred if one were to make a profession from either preparing or serving food. This training lasted for years, and one often had to pay for it.

Furthermore, waiters had to traverse all levels of the interdirectional model. They were seen as working class, which led to subjugation and dehumanisation, but they needed to possess knowledge of the higher classes’ tastes and hold a conversation with them. They needed to exhibit manners that complied with the doxa of the very upper echelons of society from many culturally divergent nations. Plus, they also acted as objects of taste transference, for it was them that communicated with and served patrons the dishes that were to furnish these patrons with the markers of distinction that made restaurant dining fashionable. Yet, the word ‘objects’ is used here because they needed to negotiate the field with diligence. They could not be seen to step above their station and be suspected of pecuniary emulation. They had to have a sophisticated cross-class and cross-cultural knowledge but never be seen to let this capital influence their habitus in a manner that might be deemed as threatening to their patrons’ status. Hence, their objectification and feminisation acted to preserve their reputations. These processes

⁸⁶ See 6.1.3.4. for examples of classed/racialised symbolically violent comments that were published by the press. Physical violence, not uncommonly subjected upon waiters, will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

shielded them from the fact that, in the field of the restaurant, good waiters were rich in a range of capitals that their patrons simply did not possess.

Earning such capital required a form of labour that extended far beyond the physical strength that it took to deal with a twelve-hour (plus) shift. This links onto another contradiction that waiters are often deemed to embody. That is, to refer back to Oestreich: “They are victims of surface-level class assumptions even as they turn these same assumptions on their customers, looking for class markers, targeting both the moneyed and the not-quite-rich-but-naïve – anyone who might be conned” (Oestreich, 2011:n.p.). Whilst the sentiment that all waiters were con artists is not one that this thesis seeks to advocate, it is agreed that waiters were trained to identify economic capital and, furthermore, those who were of the nature to afford them a tip. As “The Model Waiter” article playfully asserted: “Of many contending cries, he [the model waiter] attends to that of ‘Money,’ first” (*Punch*, 1848:103). Yet, far from being con artists, it is argued that this was simply part of the nature of their work. Waiters were, after all, typically viewed as lower-class individuals and they did earn a small wage. As illustrated in Chapter 7, Newnham-Davis often spent far more on a meal than the waiter that served him might make in weeks. The reality was that, as skilled as waiters needed to be, in many different aspects, they really did rely on their customers’ economic capital in order to make a living, which is a theme that is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

6.3. *Overview: The Profession of Serving Food*

Drawing upon trade press listings and journalistic content, this chapter set out to examine waiters and the capitals that they needed to possess and what this meant more broadly. ‘Age’ was the first characteristic to be discussed, and it was asserted that younger men were preferred as waiters in luxury establishments. This was not only because of the physical aptitude required to manage the long hours of shift work, but because of youth’s symbolic associations, i.e., that one may have lesser power and be ‘easier on the eye’. A good appearance, indeed, was viewed as an essential requirement for a waiter, who also needed to be tall in stature. A lack of a spouse was additionally seen as advantageous for waiters seeking employment. Yet, connecting on from the prior chapter on chefs, one’s nationality played a key role in employability.

As discussed in 6.1.3, hotel management, who were often not natives, were seen as preferencing people they perceived to be of the same nationality as them. As nepotism as this could have been, foreign waiters often had training, and therefore could navigate doxic standards with greater ease than those who had none. Furthermore, being multilingual was helpful in many ways for waiting staff. Menus were published in French, and this served to guard against lower-class pecuniary emulation, as outlined in 5.2, but it was not simply the customers who needed to negotiate these menus – the waiters did too. Likewise, because of the preference for French chefs, a familiarity with French was advantageous for waiting staff so as to effectively communicate with their colleagues. As the chains of interdependence lengthened, London was becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan city, and foreign tourists also needed to be understood and listened to, and a waiter that could competently do so would have been prized.

A clear parallel emerged from the prior chapter: foreign waiters, like French chefs, were granted a superior status because of the capital that they were perceived to possess, while also subjects of stigmatisation and Othering due to their non-native status. Corresponding to the content on English chefs, English waiters were also stereotyped negatively. Those Englishmen who would become waiting staff were viewed as doing so for lack of other work, and of being of the wrong socio-economic background to successfully navigate the appropriate doxic standards. Hence, again, established and enduring contradictions and tensions found in the cross-cultural webbing were identified and discussed.

6.2 worked with the key theorists' terminology and ideas that were set out and built upon in Chapter 1, so as to offer a deeper theoretical analysis of the qualities of waiting staff. The core arguments presented were that waiters were feminised and objectified in their profession. To begin it was argued that waiters operated in restaurant spaces that were aesthetically 'feminine', but that these spaces were symbolically dominated by patriarchal forces of power. Furthermore, waiting staff were financially reliant on the clientele that they *served*. In consequence, these men became feminised, trivialised, and objectified. This was further exacerbated by the qualities of waiters discussed in 6.1. To be young, judged on appearance, and foreign all meant that the waiter could be subordinated in their role.

While the waiter seemed to be demasculinised and deemed of low symbolic worth, there was a tension to be found in the fact that waiters needed to possess more embodied capital – in certain respects – than those that they served. That is, they needed to have knowledge of food and drink, languages, dining room etiquette and to be able to modify their character to suit their clientele who may have been from very different regions and cultures, while also maintaining their countenance throughout a long shift. As argued, these men needed to adeptly navigate all levels of the interdirectional model in order to successfully undertake their job. Lastly, a classed element was discussed. Waiters might have been able to competently understand the upper-class habitus, but they could not be of such a class. However, the relationship between waiters and customers was not a simple hierarchy, as will be further explored in the next chapter. Indeed, waiters could and did identify markers of distinction and would use this skill in order to accrue financial capital.

7. Chefs' and Waiters' Wages and Work Conditions

A further exploration of (economic) capital, positionality, and social tensions will be outlined in this chapter, which focusses on two primary issues: that of wages and that of work conditions. The first section, concerned with wages, begins by detailing the payment received by chefs and waiters in the period of history in question. As will be discussed, while chefs were often in fixed employment, comparatively, waiting staff lived quite precariously. On account of this, waiter's outgoings are examined in further detail. The tip system is then expounded upon along with the social attitude towards it, which is followed by an analysis of its intricacies. The last section seeks to consider the work conditions of those employed in the industry and how unification and rivalry, in an attempt to rectify the 'ills' that workers faced, led to the formation of social organisations.

7.1. *Chefs' and Waiters' Wages*

As was stated by Leppington, when writing about waiters' wages: "The mode and amount of remuneration in this occupation varies extremely" (Leppington, 1892:754). For headwaiters in the "best hotels", Leppington claimed that wages were likely to be around £50 to £60 a year (Leppington, 1892:754), which converts to between £7,060.98 and £8,473.18 in 2022. This corresponds with the listing that was previously discussed, published in *The Chef* on 9th May 1896, where an Englishman, aged thirty-eight, was looking for employment as a headwaiter and to be paid £1 a week, which would be £147.87 today. Pay for the average waiter was rather less consistent. Leppington wrote that, in general, waiters in differing situations could earn a very different wage, and he outlined those wages could be anywhere between 10s. and £1 per week, which currently would be a sum between £70.61 and £141.22, depending on their hours; the nature of the establishment that they worked in; whether their employer provided them with complimentary board and lodgings; and if they were permitted to keep their tips (Leppington, 1892). Published eight years after the work of Leppington, *The Tablet* featured an article entitled "Waiters Who Will Wait for Reform No Longer", which further provided an insight into the wages of waiters by listing the pay received by waiters in "some of the leading hotels and restaurants in London" (*The Tablet*, 1900:239). It claimed: "In Hotel Metropole and Grand. – Waiters are paid 18s. to 21s.

a week. Hotel Cecil. – Regular wages £1 a week. Criterion. – Regular waiters 19s. a week; some nil. St. James's Hall. – Regular waiters some 7s. 6d. a week; some nil" (*The Tablet*, 1900:239). Today, that would be between £122.94 to £143.44 in the Hotel Metropole and Grand; £136.61 in the Hotel Cecil; between £129.77 and £0.00 in the Criterion; and between £51.22 and £0.00 in St. James' Hall.

The fact that the Criterion and St. James' Hall were paying some of their waiters no wage at all was not uncommon and was due to the tip system. This controversial system is detailed further in 7.2, but it should be stressed here that tips could account for a substantial part of waiters' wages, if not all the money that they received for their labours. Those waiters who did have fixed employment were, on occasion, allowed to keep their tips, but this was not always the case. Tips, as Leppington (1892) indicated, might also be saved by the house until Christmas, and then divvied out. Thus, the promise of receiving the Christmas bonus acted as a way to retain waiting staff over the year, but also kept them there for the busy Christmas period. Some restaurants also allowed the headwaiter to decide how the tips should be split.

While some restaurants, like the Criterion and St. James' Hall, did not pay wages, others went one step further and expected waiters to pay a certain amount before they were permitted to work a shift. As expressed in a letter entitled "Should Hotel Servants Receive Tips?", featured in the "Correspondence" section of *The Chef*, published on 28th December 1895, which was signed off by a man who referred to himself as "Restaurant Waiter": "In many places the waiters have actually to pay for the privilege of being there at all" (*The Chef*, 1895:6). The amount that these waiters had to pay to work in a restaurant varied. As was put by Leppington: "The amount he pays for his place depends on the position of his station, on the class of customers he serves, and on the amount of tips that may consequently be reckoned on" (Leppington, 1892:754).

As is the case with many contemporary high-end restaurants, waiting staff were allocated a section of tables or 'station' that they were responsible for for the duration of service. Some tables were deemed – as was put by a Mr. A. Payne, in an interview with the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which was published on 10th October 1889 under the title "English Versus Foreign Waiters" – to be "most advantageous" for a waiter to be allocated (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1889:7). Leppington (1892) noted that people who sat by

windows tended to tip more than those who were sat in a corner. As such, if a waiter was looking after numerous tables, which were popular with the customers, then he might have to pay more for the privilege of doing so. Likewise, the class of the clientele determined how much a waiter would have to pay for the privilege of working in said restaurant. Hence, the richer the customers, the more money they were presumed to extend in the way of tips.

Leppington asserted that the going rate to pay to work in a restaurant by the day could be anywhere between “half-a-crown to five shillings” (Leppington, 1892:754), which converts to anywhere between £17.65 and £35.30 per shift. Mr. Payne, who, as will be expounded on later, was trying to garner sympathy for English waiters specifically, did validate this: “there are some restaurants and hotels where the waiters pay as much as five shillings a day for the privilege of waiting” (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1889:7). Hence, as much as £35.70. These estimates were also in line with the information published in *The Table*, which detailed: “Café Monico. – Regular waiters have to pay from 1s. 6d. to 4s. a day for the liberty to serve. Gatti’s. – Waiters have to pay 1s. 6d. to 4s. a day” (*The Tablet*, 1900:239). That is, at both the Café Monico and Gatti’s, waiters were charged anywhere from £10.24 to £27.32 to work. If a waiter wanted to be employed for a whole week, they would need to pay “from one to two pounds” (Leppington, 1892:745), which would be from £141.22 to £282.44 today. ‘Restaurant Waiter’ discussed places that he “could mention” and stated that in one such place waiters had to “pay 5s. every morning before starting on their duties”; in another “the men have to pay £1 a week” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). This also conforms to the above figures, and converts to £36.53 every morning or £146.15 a week. Yet, the anonymous ‘Restaurant Waiter’ added that, on top of this, some restaurants “compel every one of their waiters to employ a boy to help him, and a woman to clear up after him” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

While some restaurants charged the waiters, others operated on a deposit scheme. In *The Waiters’ Record* a specific instance of this was detailed where a waiter was asked to pay a deposit of 2s. 6d., which is the equivalent of £17.07 in 2022, before working at a hotel function for only the tips that he was to receive. The article, published in the January 1901 issue and entitled “Insulting Treatment of a Waiter”, gives the impression

that while this was a practice that restaurateurs found acceptable, waiters might not have been so comfortable with it:

A waiter having applied to Hummum's Hotel, Covent Garden, for employment, received the following post-card: –

‘We have a Covent Garden ball breakfast on Tuesday morning next. Can you be here on Monday night next. Answer by return.’

The waiter wrote inquiring what wages he was to receive, and received the following reply:

–

‘In reference to yours of this evening in the matter of pay, on this occasion of the Covent Garden ball breakfast, we do not pay the waiters, they are glad to come for what is made. They are required to deposit 2s. 6d., *which is returnable*, to secure their attendance...’

The waiter replied as follows, but his letter was sent back...in an unstamped envelope, thus making him pay double postage:

‘DEAR SIR, – Your letter greatly disappointed me this morning. I have worked many places, but have never been asked to send a deposit of 2s. 6d. for a casual night's work, especially for no wages whatsoever... I have accepted a place in a large hotel in Kensington where I have worked before, and the pay is 7s. 6d. for a ball.⁸⁷ I had much rather accept a certainty than come to your hotel for nothing. Thanking you for your efforts in trying to find experienced men, who have good character to study, to work for nothing, and pay a deposit to get that’ (*The Waiters' Record*, emphasis in original, 1901:3).

For all the lamentations of *The Waiters' Record's* editor, which succeeded the above description, deposit schemes are still common practice in the hospitality industry for some large events that require temporary staff who may or may not receive a wage for their services. Yet, another variant of the ‘paying to work’ system involved the waiter paying a commission on all orders that they took. Leppington (1892) estimated that this commission was about sixpence to every £1 on all orders. To clarify, every time a customer spent £1, which would be £141.22 today, the waiter had to pay the house sixpence, which is £3.53.

If a waiter was working without a salary, with or without paying a deposit, they would need to make tips in order to be financially reimbursed for their labour in some

⁸⁷ Converted, the hotel in Kensington was paying him £51.22.

way. Likewise, waiters without wages that were expected to pay commission or waiters who paid the house a fee to work needed to make tips so as to not be out of pocket and to justify their labours. It is likely that the inconsistent nature of the system concerning receiving economic capital for labour was the reason why waiters were unlikely to publish their expected wage when looking for a position, but it was not uncommon for chefs and cooks to do so. For example, these are some of the listings for chefs and cooks published in the “Wanted Places” segment of *The Chef* on 1st January 1898:⁸⁸

Figure 7.1: ‘Wanted Places’ as Waiters, and as Chefs and Cooks

CHEFS AND COOKS.
CHEF, First class, with good experience, in Hotel, Mansion or Private Family. English, with French training. Wages £3 to £4.
CHEF, with first class experience in Restaurant, is open to engagement. Wages £2 per week.
AS CHEF or SECOND; references from good London Hotels; Swiss. Wages 35/- per week.
YOUNG ITALIAN, age 23, wants situation in kitchen; has had a little experience in English Restaurant. Small wage.
PASTRY or SECOND; Young French man; age 28; Hotel, Club or Restaurant.

Source: *The Chef* (1898:10).

Albeit that chefs had the benefit of relatively stable employment, in comparison to their front of house counterparts, in that they did not have to pay to work or rely on customers tipping them, it did not mean that they enjoyed high wages either. Taking into account inflation, £3 in 1889 was the equivalent to £433.40, and £4 would be £577.86. If it is imagined that the English chef with French training managed to negotiate a salary of £3 and 10s. per week, which is the median and mean average of

⁸⁸ See Figure 6.2 on pp. 142-143 for the corresponding listing for waiters.

£3 and £4, he would earn £505.63 per week, which is £2,197.08 per month and £26,365.01 per year today. According to the ONS, the “[a]verage actual weekly hours of work for full-time workers”, between April and June 2022, was “36.4 hours” (ONS, 2022:n.p.). As of 1st April 2022, the National Living Wage in the United Kingdom and Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for anyone aged twenty-three or over, was set at £9.50 (GOV.UK, 2022:n.p.). As such, a person working 36.4 hours per week on £9.50 per hour, would earn £345.80 per week, which is £1,502.58 per month and £18,031.01 per year, before tax and presuming that no unpaid leave was taken. Thus, this chef was the only person asking for a wage that is higher than the modern standard for minimum wage. It is also fair to say that a chef would certainly have worked more than 36.4 hours per week. The chef asking for £2 per week would only make £288.93 per week, which is below minimum wage, and certainly does not take into account antisocial hours or London weighting. Likewise, the Swiss chef is also asking for a meagre wage of 35/-, which is £1 and 15s., and would only receive £252.82 today. Yet, as is the same in contemporary society, wages were negotiable with an employer, which led to a custom of undercutting a potential competitor.

It is important to note that, unlike today, the fact that – while still low – chefs’ wages were considerably higher than those of the waiting staff, this did not appear to be a source of contention. That is, no press content from the periods was found that indicated that waiters took issue with the fact that chefs were paid more than them and were not subjected to the same convolutions in terms of being paid/paying to spend time labouring. Conflict concerning wages did exist, but this was normally between men looking to be employed in the same position, and this conflict was often framed as Englishmen being undermined by foreigners.

7.2. *Waiters’ Financial Outgoings*

Hiring practices, as has been outlined, were varying, with establishments opting to use different systems to employ waiters. However, following employment, workplace practices mandated variable expenses for these men. If a waiter had fixed-term employment and the establishment offered it, the cost of board and lodgings, for example, may have been deducted from their wages. Alternatively, waiters could pay a subscription fee to become a member of a society that would serve refreshments and

offer accommodation at a designated building. Becoming a member of such a society also gave those who were actively looking for work a location to have their mail directed.

Food and shelter were and remain essential expenses, but an outgoing that is less common today was financial penalties for breakages and losses. As put by ‘Restaurant Waiter’ in the aforementioned letter: “In every case the waiter has to pay all breakages and losses” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Waiters of the periods were normally asked to pay for any damage to glassware, crockery, and furnishings. This payment was referred to as “glass money” (Assael, 2018:89). Explained further by Leppington, “general practice is to have an indemnity fund, to which the employees are required to contribute a fixed weekly sum, ranging from fourpence to a shilling for each person, and to make good any breakages which may occur in excess of it” (Leppington, 1892:755). That is, those in weekly employment were asked to contribute a designated amount of money per week, which, converted, ranges from £2.35 to £7.06, to a fund to cover any damage to restaurant property and, if breakages exceeded the amount of the fund, they would have to pay extra to cover the cost. As Leppington noted: “Under such a system the fund may easily be worked as a source of income to the proprietor” (Leppington, 1892:755). It was also outlined that other employers did not have such a fund and, as such, each employee would have to pay for any specific damage that they were, rightly or wrongly, accused of causing.

Waiters also had to fit the bill, and maybe even pay a bit extra as a gesture to express their honesty, if losses were incurred. Losses might be a result of a genuine mistake made by the waiter, e.g., writing down the wrong menu item on the check or delivering an item to a table that was meant for a different customer. However, as the *Weekly Times and Echo* acknowledged in an article entitled “Waiters’ Tips”, which was reprinted in the July edition of *The Waiters’ Record*, sometimes waiters made ‘mistakes’ in order to appeal to the customers’ generosity:

Everybody knows that the customer who ‘tips’ handsomely, gets extra value. Now there is probably no item in the bill where more margin exists than in the price of wine; and no lover of a good bottle would grudge the waiter an extra threepence if he found that he regularly got a bottle of Barsac at four shillings, when he only ordered and paid for a bottle

of Graves at half-a-crown.⁸⁹ ‘Mistakes’ of this sort evidentially are made by waiters (*Weekly Times and Echo*, reprinted in *The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:3).

The article, to the credit of its writer, did go on to acknowledge that such a mistake could also be honest, but that this sort of dishonest ‘mistake’, i.e., attempting to “bride” customers, was a result of waiters receiving poor pay and the tip system (*Weekly Times and Echo*, reprinted in *The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:3).

Yet, losses could also occur as a result of the customer forgetting or refusing to pay some or all of their bill. The practice of a customer doing such a thing was summarised in a complaint, printed in the “Notes and Comments” segment, in the August 1901 edition of *The Waiters’ Record*:

Not content with making all profit out of his labour, since the waiter often has to pay for the privilege of working, he is fined for broken glass, which he perhaps does not break, and, if some ‘absent-minded beggar’ pays short, or perhaps forgets to pay at all, the unfortunate waiter is not only charged the amount short, but double the amount, in order to prove that nature made a mistake in not giving the waiter several pairs of eyes and built him so that he can be several places at once (*The Waiters’ Record*, 1901:1).

The issue of having to fit the bill when a customer left without paying, which came to be referred to as ‘a walk out’, ‘making off without payment’, ‘bilking’ or ‘the dine and dash’, was a big problem for waiters in luxury dining establishments. To illustrate: The Hotel Cecil paid their waiters £1 per week in 1900 and when dining there in 1899 Newham-Davis’ bill came to a total of “£2: 8: 6.” (Newham-Davis, 1899:64). If he had walked out, his waiter would therefore have needed to work just under two and a half weeks to pay his bill. More specifically, the sum that the waiter would have to pay in 2022 converts to £338.80. (This is calculated by taking the mean average based on the two CI indexes for 1899 and 1900.) It should also be noted that this does not take into account the original bill being doubled, and that The Hotel Cecil actually paid their waiters and, according to *The Tablet* (1900), did not do so all that badly in comparison to other establishments! In light of this, it is unsurprising that numerous reports

⁸⁹ Converted: 3d. is £1.70.; 4s. is £27.32; and half-a-crown, i.e., 2 s. and 6d., is £17.07. Barsac and Graves are both wine regions in France.

appeared in the press that detailed waiters getting into physical fights with customers who refused to pay their bills. For example, see the case of Harris and Tinelli outlined on p. 200 of this chapter.

In the context of high-end restaurants, ‘civilised’ arenas controlled by doxic standards that regulated self-restraint, physically harming someone did cause a doxic rupture while also challenging the state’s monopolisation of violence. In consequence, waiters were seen to ‘provoke’ the customers that they believed were trying to leave an establishment without paying. Whether this provocation was actually intentional or simply born of financial fear, it did tend to result in the diner losing control and lashing out. The double crime of refusing to pay, or, more formally, obtaining services under false pretences, and physical assault meant the police and court were less likely to favour the customer and more likely to side with the front of house staff. Both offensives were and still are illegal. Likewise, waiting staff having to fit the bill, if such an incident were to happen, is not a practice that has been left in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, and does still take place in some contemporary establishments. Albeit this is thankfully no longer an industry standard.

It is, however, now common practice to dock wages if a member of waiting staff is paid hourly and arrives late for their shift. Yet, if a waiter arrived late for their shift in the late 1800s, not only were they not paid for their missed time (if they were lucky to be paid a steady wage at all), but they were also fined for their lateness. Leppington estimated that this fine was “about threepence for each quarter of an hour” (Leppington, 1892:755), which would be £1.76 today.

7.3. *The Tip System*

As has been documented, waiters often needed to supplement their wages with money from tips or were completely reliant on tips as wages. Tipping was not a new practice. In the aforementioned article entitled “English Hotels in the Forties”, the letter that was printed, which Prince Bismarck wrote to his father in 1842, also detailed the prices that he paid when visiting “hotels”: “In the hotels I have taken supper and breakfast...and spent the night there, I have always paid eight or nine shillings – that is with a tip” (*Billiards*, 1895:7). That is, £50.27 or £56.56 in 2022. Thus, it is clear that tipping did

not begin in the grand hotels of London but had permeated the industry prior to their construction.

Likewise, tipping was not something exclusive to England. The aforementioned “Parisian Waiters” article, written in line with the English’s high regard for all things culinary that were French, sought to describe the waiters of Paris, but also commented on what might be described as another obsession of the English: wages and the practice of tipping. The article explained: “In many of the Parisian establishments the waiters have no remuneration save the fees given by the customers and their meals” (*The Caterer*, 1878:8). That is, the sole source of income for many Parisian waiters was the tips that they made. However, the article continued: “In others they receive certain fixed wages, to which the fees are regarded as supplementary” (*The Caterer*, 1878:8). Thus, some restaurants evidently both paid waiters a set wage and allowed them to keep tips, but the article never indicated the amount that a waiter in such a place would receive in terms of fixed wages.

While the “Parisian Waiters” article did not provide any attitudinal commentary on the topic, many other publications did. *The Leeds Mercury*, for example, published a rather animated article “from a correspondent” on 11th February 1890 (*The Leeds Mercury*, 1890:8). Entitled “The Abuse of ‘Tips’”, the piece considered the problems associated with the tip system in hotel restaurants for customers:

Waiters are too often enough engaged at beggarly salaries, which are to be eked out by the liberty or weakness of the visitor. If the visitor is recalcitrant and declines to pay more for attendance than what is already charged in the bill, woe betide him! For him the scrag end of the joint and the muscular leg of the chicken are reserved; on his ‘vile body’ experiment is made of cheap clarets; if he want his dish hot he will have it cold; if he want it cold it will come to him warm. He will be left to sit and pine in a corner while party after party run merrily through their courses, well served and well cooked. No one looks his way, or anticipates his wants. If he complains there is no charity for the man who does not ‘tip’. Is the game of resistance worth the candle? Is he not tempted to conclude that better a dinner at so many shillings and sixpence, hot and comfortable, than one at the same number of shillings less the sixpence, but lukewarm and gristly? And so the ‘tipping’ majority is recruited, and the cheap German waiter thrives still on his seven shillings a week (*The Leeds Mercury*, 1890:8)

For context, a shilling in 1890 would be £7.14 and sixpence would be £3.57 in 2022. The above being said, it was not just diners that felt the pressures created by the tip system. When the representative from the *Pall Mall Gazette* asked the temporary trade union chairman, Mr. Payne, about the tips system, this was the response he provided:

No, sir, the tip system can never be done away with, simply because the hotel and tavern keepers and restaurateurs will not pay sufficiently large wages to do away with it. As I have told you, in some restaurants waiters pay as much as five shillings a day for the privilege of waiting. And that is frequently done when large banquettes and supper parties take place (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1889:7).

Hence, for Mr. Payne, the tip system was a result of the fact that wages were so low, if they were even given, and, potentially, because waiting work was casualised. This, it would seem, served to objectify these men further. As the aforementioned ‘Restaurant Waiter’ put it, in “Should Hotel Servants Receive Tips?”, both “restaurants waiters” and “hotel servants” were subjected to the “evils and hardships” of the system (*The Chef*, 1895:6):

I can assure you that there exists a strong and rapidly growing feeling, especially among the younger and better educated men, that the position of having to depend for their living upon the bounty of their patrons is a degrading one, and is opposed to every principle of fair business dealing (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

‘Restaurant Waiter’ then sombrely stated that he found it “difficult to see how” the problem was to “be remedied”: “So long as customers continue to give tips, so long will the present system continue. When customers cease to tip we will soon be able to get better and juster terms from our employers. But of this, I confess, I at present see no prospect” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

It would appear that both Mr. Payne and ‘Restaurant Waiter’ were right to be dubious that there would be any change, and the debates concerning tipping continued into the twentieth century. For example, the author of the ‘Waiters’ Tips’ article declared:

That the system of making customers pay the waiters' wages prevails in many restaurants is, of course, known... It is alleged, by some, that there are establishments where the waiters have actually to pay their places. When this is the case it *must* follow that the customer is looked on by the waiters as a speculative sort of an investment out of whom as much is to be made as possible... It must take a good many tips to make a living for a waiter who...has to pay his assistant a pound a week, and a shilling a week to his employer, besides, for breakages!.. This is an immoral system wherever it prevails, is, or think, not to be denied... No one grudges a tip when it is voluntary, and when it is purely an acknowledgment of civility and attention. But the haunting fear that, as he brings you each course, Jules or James is inwardly wondering how much you are good for towards his week's wages, spoils many a digestion, and not improbably keeps away customers (*Weekly Times and Echo*, reprinted in *The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3).

Converted, this means that on a weekly basis the waiter was paying his assistant £136.61 and giving his employer £6.83. Yet, to provide another employee's perspective from the second decade of the 1900s, F. R. Janetski wrote to *The Restaurant* on 13th February 1912 to voice his opinion on the system. The letter, which was published in the March 1912 issue, under the title "Hotel Tips", in the "Our Letter Box" segment, stated:

The custom of tipping is so general in our trade that it has become second nature with the travelling public.

The individual customer, be it in a hotel or restaurant, likes to tip, because he thinks, by holding out this sort of a bribe, the waiter or servant will pay greatest attention to his requirements; and indisputably he is right. Let a person go to a hotel and not tip the servants, he is sure, on his next visit, to meet with a very cold reception, and have to submit to indifferent treatment.

The idea of tipping was introduced by the customers; the meaning of the word, which coined from T.I.P.S., is 'to insure prompt service.'

That it is a nuisance no one will dispute, but the remedy of this evil is as far off as the stemming of Niagara Falls.

The customers like tipping, and the servants or waiters expect to be tipped, no matter how well they are paid by the proprietors of the respective establishments (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121).

Janetski then went on to supply an anecdote to support his case that even well-paid waiters expect to be tipped: “at a restaurant where the waiters are paid very liberally, and to receive tips is strictly forbidden...I asked for my bill, at the same time putting a certain amount on the table. The waiter handed me the check, and, without any ado, pocketed the tip” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121). Janetski thus concluded that “as long as it will not be made a penal offence, customers will give and the servants will receive tips” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121).

Pursuing a different side of the argument, under the same title and in the same segment of the edition of the journal, Mr. H. Grover, a managing hotel director, claimed that tipping would not be abolished due to the kindness of human nature:

As for hotel tips, in my opinion they will never be abolished. Speaking for the average man, human nature *will* make some return (in the way of a tip) to those who administer to their creature comforts. This more especially applies to the feeding, and feeding well, of the inner man (*The Restaurant*, emphasis in original, 1912:121).

In the February number of *The Restaurant*, a journal correspondent, Mr. Geo. Boize, had proposed a tip system that some are familiar with today. That is, he called for “better regulation – not for the total abolition... – of hotel tips” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121). Specifically, Boize recommended:

[A] gratuity form...be presented with the bill to each guest, on which, if it pleased him, he could enter a sum in recognition of the attendance he had received, the same being paid to the cashier and placed to the credit of a fund for periodical distribution among the staff as and how the management might determine (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121).

An anonymous article, entitled “Hotel Tips”, appeared on the same page – but was not included in the “Our Letter Box” segment – implying that it was written by a journal correspondent – in the March 1912 issue of the journal. This piece referred to Janetski’s critique, and clarified Boize’s suggestion: “the proposal was not intended for restaurants” because “[t]here is much less objection to the bestowal of a tip upon the one waiter serving at a table than to the distribution of largesses among a number of servants, some of whom the guest may never have seen, at the time of departure from

a hotel” (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121).⁹⁰ That is, for Boize, who may or may not have been the author of the article, the restaurant tip was “comparatively harmless” when compared with the “intolerable nuisance” of tipping requirements imposed on the public when visiting hotels (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121).

7.3.1. *Theoretical Analysis of the Tip System*

The above extracts were chosen from a wealth of material printed in both the trade and popular newspaper periodicals, and it was clear that the practice of tipping remained a contentious topic throughout the eras of history of focus across Europe. Yet, the vignettes that have been outlined above seek to provide a stable grounding for the analysis that follows in this subsection.

Tipping’s controversy in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods not only displayed the conflicting values of the upper class, but the system reflected ideas rooted in Elias’ ‘civilising’ process. Specifically, Elias wrote that the “construction of Versailles”, as the new location for the French court, was undertaken so that King Louis XIV, might “provide for and visibly elevate parts of the nobility while controlling and taming them” (Elias, [1939] 2000:340). “The king gave liberally, particularly to his favourites. But he demanded obedience; he kept the nobles constantly aware of their dependence on the money and other opportunities he had to distribute” (Elias, [1939] 2000:340). For, without the king’s favour, these nobles would have lost their status and their home at Versailles. The restaurants of England paralleled this model of micro-management adopted by Louis XIV, but now the customer had become king and was to be “imagined as a sovereign” (Dolan, 2011:173). Yet, to be treated as such, they needed to provide their temporary retinue, ‘the knights of the napkin’, with favours.⁹¹

Favours, as Louis XIV was very aware, were both financial and kept a roof over his courtiers’ heads. Of course, social favours were also common, but a bankrupt courtier

⁹⁰ ‘Largesses’ is derived from the French “*largesse*”: “A present; a gift; a bounty” (Johnson, [1755] 1827:394).

⁹¹ ‘The knights of the napkin’ is an archaic and colloquial term for waiters. To provide an example of its usage in press material, the following is taken from an article entitled “What the ‘Sun’ Says”: “the knights of the napkin hope to draw public attention to their present degrading conditions of labour” (*Sun*, cited in *The Waiters’ Record*, 1900:3).

could do little at Versailles. In much of the same vein, a bankrupt waiter, with no money to maintain a smart appearance or finance their other necessary outgoings, found himself in a sorry situation. Thus, the king, imagined or otherwise, had to supply those whom he deemed worth being controlled with economic capital. In the context of the restaurant, the tip was gifted in a voluntary manner, but this gift was contractual and obligatory. It might, alternatively, be referred to as a necessary bribe or doxic incentivisation. For the king, to avoid playing this game of gifting was to break the rules of the established doxa and to therefore create tension. The chains of interdependence that bound those in the ‘civilising’ process were marked with tension. Elias, for example, described the “strong” tensions that “the king had to observe and master in order to maintain his rule” (Elias, [1939] 2000: 341). A king, as Elias [1939] (2000) pointed out, was always dependent on those ‘below’ him. Hence, power was not ever as top-down as it appeared.

As was indicated in the press extracts outlined in this chapter, a lack of a tip led to poor service, and the model waiter needed to focus on those who had the most wealth. As such, while restaurant staff knew their place in the social hierarchy, the doxa established in restaurants also gave them some degree of power. Albeit that this was seemingly contradictory, as the restaurant field arguably sought to keep the front of house in a subordinate social position and therefore was symbolically violent, the front of house staff were able to exercise a symbolic violence of their own because of the customers’ dependence on them. They were able to select whom they believed was likely to have the most assets and who was likely to practice the action of tipping, and treat them accordingly. This was not simply done for financial reasons, but also social ones. Withholding a tip could be read by the waiter as a personal slight, i.e., that *they* were not worthy of the customer’s favour. As in the court society, insulting someone who you were dependent on, even if the insult was unintentional, could lead to one’s misfortune. Yet, this tension actually replicated and sustained the social hierarchy within the restaurant field. If a customer was to be imagined as sovereign, they must behave as such in order to receive the compliance of their subordinates. Likewise, the waiting staff would seek to stay in favour of those that they believed would supply them with favours.

As in the court society, in restaurants the gifts that were exchanged did not have the same practical worth. A tip was obviously a form of economic capital and could be spent or saved. However, the improved service offered by the gift of a tip, the promise of a tip, or the assumption that a tip would be received required a higher degree of labour on the part of the front of house. For example, an article appearing in the “*Table d’Hote* [sic] Gossip” segment of *The Hotel World*, published on 4th January 1882, spoke of how “many a miserable and bashful bachelor” resorted to “‘tipping’ the waiter in order to secure himself a seat next to some coveted fair one” (*The Hotel World*, 1882:4-5). In this case the waiter would have needed to spend time reorganising seating arrangements. Other common examples might have been more of an emphasis placed on pairing wines with the patron’s food, negotiating with the chef in order to get the diner a better cut of meat, or by indulging in small talk with the patrons.

If either party were unable to live up to their side of this not-so-voluntary transaction, they lost symbolic capital. When a patron did not tip, the house may well have lost respect for the patron. Likewise, when a front of house team member failed to live up to the standards of practice that a patron deemed appropriate, the symbolic capital of the front of house staff was not only degraded, but so too was the name of the establishment that the patron had dined at, which could have ultimately led to a loss in economic capital in the long term. Hence, because of the chains of interdependence that kept the restaurant system in operation, those in the restaurant industry who did not serve the guests directly could also lose symbolic capital. The failure of a waiter to live up to expectations could ultimately degrade the reputation of the back of house staff, management, and the hotel or restaurant owner. That is, a tip normally reflected the standard that the patron wished to receive or the standard of service that the patron believed that they had received, and if service was deemed of a poor quality, it was not just the lack of economic capital for the waiter that posed a problem; the absence of the capital gift represented a deduction of many different varieties of capital for those associated with the restaurant he waited in.

The exact same could be said for those who dined in the restaurant. Tipping was a gift, born of process that placed an emphasis on ‘civility’ and social rules, which by design replicated and reinforced a social hierarchy. If one was dining with guests, a tip also indicated to said guests not only one’s standard of wealth, which was directly

convertible into symbolic capital, but also displayed one's cultural capital. The action or inaction of tipping offered fellow diners an insight into their companion's habitus. If a fellow diner was displeased by the lack of a tip that was given, social capital could be lost. Hence, the debate on tipping displayed more than just a narrative on the economics of labour, but also was telling of the social judgements of those who both worked in and dined in these restaurants.

The above being said, tipping was a doxic standard that was conformed to, but not unchallenged. It was a convention that was critiqued by both diners and staff alike, which also had the potential to be exploited. There was tension outlined in many of the above extracts. For example, the *Weekly Times and Echo* article spoke of tipping as "an immoral system" and how a customer might feel uncomfortable when being judged on their ability to tip (*Weekly Times and Echo*, reprinted in *The Waiters' Record*, 1901:3), and 'Restaurant Waiter' saw tipping as unfair, exploitative and "degrading" (*The Chef*, 1895:6). The tip system could thus be seen as alienating. It appeared to remove the humanity of both the customers and the waiters. Customers were reduced to all but a means to an end; waiters judged them based on the use value that could be extracted from their capital. On the other hand, the feeling of being a servant who was dependent on the gifts of others in order to sustain a living was, as 'Restaurant Waiter' observed, demeaning. Something of the humanity of both parties was lost in the field of dining, and under a new capitalist system, it was financially profitable for hotel and restaurant owners and managers to exploit this. Hence why Janetski said that the system would prevail until it was made "a penal offence" (*The Restaurant*, 1912:121).

Albeit that Janetski's comments read as hyperbolically sarcastic, he was not exactly wrong. "The absence of [strong] active trade unions and collective agreements in the hospitality renders law the main form of regulation of employment relations" (Ioannou and Dukes, 2021:258). As Ioannou and Dukes have stated: "Since the early part of the 20th century, radically different approaches have been taken to legal regulation ranging from sector-specific rules and enforcement procedures to universally applicable statutory minima" (Ioannou and Dukes, 2021:258). In the 1920s an unsuccessful trade board was created; in 1943 the Catering Wages Act of 1943 was passed, which did regulate wages that were exclusive of tips; in the 1980s Thatcher's government narrowed the power of the boards responsible for the regulation; in 1993 said boards

were abolished outright and market forces once again determined pay; in 1998 minimum wage was introduced, but tips could form part of this wage until 2009 (Ioannou and Dukes, 2021).

Today, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, it remains the case that employers legally cannot count tips towards the minimum wage that they must pay contracted employees. Yet, tipping is still a practice that is debated in the hospitality industry. While the government has a “Code of Best Practice”, outlined in their information on “Tips at Work”, which advises employers on how tips should be handled, the “employer does not have to follow it” (GOV.UK, n.d.:n.p.). In short, while the regulation of wages has improved, today’s trade press still publish content on the topic of tipping, and the practice continues to be disputed. The symbolic violence of this doxic standard prevails, even though many have tried modifying the system of tipping. For example, some high-end restaurants in London will add an obligatory service charge to a bill, but also give customers the option of adding a supplementary tip, while others will leave it to the customers’ discretion entirely. Yet, as in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it remains questionable as to just how ‘discretionary’ leaving a tip actually is.

7.4. *Work Conditions: Unification and Rivalry*

While tipping and hospitality staff wages remain topics that are still relevant, the last section of this chapter deals with one that has lost much appeal to the public since the rise of neoliberalism: unification.⁹² Here, the word ‘unification’ is used intentionally to refer to the formation of an organisation by those with a common interest; a trade union; and/or the process by which people are united. It is also contrasted with the word ‘rivalry’, which, as has been seen, was evident in the luxury restaurants of the period. Firstly, the unification and rivalry between chefs is considered, before that of

⁹² Neoliberalism has an emphasis on a free market and individualism. Its goal is “liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets and free trade” (Harvey, 2005:2). In short, it emphasises individual ownership and responsibility, and not collective ownership, advocacy, and action.

hotelkeepers. Lastly, (inter)national unification is deliberated, which returns to the topic of ethnic nepotism and introduces that of segregation.

7.4.1. *A Chefs' Society*

In a letter written on 9th December 1895 and addressed to the editor of *The Chef*, which was published in the “Correspondence” segment, under the title of “Union Among Chefs”, on 14th December 1895, a gentleman using the pseudonym “White Cap” expressed his hopes that the journal would promote “unity and concerted action” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). “White Cap” expanded:

There are many ways in which the position of chefs might be greatly improved, were it not for petty jealousies, racial and otherwise, and unfair competition with one another. Take for instance the question of wages. While a few of the ‘swells’ of the profession are deservedly well paid, there can be no doubt that the remuneration of the great body of the rank and file has been for years steadily declining. The reason for this is not far to seek. There is no cohesion or union among chefs (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

Hence, “White Cap” called for a “Chefs’ Union” to be formed, which would only permit “thoroughly competent men” to join, and thus “immensely improve and elevate the position of chef” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). He insisted that the industry and vocation needed regulation because there was no set “standard of merit”, no “examining body” to test chefs’ abilities, no “authority to vouch for the competency of those who are really worthy of the name of chef”, and no one to support them in pursuing a “fair wage” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). Thus, chefs acted in “their own interest” and undercut one another when applying for jobs (*The Chef*, 1895:6). He explained that “when a situation is vacant A applies for the post, and asks, say, £5 per week; B, hearing of this, offers his services for £4; and C, getting wind of B’s offer, volunteers to work for £3” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). To contextualise the significance of these cuts, converted, A would be requesting £730.73; B would offer to work for £584.58; and C would subsequently ask for £438.44. “White Cap” posited that “[i]n any other trade this would be impossible” (*The Chef*, 1895:6), which was not completely true, as those trained in other service industry trades, e.g., waiters and butlers, also partook in similar competitive practices.

On 28th December 1895, *The Chef* published another letter addressed to the editor in the “Correspondence” segment, also under the title of “Union Among Chefs”, from “Cordon Bleu” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). “Cordon Bleu” expressed that he was “especially pleased with the letter from ‘White Cap’” and that he hoped that the creation of a union for chefs would be “carried out without delay” because such a union would “[meet] a want that has been long felt” (*The Chef*, 1895:6). He continued:

Nothing is more remarkable than the manner in which the taste for high-class cooking has grown in this country within the last few years, and has correspondingly decayed in France. Paris cannot now boast of such magnificent restaurants and such accomplished chefs as some half-dozen I could mention in the West End of London (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

He then questioned why it was that chefs were still financially challenged and working conditions had remained static when there had been such a rapid growth in culinary splendour in England. He added: “While a few men are ridiculously over paid, the great majority of us remain in the *statu quo*” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).⁹³ And concluded by stating: “I will gladly ally myself with ‘White Cap’ in taking any practical steps to remedy this discreditable state of affairs” (*The Chef*, 1895:6).

While some chefs heeded the call for a union, others were not as convinced that the state of affairs could be remedied. National tensions were a key reason why one self-confessed “pessimist”, who used the pseudonym, “A Looker-On”, wrote to *The Chef* to express doubt that such a union would ever work (*The Chef*, 1896:6). Their letter was published on 11th April 1896, as per, in the “Correspondence” segment under the title “Union Among Chefs” (*The Chef*, 1896:6), and read as follows:

From what I know of chefs, however, I fear that your exertions will not lead to any practical results. The apathy and lethargy displayed by chefs, even where their own interests are concerned, would scarcely be credited, except by one who has lived among them and mixed with them. National jealousies, too, are rife among them, and can never be eradicated. A Frenchman will not go out of his way to help a German, and an Italian will do nothing to befriend a Swiss. As for an International Union of Chefs, I fear that these racial prejudices will prevent it ever becoming an accomplished fact. I sincerely hope that I may be

⁹³ *Statu quo* is the French for ‘status quo’.

mistaken, as there is no doubt that such a union might be the means of doing much good, and chefs will always be powerless to help themselves when they are disunited...

I am, sir,

Yours truly,

A LOOKER-ON

(*The Chef*, 1896:6).

It would appear that this looker-on had misplaced their pessimism, in 1900 the International Chefs Society was formed with its central offices in London and branches in other British locations (*Cheflike*, 1908:2). *Cheflike*, which was the official organ of the International Chefs Society, was later published in 1908 to help promote its growth. The periodical was self-described as “a new journal intended for the Chefs and Cooks in Great Britain” (*Cheflike*, 1908:2). In an article entitled “Why You Should Join Our Society”, the journal posited:

There has been in this country an urgent necessity for a long time to form a strong Society amongst cooks of all nations, to protect our own interests, to assist its members in case of illness (or death) and to have its own Employment Agency... The best advertisement for our Society, and to make our name better known throughout the country, can only be through the medium of a journal, bringing articles in three different languages, and being distributed free of charge amongst our members (*Cheflike*, 1908:2).

Albeit research into this society concluded in a dead end. No further editions of *Cheflike* could be located and the same went for references to this specific union. Assael provided a potential answer as to what happened to this society when she referred to “an amalgamation of the Austrian Hotel Employees’ Society and late Chefs’ Society”: “the International Chefs and Waiters Society” (Assael, 2018:160). Hence, it could well be that this society sought strength in a wider membership and expanded or it could be the case that ‘A Looker-On’ was correct to be pessimistic after all. Either way, what happened to the International Chefs and Waiters Society also remains unknown. Basu (2019) has indicated that the 1910 publication of the *Post Office Directory* mentions that the society had a premisses at No. 84 Charlotte Street, which was located in central London’s Fitzrovia. Yet, an informed guess leads to the conclusion that it disbanded before or with the onset of World War I.

7.4.2. *A Hotelkeeper' Society*

Chefs were not the only people who worked in the industry that believed that unification was a way forward. Nor were they the only people working in the industry that saw themselves as competitively pitted against one another. In *The Hotel World* in the “Mine Host Abroad” segment of 4th January 1882 edition, a journalist reported on hotelkeepers on the Continent sending cards, wishing “a prosperous and happy new year”, to one another (*The Hotel World*, 1882:5). The writer solemnly stated: “I wonder when it will be the fashion for us to pay similar little courtesies to each other. I am not very young, but I hope I shall live to see English, and particularly London hotel-keepers cease to regard each other as opponents and rivals” (*The Hotel World*, 1882:5).

The Hotel Review would later try to resolve this issue by creating a society for hotelkeepers. In their June 1886 edition, in a segment entitled “An Hotel-Keepers’ Protection Society”, the journal published an update regarding their suggestion of the formation of such a society (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59). It stated that, since their proposition of establishing the “much needed” society, they had been speaking to hotel owners “with the result that there [was] an almost unanimous desire that some combination for the purposes of trade protection should be formed” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59).

Albeit the desire for the society was “almost unanimous”, there was slight dispute over its usefulness (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59). A letter from a Mr. Henry Logan, the hotelkeeper of the Clarence Hotel, was also published in the same segment of the edition:

[I]n my opinion, no good would result from the formation of such a society... I think that every hotel-keeper should look out for himself, and if ordinary care and prudence is exercised, there appears to me to be no more risk of his being imposed upon than any other tradesman has to face (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59).

Not fazed by his comments, the journal claimed: “It is hardly necessary to print the communications which have reached us on the other side of the question” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59). It went on to reiterate the positive nature of most responses, but

noted that hotelkeepers were not voicing worries, suggestions or offering to actively begin the creation of the society. It then asserted that some years prior, “hotel-men” had formed a similar society, which did “good work”, but nonetheless “collapsed for want of adequate support from the hotel-keeping fraternity” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59).

The Hotel Review did, however, advocate one of the few suggestions that it had received, which was proposed by Mr. Clemow of Fleet Street’s Anderton’s Hotel. His idea was that this society might circulate “a sheet”, once a week, titled “Hotel Tell Tale”, to “subscribing hotel keepers”, which would contain the following information about “any hotel pests”:

Description.

Where from, if known.

Where removed to, if known.

Hotel keeper last victimised.

What luggage.

And any remarks which might lead to his identification.

(*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59).

Instead of utilising Clemow’s idea for the society, potentially because there was little hope of it taking off or because it was believed the idea would draw in a larger readership to the journal, *The Hotel Review* chose to start publishing the list under the name, “The Pillory” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:59).⁹⁴ In the following issue, a call for information about “particulars of any individual, a knowledge of whose identity might save hotel-keepers and others from pecuniary loss” was issued under the title of “The Pillory” so that the journal could launch the new segment (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:77). Prior to its establishment, the journal would have normally published material about unsavoury characters in a section called, “The News of the Trade” (*The Hotel*

⁹⁴ As a noun, a pillory was described as “a scaffold, on which was erected a post or pillar surmounted by a flat board pierced with holes for the head and hands of the offender, who stood in an upright position, with his hands and head jutting out on one side of the flat board” (Stormonth, 1874:446). Crockett has stated that, in the seventeenth century, “the word evolved into a verb meaning to...ridicule publicly” (Crockett, [1996] 2009:118).

Review, passim). For example, in the July issue, the journal talked of, “[one] of the coolest and most imprudent...attempts at dining on gratis principles...ever heard of” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:70). That is: “The offender...a man named Charles Harris...was charged with obtaining food, etc., value 11s. 6d., by false pretences, from Innocent Rampazzi, of the Continental Restaurant” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:70). Apparently, Harris ordered an “expensive” supper, and upon being pressed for payment of his bill, which would have totalled £83.07 in 2022, the waiter, “an Italian named Tinelli”, is said to have told him: “If you have come here for a good dinner, and you refuse to pay, you come to the wrong place” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:70). Harris evidently took exception to this, and “thereupon jumped up and struck him in the face” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:70). A constable searched Harris at the police station and could not “find a farthing about him” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:70). Harris claimed that “[h]e was roughly treated by the waiter”, but was committed for trial and, as stated, “charged” (*The Hotel Review*, 1886:70).

Ultimately, *The Hotel Review* failed in establishing a society. However, Clemow’s suggestion is strikingly similar to modern ventures such as ‘Hotel Watch’ and ‘Pub Watch’. ‘Pub Watch’ specifically looks to tackle rude or abusive customers, whereas ‘Hotel Watch’ also serves other purposes, such as monitoring suspicious behaviour, e.g., prostitution and/or human trafficking. Furthermore, a modern representative body that exists today does have its roots in a hotelkeeper’s society that did manage to garner support. Albeit that the establishment of this union of hotelkeepers was due to a shared problem: “the Liberal party ha[d] won power” and “their intention [was] to abolish no fewer than one-third of the total liquor licences” (Taylor and Quest, 2007:4). “This, in itself, would have been a catastrophe for a hotel industry which depended in those days far more on the profits from food and drink than it did from the sale of bedrooms” (Taylor and Quest, 2007:5). In 1907, Frank Bourne-Newton, the editor and proprietor of *The Caterer*, and the manager of Morleys Hotel of Trafalgar Square, “responded to a public call by 130 hoteliers to have a national association formed” (Taylor and Quest, 2007:5). Hence, in 1907 the National Hotel-Keepers Society was established, and although “most of the great London hotels reacted indifferently”, “by the end of the year, the fledgling body had been granted its certificate by the government as the Incorporated Hotel-Keepers Association” (Taylor and Quest, 2007:5). After a series of mergers and a variety of name changes, the society became the British Hospitality

Association.⁹⁵ As was stated on the British Hospitality Association LinkedIn page: “In 2018 the British Hospitality Association (BHA) and the Association of Licensed Multiple Retailers (ALMR) merged to form UKHospitality to provide a powerful unified voice for the UK’s £130bn hospitality sector” (British Hospitality Association, n.d.:n.p.).

7.4.3. *(Inter)national Organisations*

In the above two subsections job-specific societies have been considered, and it has become evident just how competitive these job roles were, with rivalries being cited in both. These rivalries, as observed in the prior chapter, certainly existed between waiting staff, and it seems evident that the topic of waiters’ societies should now be discussed. Indeed, this segment will do so, but it has been deemed more fitting to devote this topic to a theme picked up upon by ‘A Looker-On’ in *The Chef* in 1896. That is, the tensions that were created in the industry when people from different nations competed for the same jobs, which led to staff of specific nationalities segregating themselves. There were many nationality-specific waiters’ organisations, and more of these appeared to have existed for waiters than for chefs. This may well have been due to the fact that waiters served food and did not prepare it, and it has been established that a Frenchman was preferred for food preparation. Plus, as stated by Assael: “There were certainly a sufficient number of foreign waiters in London to justify the establishment of a number of collective organizations that sought to maintain and enhance their welfare” (Assael, 2018:160). Yet, there were also other general industry but nationality-specific organisations that formed. Hence the reasoning behind keeping this segment broad. To begin, some examples of foreign unions, societies and clubs will be provided, before those that were formed to specifically cater for natives are focussed on.

As was discussed in Chapter 6, German waiters were prevalent in the English capital. In consequence, “the large community of German waiters in London led to the

⁹⁵ For “[a]n account of the first 100 years of the British Hospitality Association”, see Taylor and Quest’s (2007) book, which was published by the British Hospitality Association (Michels, in Taylor and Quest, 2007:2).

creation of a branch of the German Waiters' Union (Deutscher Kellner-Bund), an organization with headquarters in Leipzig, and with fifty chapters in various European towns and cities" (Assael, 2018:160). In 1885, the London chapter, which supplied its members with financial relief and an employment office, had a property at 84 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, which was a clubhouse and had twenty-two beds for lodgers (Assael, 2018:160). (This property, as it might be recalled, would be taken on by the International Chefs and Waiters Society.) Other nationality specific organisations also later emerged. For example, in 1900 the Society of German Chefs was founded, albeit that it "survived for just a few years" (Panayi and Manz, 2013:248). The *Société Culinaire Francaise de Londres*, the French Culinary Society of London, which dates from the beginning of the twentieth century, and the Italian Club of Culinary Arts, founded in 1901, were also organisations mentioned in trade press content (Panayi and Manz, 2013).

To provide more detail about one such organisation, in September 1909, *The Restaurant* published an article that was entitled "For the Benefit of Italian Waiters", which reported on "the new Italian Hotel and Restaurant Employes' [sic] Benevolent Association" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:35). The association, which was established "on August 26th", would now have "an Italian society of the kind undertaken [sic] the building and ownership of an official centre in London" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:35). It was said that "The Marquis Di Can Giuliano" had stressed "the importance of organization and mutual aid" and "pointed out the advantage to the foreign waiter in search of work work [sic], or in time of sickness, of such an association" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:35). The building, on "Rupert Street, Piccadilly Circus", was said to be open to the "Italian of good character", and provided a space where:

He will receive board and lodgings and be given the best chance of obtaining employment. The new centre will also be to some extent a club, where he will have the opportunity of meeting friends, the association helping him in every way as long as he proves deserving of aid (*The Restaurant*, 1909:35).

Concludingly, the article divulged the layout of the building: "The upper part of the projecting block is devoted to sleeping accommodation, while below there are offices, and in the basement club and billiard rooms" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:35). Below the

article, proving the Edwardian trade press were competent with advertising placement, was an advertisement for the aforementioned International Chefs and Waiters Society.

These unions and “the apparent threat posed to British workers concerned with protecting their place in the labour market”, “led to the creation of specific workers’ unions” (Assael, 2018:162). Assael (2018) has referenced three such Victorian organisations: the Central Waiters Union, established in 1886; the English Hotel, Club, Restaurant, and Tavern Servants’ Union, established in 1889; and the Amalgamated Waiters’ Society, established in 1896. In the previously mentioned “English Versus Foreign Waiters” article, the second of these organisations was afforded attention (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1889:7). In the article, an interview with the union’s temporary chairmen, Mr. A. Payne – who was described as being “very communicative” – was detailed (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1889:7). As the title suggested, Mr. Payne was less than complimentary about non-native employees:

What we aim at is this. We desire to make our employment and our position secure. We know we are better workmen than the foreigners, for it can easily be proved that [sic] ten English waiters can do the work of fourteen foreigners in a more satisfactory manner. Besides, when a foreigner is taken on at a restaurant or hotel, he is first put under an Englishman’s tuition to learn his business. Where they have the pull over us is in their willingness to accept less wages... Now, sir, you want to know why we will not admit foreigners into our union. It is because we cannot trust them. We have too often experienced their untrustworthiness. They will play us fair to our faces and cheat us behind our backs... We want to exclude foreigners and we hope to do it... There are, I believe, about 10,000 foreign hands employed in the hotels, restaurants, and taverns of London and the suburbs, and about 14,000 English hands... Don’t you think it is our duty to combine for our mutual benefit and protection, when the objects of thus uniting are what I have stated to you? (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1889:7).

While xenophobia and a deeply segregationist attitude is evident in Mr. Payne’s representation of the English Hotel, Club, Restaurant, and Tavern Servants’ Union, no real evidence has been found to support the conclusion that the Amalgamated Waiters’ Society were of the opinion that it was specifically non-native waiters that were seeking to “undermine and distort” efforts to secure fair pay and work hours (Assael, 2018:162).

The Amalgamated Waiters' Society was fronted by Paul Vogel, who "was born in Germany around 1850, and had arrived in Britain before 1879" (Mungovan, 2013:30). Vogel, the German (ex-)waiter and trade activist, was also the former secretary of the International Waiters', Waitresses', Barmens', Barmaids' and Domestic Servants' Protective Union (Van den Eeckhout, 2015). In fact, it is proposed that on the contrary, Vogel acted as a "representative of immigrant workers" (Mungovan, 2013:31), and was a victim of xenophobia. For example, a Trades Union Congress (TUC) report noted that he "spoke with a pronounced foreign accent" and "caused some merriment" (TUC, 1898:56). The reason why the report's writer felt a need to mention his accent is telling, and one can imagine that the mirth was at his expense. Plus, as reported in a *Waiters' Record* article, published in May 1901, under the heading, "The Paul Vogel Fund: Financial Report", he had faced negative consequences because of the activism that he undertook:

It was known that in consequence of his self-denying efforts on behalf of waiters in particular, and labour in general, that he had suffered considerably both in health and in pocket – blacklisted by employers because he was an 'agitator,' and finally dismissed from the one appointment he retained, in response to the vindictive demands of certain employers...

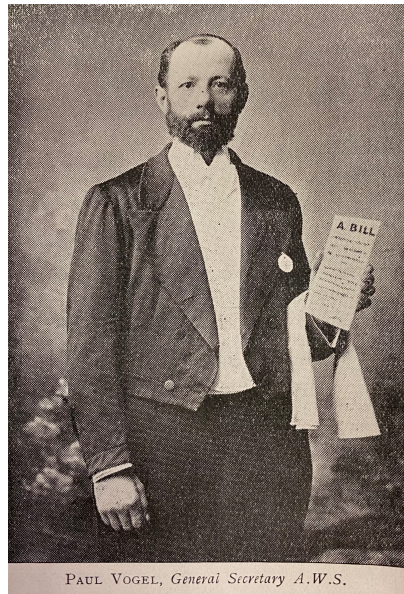
Agitation is our only hope, and all honour to the agitator, but agitation alone will not supply the necessary bread and butter to keep the agitator or his family going. To the discredit of the labour movement, it has to be recorded that many a courageous agitator has in the past been allowed to go down in struggle, for lack of necessary support from those whose battle they have been fighting. And it was in order to avoid this in Paul Vogel's case that a small committee was formed, and appeal sent out...asking for their financial support, in order that Paul Vogel might be able to keep on fighting (*The Waiters' Record*, 1901:2).

And Vogel and the Amalgamated Waiters' Society did keep on fighting to improve waiters' rights.

The society and its general secretary sought for *all* waiters to be unified. For example, an article entitled "Waiters' Grievances", published in the first number of the official organ in February 1900, began by asserting: "UNITY is strength!" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2). It then concluded:

The individual must recognise that in the welfare of all is his wellbeing. By competing with and overreaching his fellow waiters he may gain temporary advantage for himself, but if he wishes to place himself on sound footing and take his place as an honourable member of the great labour brotherhood, he must join the Union, and work diligently for the prosperity of the whole of his class (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2).

Figure 7.2: Paul Vogel, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Waiters' Society



Source: *The Waiters' Record* (1900:2).

Likewise, *The Waiters' Record* neutrally reported on international trade news, and commented positively on the actions of waiters' unions from overseas. For example, an article entitled "Made in Germany", published in the April 1900 edition, praised the speaker at "the first Congress of German waiters" for such a "splendid speech" and urged readers to heed its words (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:2-3). In the "Correspondence" segment of the same edition, a gentleman using the pseudonym, "A Waiter", even wrote in to "congratulate the German waiters at the Congress in Berlin" (*The Waiters' Record*, 1900:3). As will be seen in a discussion of the Loyal British Waiters' Society, if the Amalgamated Waiters' Society was in the business of critiquing or blaming foreign waiters for the Englishman's plight, no such neutral or amicable content would have appeared in its pages.

While this research does not believe that the Amalgamated Waiters' Society were concerned with foreign waiters' impact, others were, and this was certainly a trend that continued into the twentieth century. To illustrate, the *Daily Telegraph*, on 14th January 1905, detailed "a special meeting of the City and National Waiters' Labour Bureau", which took place on 13th January 1905 (*Daily Telegraph*, 1905:7). As the article, which was headed, "British and Foreign Waiters", stated: "The bureau, it is understood, is about to assume the more comprehensive title of the British Waiters' National Institution" (*Daily Telegraph*, 1905:7). The to-be institution's president, "the Hon. Claude Hay, M.P.", provided an address at said meeting, which was documented by the newspaper:

Mr Hay, who was greeted with cheers, declared that their welcome encouraged him in his determination to assist them in the assertion of their right to a fair chance to a fair day's wage in their own country. On the whole, he could congratulate them on the progress they were making. As a guest of the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall banquet in November last, he observed a distinct improvement in the number of waiters of British origin and British training. At the same time, he was not the only member of Parliament who observed with great regret how largely foreigners had been given a preference over Englishmen on the staff...and this at a festival which was essentially of a national character. (Cries of 'Shame'.) Again, associations which used the Hotel Cecil for political and social functions deplored the prominence of the foreign element among the waiters there. (Hear, hear.) He believed that the manager desired to give English waiters a fair chance, but that his wishes were disregarded by the foreign superintendents. (A Voice: 'Quite right.')

These were matters which deserved the prompt attention of the bureau, which he was glad to think was securing greater cohesion among its own members and greater co-operation from kindred organisations... Associations which began under modest auspices often, by careful management, became large instruments for good, and he believed that this society would be no exception to that rule... Foreigners...must not be allowed to imagine that they had a prescriptive right to come to England, learn their business here, and then drive our own people out of employment, and force them upon the rates, if not into the workhouse itself. Therefore, this question of aliens having a better chance than themselves affected them closely, and he trusted they would remember that they formed part of a great community of Englishmen and were entitled to combine, with the view of obtaining the first chance in the country to which they belonged. (Cheers.) (*Daily Telegraph*, 1905:7).

The British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction, which would later become the Loyal British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction, was another such organisation. *The Restaurant*, which in February 1910 announced that it had become the official organ of The International Hotel, Club and Restaurant Protection and Benevolent Association, which was often shortened to, "The International Caterers" (*The Restaurant*, 1910:149 and 154), assisted foreigners in Britain's catering and hospitality industry. However, it also promoted the exclusively British society and its school. For example, in December 1909 the journal published an article entitled "The British Waiters [sic] Society", which supportively stated:

Mr. Tom C. Morris and Mr. J. R. Collins (who have both filled responsible positions in London restaurants and hotels) have formed this society for the double purpose of encouraging the employment of British waiters and of providing for their efficient instruction. A training school has been opened in Surrey Street, Strand... The idea, we understand, has caught on exceedingly well, and the Society is now in a position to supply competent and up-to-date waiters for all functions... There is doubtless plenty of room in the catering trade for both Britishers and foreigners, but if the Britishers are not to become a vanquished quantity then training must certainly be improved, and this is what the British Waiters' Society aims at accomplishing (*The Restaurant*, 1909:116).

The journal, in fact, went as far to ridicule xenophobic behaviour. In an article entitled "A Ridiculous Society", published in the September 1910 edition, *The Restaurant* was less than complimentary about an emerging British society and the popular press:

During the past few days some of the London dailies, including the *Times*, the *Standard* and the *Daily News*, have permitted the use of their columns to report a meeting of a body calling itself the British Waiters, Cooks and Carvers' Society. It was stated that the Society had been 'in abeyance for three years,' and the object of the meeting was to recognise it. 'In abeyance' it might well have continued, and probably would have done so but for a recent correspondence in the Press respecting foreign waiters (*The Restaurant*, 1910:324).

The journal then went on to criticise the popular press for their "foolish and untrue statements" but noted that none of the statements that they had presented were made with such "foolishness and untruthfulness" as those attributed to the principal speaker

at the meeting, “Mr. H. White” (*The Restaurant*, 1910:324). *The Restaurant* then quoted White on stating that “there were 160,000 and 180,000 foreign waiters in London, independent of managers, superintendents, and others!” (White, cited in *The Restaurant*, 1910:324), before proclaiming:

A society based upon such an assertion merits, we think, the adjective we have applied to it. The training of British waiters is a worthy and deserving object, but it is one already well provided for by existing agencies, notably the Loyal British Waiters. We can only suppose, therefore, that the B.W.C. and C. Society represents an attempt on the part of certain busybodies to exploit the anti-foreign crusade of their own interests (*The Restaurant*, 1910:324).

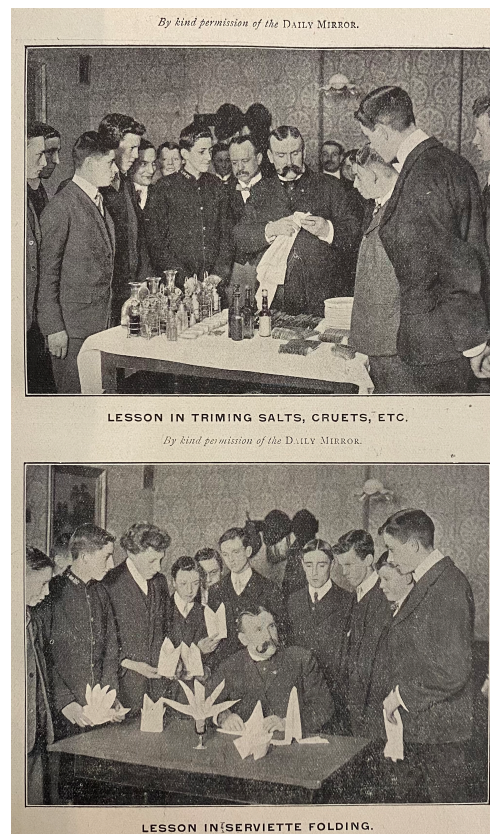
As admirable as *The Restaurant*’s intentions may have been, an analysis of the Loyal British Waiters’ Society and School of Instruction’s official organ, *The Restaurateur*, identified content that could certainly be described as part of the ‘anti-foreign crusade’. *The Restaurateur* made its debut in March of 1912, running with the motto: “Loyalty is strength” (*The Restaurateur*, 1912:passim). In issue 1, a list headed “Reasons Why Every Britisher Should Patronize and Support the Loyal British Waiters’ Society and School of Instruction”, attempted to persuade natives to join the society (*The Restaurateur*, 1912:18). The very first reason outlined on the list read as follows: “1. – **Because** it is of Loyal and Patriotic character, and has for its main object the displacement of the foreigner and re-installing the Britisher” (*The Restaurateur*, emphasis in original, 1912:18). Likewise, in an article entitled “School of Instruction: Available for British Youths”, published in the same edition, it was stated:

For some years past, the increase of foreign labour in this particular kind of business has assumed alarming proportions so much so, that it is now a matter of the greatest difficulty for a Britisher to obtain an appointment.

Why?

Because youths of foreign countries look upon this business as a trade, and serve a kind of apprenticeship to it (*The Restaurateur*, 1912:16).

Figure 7.3: British Youths at the School of Instruction Taking Lessons



Source: *Daily Mirror*, reproduced in *The Restaurateur* (1912:17).

The journal was also fond of critiquing the affairs of those who were not British both at home and abroad. For example, a rather sarcastic article, entitled “Imitation, the Sincerest Form of Flattery: Waiters’ School Opened in Paris”, appeared in the January 1913 edition (*The Restaurateur*, 1913:17). The article began by proclaiming that the fact that a waiting school had opened in Paris was “a remarkable testimonial” to “our School of Instruction for British youths”, “[o]n account of the remarkable progress British waiters were making” (*The Restaurateur*, 1913:17), thereby articulating a narrative marked by competition. Yet, it went on to critique a reproduced image of the Parisian waiting school, stating: “We have consulted some of the most experienced waiters in our society as to what part a blackboard plays in the waiters’ profession, but up to now no one has furnished a suitable answer” (*The Restaurateur*, 1913:17).

Figure 7.4: Lesson at the Waiters' School in Paris



Source: *The Restaurateur* (1913:17).

British nativism, and a bigoted intolerance of non-native workers in ‘their’ industry, was clearly expressed by Mr. Hay, Mr. Payne, and *The Restaurateur*. And considering that the organisations that they were affiliated with, like others, did amass a membership, it was clear that others felt the same way in the English capital and other areas of Britain. These unions of nationals represented a struggle for power and status that was perceived to have been lost or stolen. It is proposed that the lengthening chains of interdependence that brought the foreign practice of restaurant dining, foreign food, and immigrants – whether their stay was to be temporary, like Gucci’s, or permanent, like Vogel’s – to the English capital allowed for conflict, specifically, “integration conflicts” (Elias, [1974] 2008:136). “[R]ather than marking a progressive march towards increasing social harmony and emancipation” these new interdependencies increased “conflict and violence as certain groups gain[ed] status at the expense of others” (Dunning and Hughes, 2020:275). That is, the old English tavern or inn, English food, and English chefs, cooks, and waiting staff were deemed inferior. The hospitality industry in London had become cosmopolitan, and its integration and all that came with it caused conflict and violence.

Throughout this work it has been recognised that ethnic nepotism was perceived to be at play in the industry in question; that embodied capital in the form of one’s

nationality could work against people; and that national stereotypes held considerable power that could degrade one's symbolic capital and bar them from entering certain fields, resulting in invidious comparison. Nevertheless, the sentiments expressed in the violent, exclusionary, and segregatory ideologies written into the very aims of the English Hotel, Club, Restaurant, and Tavern Servants' Union; the City and National Waiters' Labour Bureau/British Waiters' National Institution; the British Waiters, Cooks and Carvers' Society; and the Loyal British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction are – in my opinion – rebarbative. It is no wonder that organisations, such as the Austrian Hotel Employees' Society; the *Société Culinaire Francaise de Londres*; and the Italian Club of Culinary Arts were founded. It should be noted that, from what has been read, no such institution ever voiced xenophobic sentiments or expressly made it their aim to challenge people from other countries. These people, labelled as 'untrustworthy' and 'criminals' by some, sought solace amongst companions of the same nationality, and fought to not be taken advantage off because of their non-native heritage.

The above being said, there were those that did not see segregation as the solution to the problems that those working in the hospitality industry were facing. While its advocacy of the Loyal Waiters' Society and School of Instruction is not endorsed, *The Restaurant's* comment that "[t]here is doubtless plenty of room in the catering trade for both Britishers and foreigners" (*The Restaurant*, 1909:116) served to illustrate that some people genuinely believed that the field should be open to all, non-natives and natives alike. There was not simply an 'us versus them' mentality, as Mr. A. Payne and the *Pall Mall Gazette's* October 1889 article would have readers believe. People did stand up for the rights of workers, regardless of their nationality, as Paul Vogel and the Amalgamated Waiters' Society, and the International Chefs Society tried to do, and UKHospitality still does today. Nonetheless, that is not to say that everyone shared such ideas about diversity, cohesion, interdependence, and unification, and nor do people today.

It could be claimed that, recently, contemporary society has seen a regression in the 'civilising' process, marked by competition, xenophobia, and segregation. The extent of the process' change, in relation to the hospitality industry, is questioned. While the specific segregationist unions named above may have been lost to time, it is posited

that their views have not. Yet, to close this chapter, it is worth reiterating that restaurant dining was never an English invention. Thus, it appears incongruous for English people to have attempted to stake a claim on an industry that was born of cross-cultural relations and interdependencies.

7.5. *Overview: Chefs' and Waiters' Wages and Work Conditions*

Chapter 7 sought to cover three key areas connected to the theme of 'wages and work conditions' for those who made their living in the luxury restaurants of London. The first subsection concerned itself with chefs' and waiters' wages and built on the preceding two chapters to supply quantitative data relating to economic capital expenditure and accrurement. It also commented on social relations with the intention of evaluating these further in 7.3. The second chapter subsection discussed the topic of 'tips' in more detail. As was touched upon in Chapter 6, and established in 7.1, tips could form a substantial part of, if not all of, the monetary remuneration that a waiter might receive for his services. Press content was analysed in order to underpin the core attitudes towards the practice of tipping in the eras of interest, and a theoretical evaluation of these and the system more broadly were supplied. This analysis built on the examination of waiting staff in 6.2 by employing the ideas of Elias [1939] (2000), which were supplemented with Dolan's (2011) and Bourdieu's (*passim*) terminology.

It was subsequently argued that the tip system was rooted in the 'civilising' process, and that it was necessary to maintain social relations. That is, in line with Elias' writing, people are relationally positioned and while there seems to be a strict hierarchy in place, this hierarchy is never straightforward and always marked by tensions. The tip system reflects this, in that a diner and a waiter are in a mutually dependent relationship and both able to exert symbolic violence over the other in a transactional fashion. This mutual dependence and tension, while seemingly contradictory, replicated and sustained the complex hierarchy in restaurants.

If customers wanted to be perceived by waiters as *individuals* worth labouring for, they needed to be regarded as people who would tip. Likewise, if waiters perceived that customers would tip, they must ensure good service. As outlined, the capital expenditure on the part of waiters and customers were not equal, but both parties risked

losing capital if they did not complete the transaction. As such, tipping became a doxic standard, but while it was ‘taken for granted’ it was not unchallenged by either party in the relevant discourse. Yet, as the chapter subsection concludes, this was a doxa that still permeates the hospitality industry today, even if it remains contested.

The last subsection of the chapter turned its attention to unification and rivalry. Picking up on ideas concerning segregation and tension, the first topic to be detailed was that of chefs’ societies, before hotelkeepers’ societies were addressed. These segments put forward voices that both supported and were against such forms of unification. While it seemed logical to then address waiters’ societies, this content was amalgamated into material on the topic of (inter)national organisations. Information was firstly supplied about institutions that were set up for non-native members working in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, before attention was cast on those that were set up specifically for natives. Although no evidence was found that the non-native organisations displayed xenophobic attitudes, it was observed that the organisations championed by native workers did. An analysis of such sentiments followed.

Utilising the Eliasian lens that has been central to this thesis, it was argued that “integration conflicts” were taking place (Elias, [1974] 2008:136). As the third and fourth chapters discussed, the lengthening chains of interdependence were responsible for the emergence of restaurants in London. However, as has been identified, the social webbing that connects us all is never free from tensions or (symbolic) violence. Foreigners held considerable status in London, due to the capitals that they had amassed or that were granted to them. Albeit that this did come at the expense of those natives who would work in the hotels and restaurants of London. 7.4. closed by stating that competition, xenophobia, and segregation are still present in the hospitality industry, which is a topic that will be delineated in the conclusion of this thesis. Yet, it was reiterated that restaurants were never an English invention, and as has been discussed, to remove the cosmopolitan essence of restaurants was and is to make them, as spaces of both labour and leisure, redundant.

8. Conclusion

The concluding chapter of this thesis seeks to do three very different tasks. Firstly, it supplies a summary of the core points raised by this thesis, which highlights the findings that are deemed of significant importance. It also serves to reflect on the original contributions to knowledge that this work has sought to offer. The second section of this chapter is comparative and outlines parallels between the data drawn upon in the prior chapters and observations that can be made when assessing the industry today. As there are so many relational configurations that bind us to the history of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century establishments, this chapter predominantly focusses on those that deeply reflect themes of interdependence and intolerance. As such, reflections on national culinary superiority, inferiority, stereotypes, and stigmas are first discussed. The state of the industry at present is then considered, and it is argued that a sector that has relied on the labour of non-natives since the Victorian era, and remains dubious about employing native workers, is struggling with the loosening or severing of the chains of interdependence that have supported it for so long. Drawing on data from the prior chapters, ideas on what might be done to aid the industry are provided. The last section of this thesis supplies four recommendations for further research. Firstly, it is proposed that an investigation of the place of women in London's luxury restaurants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would be a worthwhile venture. This work then advocates for further research to be undertaken that maps out the influence that colonialism and imperialism has had on European culinary cultures. A suggestion is made that it could be interesting to consider some of the other links between contemporary restaurants and those focussed on in this thesis that were not discussed in 8.2. Lastly, this work calls for contemporary empirical research to be undertaken that might help the hospitality industry out of its current crisis.

8.1. Summary and Findings

This thesis began by expounding upon a 'pilot study', which aided research focus development. It addressed the fact that the scope of the original research project was too broad, but highlighted that resolutions were achievable, and that it is, on occasion, perfectly acceptable to see what data sources indicate without a set series of research

questions because, in the words of Urquhart, “there is more chance of discovering something new” (Urquhart, 2013:7). As uncustomary as this may be, this process served to direct the development of this thesis as an original contribution to knowledge. That undertook the task of constructing a food studies narrative, in line with the tradition of historical relational sociology but inclusive of material from other social disciplines, that explored the establishment of London luxury restaurants and their operations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a focus on their cross-cultural interdependencies, the subsequent European diversity present in them, and the tensions that this caused. A summarisation of the core points and findings from this task will now be discussed in more detail.

Following a traditional chapter-by-chapter breakdown, the social theory of Marx, Elias, Veblen, and Bourdieu were discussed in the first chapter. It was proposed that their ideas, with some extension and modification, were useful for interpreting the information gathered from data sources. So as not to repeat content here, it is recommended that 1.7, the conclusion of Chapter 1, is referred to for an overview of the key terminology and points made in regard to the theorists’ works that this thesis utilised. Yet, to highlight a core modification, this project considered how theorisations based on the concept of ‘class’ could also work with the concept of ‘culture’. Building upon the varying models created by the aforementioned theorists or developed in light of their works, this thesis presented the interdirectional model, which sees both taste transference taking place cross-culturally and in multiple directions across class boundaries. A purely linear or circular logic was proving too limited, and waiters, as was seen, traversed all levels of the interdirectional model by making use of, consolidating, and disseminating cross-cultural tastes. It should also be emphasised that, drawing on Bourdieu’s conceptualisations on capital accumulation and the ever-changing human habitus, the definition of labour was also refined by this thesis. Hence, labour was redefined as processes that are intended to contribute to the procurement of capitals – material, cultural, social, or symbolic resources – now or in the future, and consciously or unconsciously.

Bourdieu’s, along with Elias’, epistemologies also formed the architectural knowledge framework taken up in this research, which was detailed in 1.6. This thesis regards itself to be a work of historical relational sociology. The historical element of

this project is obvious, in that it has looked to the past to explore the establishment of London luxury restaurants, their early operations, and people's attitudes towards them. The relational component draws from the ideas of both these theorists in that it is agreed that relations and difference must be studied so as to make sense of the world. As can be seen in the broadened definition of labour, this work – like those of Bourdieu and Elias – considers the world of human relations to be in a continual state of flux. No matter how small or large changes are, change is a constant, and does not simply happen in a sequential linear fashion, i.e., things do not simply change for the 'better' as history 'advances'. Notably, this work also used Elias' research method of uncovering macro relations by identifying the micro relations present in the press content, combined with Bourdieu's method of knowledge detachment, construction, and confirmation to produce findings.

Prior to the chapters that showcased this data analysis, information that detailed the data sources was supplied. It was explained that the rise of the independent publishing industry paralleled the rise of the luxury hotels, and therefore more was being published on the topic of restaurant dining. However, due to a lack of expertise in literary studies, fiction from the period of interest was rejected as a data source in favour of non-fiction press content. The press industry was radically altered in the Victorian era due to the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, which allowed for the expansion of an unregulated market and more freedom in terms of copy creation. Technological innovations also densified human figurations and led to faster news dissemination and publication. Furthermore, professionalism popularised trade press periodicals, which, like the newspaper press, also experimented with new journalistic styles and reporting techniques.

The practicalities of working with this press content and historical content more broadly were discussed, which provided core details about the specific periodicals that were of primary importance to this thesis for data extraction and caveats concerning referencing and currency conversion. The topic of interpreting facts, opinions, and experiences was focussed on. Here it was established that the non-neutral press content, which was often published anonymously, served to aid this work in locating broad social attitudes and conditions. Yet, it was important to outline that considering such media meant that some voices were unintentionally excluded from this thesis. The

independent press industry was not a 'lower'-class establishment and written English language abilities may have hindered non-natives from contributing to press publications. Nor was it common for women to work for the press, and readers of the material that it produced were presumed to be male, as was evidenced by its authors' gendered language. Nonetheless, it was expounded that women did work in the luxury hotels of the periods, even if they did not do so as waiting staff in their dining rooms or as chefs in their kitchens. Lastly, it was acknowledged that this work had a European focus, even though European colonialism and imperialism did have an impact on food consumption in London. It was simply well beyond the scope of this thesis to examine cross-cultural interdependencies on such a broad scale.

Chapter 3 employed influential academic secondary sources, combined with relevant trade press material, to provide context for the investigation into luxury London restaurants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It began by discussing the diversification of power and culture taking place in England, notably focussing on a loss of power and the influence of other European nations. France was identified as a nation whose culture was able to permeate that of the English habitus, and the reasons for this were elaborated upon, after a consideration of what have been deemed core turning points in French culinary history. Significantly, it was asserted that early French restaurants were a new form of establishment that allowed for the development of novel doxic standards, and that their dining practices were both public and private; individualised; and represented all three overlapping categories of the spare-time spectrum. This, as Spang (2000) has argued, was a *culture* exposed to the English as a result of Paris' occupation and, following Napoleon's exile, via tourism. Due to this exposure and the uniqueness of the culture, restaurants were seen as markers of French distinction, resulting in processes of cross-cultural commodity fetishism, whereby the foreign visitors gave an abstract value, pertaining to Frenchness, and culinary worth to these spaces and those who operated in them. The associations with travel and consumption sought to class this culture, and further attributed a luxury status to it. Thus, processes of cross-cultural taste transference began, which would eventually lead to the export of restaurants and those who worked in them. Albeit the establishment of restaurants in the English capital was not rapid and was facilitated by a relatively stable political environment where industrialised infrastructural

developments, technological innovation, and a rejection of mere use value in favour of novelty and entertainment could take place.

The preceding chapter was one of the most diverse in terms of the press content that was considered. Prior to looking at the specifics of the establishment of grand hotels in the second chapter section, a decision was made to focus on how England dined, before restaurants, according to the Victorians. In contrast to the above comment, there was an emphasis on use value, and people ate to subsist. This food was considered plain, simple, and consisted of meat, gravy, seasonal vegetables and (boiled) fruit tart/pudding. Following the Restoration, the quantity of food consumed in England increased, but what was eaten was unchanged. Press excerpts demonstrated that there were mixed feelings about this English fare and, when it did arrive, its French counterpart.

It was the younger generations that held a preference for French cuisine, and there were many members of this generation that watched the face of London change. In an analysis of content concerning the rise of the grand hotels and their luxury restaurants, sentiments of reminiscence, used for the narrative purposes of juxtaposition and acceptance, were located. Again, the ideas of use value were considered when thinking about older establishments that provided accommodation, but these authors looked upon the hotels favourably as supplying something 'more': an abstract value. They also spoke of how London had been transformed, which was considered in relation to the 'civilising' process. Whereby people of 'subordinate' classes and foreigners were employed to change London's infrastructure and work in these new sites that catered for wealthier classes that sought to mark themselves as possessing a distinct form of habitus and capital.

The last section of this chapter turned to consider the French influence in more concrete forms by focussing on French food and the social and cultural implications of consuming it. Reviews published by Newnham-Davis were examined, which showcased the 'civilising' of food by way of its ingredients, preparatory techniques, and decorative plating. This led to the proposition that the practice of restaurant food consumption was a symbolically violent act, which was to be expounded upon in Chapter 5. A return was also made to the idea that dining was both a public and private

performance and an intimate but individual escapade, with new doxic standards. It was then posited that it was not simply the French food but also the French language that served to show the interconnectedness between the two countries. In addition, both the consumption of French food and a knowledge of the French language that menus were published in acted as markers of capital. Even though there was some resistance to the publication of menus in French, learning to decipher these culinary lists was a form of invidious comparison that guarded against pecuniary emulation.

The following chapter of this thesis discussed those who prepared the food served in these luxury restaurants. It first considered how food preparation was seen as both a form of science and art, and that those who wished to pursue this undertaking as a career would need to amass the relevant cultural capital in order to do so. Albeit that this was not a career that was granted much respect or prestige. It was proposed that this was due to the symbolic violence evident in restaurants, which was caused by the types of capital customers expected to obtain when visiting them. Yet, symbolic power has the potential to appear contradictory.

By looking at chefs' stereotypes it was identified that French chefs held a form of exclusive embodied cultural capital, which was granted by their nationality. They were prized because of the perceived culinary superiority and authenticity that their Frenchness granted them. However, they also caused contention because they were foreign, which, in England, meant that their embodied capital was tarnished, and they were Othered. Herein lies one of said contradictions. The English chef, however, was potentially worse off than his French counterpart. Although the French were branded as lusty and passionate, and used as a 'humorous' cliché, the English were deemed as untalented, stubborn, and ill-of-attitude. Interestingly, three cited articles all blamed the English individual for his inability to master the culinary arts, not taking into account that it was a job that granted low status, and that fighting the stereotypes and/or competing with French chefs might have not been particularly appealing. To rectify the English chefs' issues, a training school was established in London, where young men were to learn the art of the profession, drawing on a French curricular. Importantly, these men were taught to economise as the English were seen as wasteful when preparing food, whereas the French were not.

The profession of serving food was considered in Chapter 6. It began by analysing ‘Wanted Places’ listings alongside other press content in order to discuss the qualities that it was preferable for waiters to possess. From this it was discerned that the ideal waiter needed to be young, tall, smartly presented, single, and foreign (French, German, Italian, or Swiss). The reasoning behind the preferential employment of foreign staff was expounded upon. It was concluded that management may have been responsible for ethnic nepotism. More practically, foreign waiters often had superior training prior to arriving in England and they could speak multiple languages, which was useful for conversing with tourists and other visitors to the capital, and enabled them to communicate with the back of house staff and negotiate menus in French. Plus, there was incentive for these men to come and work in England, as they were paid more there than in their native countries. In contrast, Englishmen were seldom seen to have the linguistic abilities, or the training required to serve in luxury establishments. Press content also indicated that the English did not always take the job seriously, thinking of it as a way to make easy money. In addition, they were viewed as lacking the *habitus* and *hexis* to enter such work and did not comply with the *doxa*. Yet, as with chefs, there were complexities concerning the stereotypes of the English and foreign waiter. Waiting was deemed a lower-class job and the men who did see it as a fitting career choice were seldom those who had experienced luxury, but they needed to navigate luxury restaurant spaces in order to succeed in their profession. In terms of foreign waiters, the English needed them, but feared their Otherness. Press content suggested that they might be manipulative criminals, while also highlighting that London was cosmopolitan and it was natural for them to be working there.

Turning to a theoretical analysis, it was posited that waiters were both fetishised and objectified. That is, reduced to a series of traits, they were objectified, but these traits did have symbolic value – these waiting staff did not *just* serve food – they acted as markers of distinction and enabled processes of taste transference that allowed for them to furnish customers with capital, which meant that these men were also fetishised. To elaborate on these findings, waiters were feminised in the masculinised domain of the restaurant by the nature of their work and the very fact they were deemed to be lacking in status in comparison to the customers that many were dependent on financially. Plus, to be young, judged upon appearance, and foreign all served to render waiters as inferior in comparison to their patrons. While these men were looked down

upon as having low societal standing, they were also objects of high-class culture. They needed, first and foremost, to be able to competently serve such a class, which required them to possess the same level of, if not more, cultural capital as their patrons. Hence, these men were able to traverse multiple levels outlined in the interdirectional model and illustrated why taste transference is not simply circular or linear.

Furthering the discussion of chefs' and waiters' employment, and the tensions that resulted from the lengthening chains of interdependence, Chapter 7 focussed on the topic of wages and working conditions. It was concluded that chefs, while having relatively stable contracts, seldom made more than what today, taking into account inflation, would be termed the 'living wage'. Waiters made starkly less than their chef counterparts and did not always have the benefit of fixed term employment. Waiting staff often also had numerous financial outgoings, related to their job role, that were incurred due to potential or actual financial losses suffered by the restaurant, such as indemnity funds for breakages or wage deductions if a customer did not pay their bill. On top of this, they were left at the mercy of the tip system. This system, which outdated the rise of the grand hotels, was complex, and there were no set standards. Customers complained of poor service if they did not tip, which was hardly unexpected considering that waiters so often relied on this money to make a living. It was also noted that the quality of patrons' leisure time was lessened knowing that the waiter was judging them based on their propensity to tip him. Those employed in the industry also spoke of the system's ills, citing that it was degrading to live on the generosity of their patrons.

An analysis of the tip system was provided, which argued that the origins of the tip system were located in the 'civilising' process and reinforced by the chains of interdependence that bind people. Yet, these relations were fraught with tensions in a field where all parties, regardless of their social positioning, were capable of exercising symbolic violence. The customers, imagined as sovereign, needed their retinues but had to award them gifts so as to insure their services. Likewise, waiters relied on these customers for a living, but were able to base their services on the expected rewards reaped from them. As such, tipping became a necessary voluntary transaction, which reinforced class positioning and the doxic standard in and of itself.

The last subsection of this chapter focussed on unification and rivalry. Speaking firstly about this topic in relation to chefs, it was observed that the formation of a society was requested on the basis that there was little industry regulation in regard to cheffing as a profession; pay was poor; and chefs undercut one another when seeking work. There was then a consideration of the tensions caused by Europeans competing for this work. Albeit such a society was eventually established, little could be found as to explain what happened to both it and its journal, which was published trilingually to account for the cosmopolitan nature of work in the capital. Secondly, hotelkeepers were discussed. These people likewise believed that they were pitted against one another, and even though there was apparent support for a society of hotelkeepers to be formed, it was not until 1907 that a successful one was, which UKHospitality can trace its roots back to.

Looking more specifically at organisations that limited membership based on one's nationality, an investigation into this segregation was undertaken. Some English/British societies actively sought to exclude Others from the industry, claiming superior workmanship, and that foreigners were driving nationals out; degrading the national character; and were inherently untrustworthy. When faced with such comments, it was not surprising that non-natives also formed groups based on nationality. Nonetheless, there were some who contended that such English/British intolerance of non-natives was uncalled for and supported those working in the industry regardless of their nationality. As wonderful as it was to see such a sentiment expressed, the xenophobia articulated by the English/British organisations was unjustifiable. Even if there was ethnic nepotism taking place in the industry; even if they were negatively stereotyped; and even if their embodied capital was not valued as highly as that of others, it remains the fact that the restaurants built in London were products of cross-cultural influence and interdependence, and it therefore was deemed problematic for the English/British to try to bar other Europeans from working in such spaces.

To conclude this summary, the specific contributions to knowledge that this thesis has offered are addressed. This thesis, is a work that adds to the increasing body of "food studies" scholarship that, over the past 30 years, has sought to address "questions

of food supply, patterns of eating” and “all aspects of food culture or foodways” (Albala, 2013:xv). Yet, “there is not yet a comprehensive list of what disciplines belong in food studies” (Albala, 2013:xv), which is something that this thesis has sought to embrace. Hence, it is hoped that this work has not only added to the growing body of interdisciplinary academic research, but that it has provided an example of a less traditional thesis that utilised an alternative structure and research framework to develop the outlined findings.

This work is unique in its synthesis of discourse. While I am not the first to identify the intellectual connections that Elias and Bourdieu share,⁹⁶ my application of their ideas, supplemented by those of Marx and Veblen, is novel. I have also built upon their conceptualisations and, it is felt that this too could be fruitful for future research on the topics of consumption and labour. For example, the working definition that I provide for ‘labour’ might be utilised in further research. Likewise, the interdirectional model could be used to consider other service industry professions or cross-class/cultural platforms.⁹⁷

Connectedly, it is believed that this thesis has added to debates concerning European relations and the complexities of cross-cultural interdependencies and intolerances of Otherness. While my thesis specifically has addressed these in the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras, with a focus on English attitudes, it is felt that the tensions that have been discussed supplement existing literature concerning the long nineteenth century. Furthermore, this content speaks more broadly to the debates concerning racism and xenophobia prior to the onset of World War I.

In line with the tradition of historical sociology, this thesis showcased and analysed (archival) content that few scholars have addressed before. In consequence, it has enabled information to be disseminated on a range of subject areas, as diverse as the classed emphasis on menu construction in French, ‘elderly’ waiters’ struggles, and Paul

⁹⁶ See, for example, Paulle et al (2012), and the Norbert Elias Foundation (2019).

⁹⁷ To illustrate, it would be interesting to utilise the model to consider how fashion designers, flight attendants, lecturers or sex workers negotiate cross-class/cultural capital transference, or to analyse platforms, such as Reddit or Amnesty International events.

Vogel's unionism, which are all linked to food studies. More broadly, this project has been able to provide an original contribution to knowledge concerning the establishment and operations of luxury London restaurants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and will now consider this comparatively in relation to the industry today.

8.2. *The Hospitality Industry Today*

The preceding chapters have been historical in nature, dealing specifically with London's late Victorian and Edwardian restaurants and those who inhabited them. Throughout these chapters it has been observed that many parallels can be drawn between then and now. That is, these past restaurant operations shared a vast deal of similarities with those of contemporary society. This section seeks to identify these similarities and construct a narrative that focusses on present-day attitudes and inequalities concerning the hospitality industry and cross-cultural interdependencies and intolerances.

To begin it is argued that a perceived French superiority is still prevalent in the contemporary fields of the culinary. Likewise, English fare remains looked down upon, even though some minor improvements have been made to the English chef's reputation. It is then acknowledged that there has remained a stigma attached to working in the hospitality industry. This, along with other apparent negative facets of employment in the industry, has contributed to a labour shortage of hospitality staff in the United Kingdom. It will be posited that Brexit, the implementation of a points-based immigration system, and COVID-19 has further damaged the industry and its ability to employ staff. To conclude, some possible solutions to the issues that the industry is facing are offered.

To commence this discussion of the industry today, Chapter 4 is reflected upon. Arguably, developments in travel have had a profound impact on both people's and produce's movement, which has diversified the contemporary industry to an extent. Yet, French cross-cultural taste transference continues to permeate social relations and now does so on an almost global scale. "The French, as we all 'know', are culinary masters", stated Parkhurst Ferguson (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004:4), and it is the case

that this French superiority has become doxic, i.e., it is a taken for granted and accepted ‘truth’ about the (natural and) social world. “France long supplied the standard against which other modern cuisines have been measured” (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004:30), and it still does to this day.

The aforementioned *Michelin* restaurant rating system, with its “focus on more expensive, high-end and ‘fine-dining’ establishments serving high quality, creative cuisine” (Vincent, 2018:2), is steeped in a French history of luxury consumption. As Feldman’s research found, “restaurants awarded three Michelin stars – the *Guide*’s top honour – are disproportionately French, serving French food and/or employing French culinary techniques” (Feldman, 2021:1344). Conceivably, *Michelin* are culturally bias, but the culinary standards that they favour have transcended Europe and North America, and seeped, as documented recently, into discourses in the Global South (Santos and Mansey, 2022). This is supported by MacVeigh’s earlier work, which has claimed: “French cuisine is often looked upon as the trendsetter, the epitome of the best, with the best ingredients paired with the best talent and the best palette yielding masterpieces of human ingenuity that drive chefs worldwide to try to match or trump this great cuisine” (MacVeigh, 2009:105). Hence, French culinary superiority has remained a doxic standard because it has been widely disseminated, unsuccessfully challenged, and accepted at a broad cross-continental level. As such, it is a doxic standard that looks to continue permeating human relations for years yet to come.

The above being said, it may not be quite as essential to have a French chef employed in a luxury kitchen, in London or elsewhere, but this has been a relatively recent change. As Michel Roux, Sr., stated: “In the 1970s, when most of our staff were French, a few young Britons...sought work in our kitchens. At the time, it would have been inconceivable for a British cook to work on the continent. In Europe, British cooks were a laughing stock” (Roux, 2000:224). By the late 1990s things seemed to have changed (Roux, 2000), but arguably the stereotype of the French chef still pervades contemporary discourse. Plus, French training remains viewed as advantageous, if not necessary, for the preparation of high-end food, even if the restaurant that it is served in does not brand itself as one that sells French or European cuisine. It is incredibly difficult to find a *Michelin*-starred establishment that does not have a *chef de cuisine* without any form of classical French training. It is argued that

such training is even more important for Brits wishing to succeed in the industry due to ‘their’ culinary ‘heritage’, which continues to be poorly received.

The constitution of ‘English’ food, discussed in 4.1, on the whole, remains unchanged. When authors seek to describe the ‘proper’ English meal, they cite Charles and Kerr (1986), who explained that it consisted of meat, potatoes, vegetables and, maybe, gravy. Likewise, the advice for visitors to the United Kingdom has remained not to eat the traditional food:

British food...runs the gamut between mildly interesting and plain boring. Meat, poultry, fish, peas, carrots and chips are the order of the day unless you have a budget that stretches to more upmarket establishments. Then again, the only difference might be the plate in which your carrots and peas come...when the British eat out, they prefer continental food (Tan, 2008:169).

Contemporary academic studies conducted with non-natives also frequently observed that words such as ‘bland’, ‘boring’, and ‘unhealthy’ were used to describe food in the United Kingdom and England.⁹⁸ In short, the stigma attached to food associated with England and, more broadly, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has not really changed, even if chips are replacing the boiled potato on many a plate.

Much like the stigma attached to English food, the stigma attached to working in the hospitality industry is also still apparent. Research undertaken in the latter years of the twentieth century clearly reflects this, with some claiming that this stigma has perforated other cultures.⁹⁹ Yet, taking into account literature search results, there seems to be a lack of work on this topic in the context of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in the twenty-first century. Albeit, in the words of Wildes, who has focussed on stigma in food service work in the United States of America: “On a psychological level, the job image in the restaurant industry suffers from a ‘servitude’

⁹⁸ See, for example, Jamal (1998); Brown, Edwards and Hartwell (2010); and Brown and Paszkiewicz (2017).

⁹⁹ See, for example, Terkel [1972] (2004); Saunders (1981); Mars and Nicod (1984); Wood (1992); Wood (1993); and Seagrave (1998).

perception ([i.e.,] a social stigma or stereotype attached to the job of serving others)” (Wildes, 2005:214). It is contended that this stereotype is still prevalent in the United Kingdom. Couple this with long hours; low wages; the physical demanding nature of the work; low job security; and a lack of labour union support, which were all industry specific phenomena observed in the findings of this research, and it is not hard to see why the industry has such a high employee turnover rate.¹⁰⁰

The hospitality industry in the United Kingdom is currently suffering a labour shortage. As Coghlan (2022) recently reported, the largest problem that restaurants are facing is that there are not enough staff. This is supported by Hutton’s House of Commons research report: “Official Labour market data indicates that there has been a fall in the number of workers in the accommodation and food service sector. From January-March 2020 to October-December 2021, the number of workers in the sector fell by 3.6% (90,000)” (Hutton, 2022:26). While stigma does play some part in the fact that people do not wish to be employed in the industry, other factors have contributed. More specifically, it is posited that the xenophobic attitudes discussed previously in this work have become magnified by the introduction of barriers to non-natives, intentional or otherwise, that have subsequently resulted in a significant labour shortage. It should be stressed that this work does not identify this problem as illustrative of a ‘decivilising’ tendency or a regression in the ‘civilising’ process but asserts that these barriers simply have enlarged the attitudinal reflections found in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods.

The labour of non-natives in the hospitality industry has been a central focus of this thesis, and contemporary scholarship has also highlighted the importance of its provision.¹⁰¹ To employ a recent quote from a post-Brexit report on labour shortages commissioned by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development:

¹⁰⁰ No up-to-date statistics are available for the United Kingdom. Yet, in 2019 an article published by Birkin on the UKHospitality website stated the following: “According to Deputy data, the hospitality sector has an employee turnover rate of 30% – double that of the UK average – and is forecasted to increase as the ‘Brexodus’ of EU workers continues” (Birkin, 2019:n.p.).

¹⁰¹ For writings that focus on the importance of migrant labour in the United Kingdom’s hospitality sector, see, for example, Baum et al (2007); McDowell et al (2007); McDowell et al (2009); Lucas and Mansfield (2010); and McDowell (2010).

Consistent with official data, a relatively high proportion of EU nationals make up the workforce among hospitality employers, although there is a large variety across the nations and regions of the UK. Migrant workers make up the vast majority of the workforce in London and the south-east of England and are under-represented in nations such as Northern Ireland (Davies, 2021:28).

Participants in the hospitality sector employer focus group, organised as part of the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development's research, reflected opinions that have been discussed in this thesis. That is, they believed that "UK applicants" were of "poor quality" – a judgment that was "sometimes linked" to perceptions concerning "a poor work ethic among some UK workers" – and that "the industry simply does not attract enough UK applicants" (Davies, 2021:28). Additionally, participants touched upon the "poor view of the industry" – referred to as a 'stigma' in this work – and provided an itemised list of the industry specific phenomena that they felt caused this, which parallels the ones supplied earlier in this section: "dealing with difficult customers, unsociable and long hours, high effort, and low pay", furthering on from this, "limited opportunities for training" was also added to this list (Davies, 2021:28). In short, employers highlighted that the stigma associated with working in the industry persisted in the minds of natives, and those that did apply to work in it were deemed poor quality. As was argued previously, the stereotype of the 'bad' English waiter or chef was also a likely reason why natives did not pursue careers in this industry and a contributing factor as to why natives do not do so presently. However, a problem obviously arises when nationalist tendencies are increasingly reported on and vocalised. For an industry that was founded on cross-cultural interdependencies, and relies on them to function today, will and has faced problems because of cross-cultural intolerance.

An imperialist spectre has haunted England since the Victorian era, when power slowly began slipping away from the country. Yet, England needs to eat, whether that be in restaurants or in homes, and it has become dependent on other nations to fuel its food system. This spectre has become more visible of late, especially obvious in the marginal majority vote to leave the European Union, which has resulted in political anguish and segregationist attitudes across and within the United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Northern Ireland. The government's introduction of the UK points-based immigration system, which has been (rightly) criticised for inadvertently insulting many employed in the hospitality industry by categorising them as 'low skilled',¹⁰² reflects the ideals of Mr. Hay and Mr. Payne presented in the prior chapter. The points-based immigration system has meant that many people who would have come to the United Kingdom to work in the hospitality industry would no longer be able to do so or would struggle to do so. Thus, an industry that was built on the labour of immigrants, originally and specifically, European immigrants (Panayi, 2008), would now need to be staffed by British nationals. And, as has been outlined, people are still critical of employing the meagre number of nationals that would work in the industry.

Since March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic has also posed new and delicate problems for the cross-cultural interdependencies that maintained restaurant operations in the United Kingdom. Not only were there issues with stock, and forced closures, but many people resigned in order to relocate to isolate with their loved ones. This included part-time staff, often students working in the industry as a 'stop gap',¹⁰³ but also immigrants, who returned to their native countries. Other people were made redundant and simply never returned to the industry when restrictions imposed to reduce the spread of the virus were eased.

The issues facing the industry cannot be overstated. In their article on the hospitality industry, Sanabria-Díaz et al claimed that the pandemic had caused an "unprecedented situation across the planet that not even the two World Wars created" (Sanabria-Díaz et al, 2021:1). Likewise, in their publication on hospitality managers, Giousmpasoglou et al stated that "humanity has not experienced an event like this since the Second World War" (Giousmpasoglou et al, 2021:1314). Similarly, in December 2020, Big Hospitality, a website owned by William Reed,¹⁰⁴ providing news on hospitality

¹⁰² See, for example, McAllister (2020) for reflections on the system and comments on the notion of categorising labour in the sector as 'low skilled'.

¹⁰³ Thirty-eight per cent of people employed in the hospitality industry are also students (Birkin, 2019:n.p.).

¹⁰⁴ William Reed has its roots in the Victorian trade press industry. William Reed founded his publishing business in 1862 and began printing of *The Grocer*, which is still in circulation (William Reed, 2022; *The Grocer*, 2022). Reed and his descendants

management, claimed that “the entire UK hospitality sector face[d] its biggest crisis since the second world war” (Big Hospitality, 2020:n.p.). There are indeed many parallels that can be drawn between the incidents of the last years and the world wars. Yet, to pick up on the points raised in the last paragraph, press content from August 1914, days before Britain entered World War I, also detailed how many non-native staff had returned or were planning to return to the countries of their birth. For example, an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, entitled “Exodus of Foreign Waiters” and published on 1st August 1914, reported:

Hundreds of foreign waiters and barbers are leaving London by train for the Continent to-day... At the offices of the International Employees’ Society in Shaftesbury-avenue, a representative of the ‘Pall Mall Gazette’ was informed that the majority of the Swiss, Austrian, Italian, German, French, Dutch and Belgian waiters and barbers have either left or were preparing for immediate return to their own countries (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 1914:4).

On 3rd August 1914, *The Globe: War Edition, For Reliable War News Concisely Told* printed an article that held a similar title, “Foreign Waiters Exodus”, but included estimates of the number of non-natives leaving:

It cannot definitely be ascertained exactly how many foreign waiters, cooks, bakers, &c. have proceeded home, but a Press representative ascertained that approximately the following numbers had left the hotels named:–

Hotel Cecil, 50; Savoy Hotel, 70; Ritz, between 50 and 60; Carlton, 30 (mostly French); Piccadilly Hotel, 50; Hotel Metropole, 30; Midland Hotel, 10; Claridge’s 12 (mostly Italian); De Keyser’s Royal Hotel, 50; Frascati’s 6; Prince’s Restaurant, 6 (French), Coburg Hotel, 6; Strand Palace Hotel, 6; Euston Hotel, 3; Hotel Great Central, 6 (*The Globe: War Edition*, 1914:2).

While no comparative quantitative data exists in the public domain that can supply an approximation of the number of people who left the industry for their home nations over the last few years, the Hutton report does provide an insight into the scale of the staff shortages that the hospitality industry now faces:

would later add numerous other trade periodical, typically relating to food and beverage retail, to their list of titles.

From January-March 2020 to October-December 2021, the number of workers in the sector fell by 90,000 or 3.6%. This compared to a 1.3% decline in jobs across all industries over this period...

As the economy began to re-open in 2021, the hospitality industry began facing staff shortages. For the three months to February 2022, there were 166,000 job vacancies in the hospitality sector, 7.8% of all employee jobs.

There are a multitude of factors leading to high vacancies including: many businesses hiring at once, workers not returning to jobs furloughed and workers having moved away during the pandemic not returning (Hutton, 2022:6).

Here, the caveat should be added that many may not have actually been able to return due to the points-based system, or they might have chosen not to because of the complexities of the system and/or Brexit.

The ONS' "VACS02" dataset has indicated that from March-May 2022 there were 7.9 vacancies per 100 employee jobs in "accommodation and food service activities" (ONS, 2022:n.p.). In late June 2022, UKHospitality circulated the results of a joint survey that they undertook with the British Beer and Pub Association. Their findings, published under the title "Record Staff Shortages Causing Hospitality to Lose £21bn in Trade", puts the employee deficit indicated by the dataset into perspective financially and outlined what this meant for the economy more broadly: "Staff shortages in the hospitality industry are reaching critical levels, causing nearly half (45%) of operators to cut trading hours or capacity in order to cope, costing the industry £21bn in lost revenue and causing an estimated £5bn loss in tax for the Exchequer" (UKHospitality, 2022:n.p.). The survey data also revealed which job roles were not being filled. Interestingly, eighty-one per cent of businesses had vacancies for front of house staff and seventy-six per cent of businesses had vacancies for chefs – employees willing to fill these roles were the most sought after in the hospitality industry (UKHospitality, 2022:n.p.).

Where does the solution lie? As will be outlined in 8.3, there does need to be a lot more research undertaken before one may offer a comprehensive answer grounded by empirical research. Yet, some initial thoughts are detailed here that may serve as a

starting point for future enquiries into the matter. Maybe there *is* a possibility for change to be made and the ‘civilising’ process to be modified. Yet, this would necessitate attitudinal shifts, and education would need to have a vital role in this. Not only should employers be compelled to leave behind the Victorian stereotypes that they continue to ascribe to native workers, but the Victorian opinions that permeate the native labour force’s ideas about the service industry require change. UKHospitality, via its workforce strategy, is taking steps to improve the perceptions of the industry today and is seeking to establish “a pathway through education to hospitality” (UKHospitality, 2022:15). However, the government’s position also needs to change. As this work has explained, cheffing and waiting, which account for only two job roles in the broader sector, demand the negotiation of complex power relations and the accumulation of a variety of capitals. In short, these jobs *are* skilled. Plus, mirroring the xenophobic attitudes displayed by the segregationist organisations, the points-based system is, by its very design, keeping non-natives out of the hospitality sector. As has been said before, restaurants are cross-cultural products, and to actively restrict access to these spaces to a cross-cultural workforce seems rather contradictory. Maybe the answer lies in the pages of *The Restaurant* (1909), which advocated training and expressed the sentiment that there was room in the industry for non-natives and natives alike.

8.3. *Recommendations for Further Research*

The task of the final section of this thesis is to provide some constructive recommendation for future research. As is common, this thesis has raised questions when seeking to answer others, and there has simply not been space to justify adequate responses to them. Nor will there be room to detail them all here. Hence, four key areas have been chosen where it is felt that further research would be fruitful. First and foremost, it is a limitation of this thesis that women were not comprehensively discussed, and it is believed that it would be worthwhile to pursue this topic further. Secondly, it was beyond the scope of this work to attempt such an undertaking, but colonialism’s and imperialism’s impact on culinary consumption warrants further investigation. Thirdly, this work has not been as comparative as it would have liked to have been, and there are parallels between the historical restaurant operations outlined in the above chapters and those of today that it would be interesting to unpack. Lastly,

it is recommended that more research is conducted concerning the UK hospitality industry and its current crisis. There are issues with this industry that *need* to be improved or many establishments may be lost to time.

A problem that has been troubling, throughout this research, is that the narrative that was being produced could be read as androcentric. As explained in Chapter 2, this work does reflect the gendered epistemic violence of the historical periods of focus. Throughout these pages, as in the pages of the press content that was considered, it was uncomfortable that so few women were mentioned, and when they were, their words were often spoken for them by men. As a female and the author of this work, I both acknowledge and apologise for this. In consequence, I wish to express the same sentiment as Anderson did, in her Architectural History thesis, which focussed on London's grand hotels from 1860-1910: "The place of women, both as guests and staff, is also worthy of more research" (Anderson, 2019:298). There may, indeed, be issues securing data sources when such work is undertaken, but it would be a worthwhile pursuit to investigate the way that women experienced such spaces of labour and conspicuous consumption.

Another issue expounded upon in Chapter 2 was that of colonialism and imperialism. It is recognised that both forms of domination influenced European consumption. However, mapping this out would have been a project too vast for the purposes of this work. Yet, it would be an exceptionally useful pursuit. Even if the research focus was narrowed down to consider similar periods of history to those discussed in this work. For example, The Equiano Centre, has stated: "Our knowledge of the black presence in Victorian London is still seriously under researched. Information on the lives of black women is particularly lacking" (The Equiano Centre, c. 2007-2017:n.p.). Likewise, as Fryer has posited: "In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thousands of black youngsters were brought to this country against their will as domestic slaves. Other black people came of their own accord and stayed for a while or settled here" (Fryer, [1984] 2018:xvii).¹⁰⁵ What did these people eat and where, and how did they seek to navigate and influence the cross-cultural culinary webbing of the

¹⁰⁵ Fryer specified that he used the term "black people" to refer to "Africans and Asians and their descendants" (Fryer, [1984] 2018:xvii).

eras? Providing a response to such a question and others that concern England's ties with colonialism and imperialism would be a fruitful pursuit, which might seek to decolonise contemporary ideas about 'White' English history and serve as a reminder that Black people, soldiers of the Roman *imperial* army, have had a presence in the land that is now known as 'England' since the third century (Fryer, [1984] 2018).

Turning now to a recommendation that speaks to the contemporary, it is wished that more room could have been devoted to mapping out the historical relations that link this century with the two that preceded it. 8.2 did seek to focus most specifically on themes of cross-cultural interdependence and intolerance. Yet, many other parallels were established that were simply not expounded upon due to space limitations. For example, it is felt that a fascinating topic is the retention, modification, and disappearance of doxic standards relating to service and dining etiquette. That is, unwritten rules that regulated both waiting staff and diners' manners and etiquette when in the dining room. There seems to be much informally recorded ambivalence towards these standards.¹⁰⁶ For example, the Victorian 'napkin on lap' lore is still prevalent, and while women can now drink wine at a restaurant table, they remain unlikely to be given a wine list if out dining with a male companion, and considering attitudes towards such standards would be an interesting pursuit.

Other topics examined in this thesis, such as the tip system, waiting staff's appearance, and employee lodgings, also contain interesting parallels. Yet, a topic that it is felt really needs addressing is the contemporary issues in the hospitality industry. This research needs to take place across the sector in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, but it is worth noting that luxury London restaurants were hit especially hard by Brexit, the points-based system, and the pandemic. The luxury industry, as it did in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, makes a substantial amount of money from those visiting the capital. Gottardello and Karabag, who have pioneered research on this topic in Spain, have observed that "unlike other restaurants...the Michelin-starred segment...is

¹⁰⁶ I have spoken about this with many a friend and colleague in academia and the hospitality industry, and while I cannot reproduce their comments here, the sense of ambivalence many felt about these standards, especially in relation to gender, was quite profound. There is also much grey literature concerning this online in the form of blog posts and forums.

vulnerable to shocks in both the tourism and hospitality sectors” (Gottardello and Karabag, 2022:n.p.). This point was echoed by Coghlan, writing for the B2B publication, *Eater London*, which asserted that *Michelin*-starred restaurants’ reliance on “high-rolling (gastro) tourists” made them acutely vulnerable (Coghlan, 2020:n.p.). Even though COVID-19 travel restrictions and regulations have eased, Brexit, the pandemic, and now the Russo-Ukrainian War have crippled the British economy. As Deloitte have stated: “It’s normal for people to reduce discretionary spending in times of social or economic uncertainty. The COVID-19 crisis also seems to have prompted consumers to re-evaluate their overall spending priorities: many pre-pandemic must-haves are now seen as nice-to-haves – at best” (Deloitte, 2020:4). When people cannot spend the way that they once did, life’s luxuries are the first commodities to be abandoned, and many high-end establishments have already had to permanently close their doors.¹⁰⁷ In consequence, a future of operating with an employee deficit, stock shortages, limited customer spending, and rising energy costs may have a lasting impact that does see the closure of many more grand hotels and luxury restaurants.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ To provide an overview of some of the permanent high-end closures in 2020 alone: Red Rooster at The Curtain, *Michelin*-starred New Yorker chef, Marcus Samuelsson’s first London restaurant, temporary closed in March and is now permanently closed. Likewise, managed by Jason Atherton, with Paul Walsh running the kitchen, The Betterment restaurant at the Biltmore Mayfair also announced closure in March. In May, Siren at The Goring Hotel, and *Michelin*-starred Texture declared closure. Early June saw the closure of two-starred The Ledbury; later in the month, celebrity haunt, Le Caprice, closed, but it is said that this is only ‘temporary’; and then chef Alex Dilling circulated the news that the Greenhouse in Mayfair was closed. In August, twenty-two out of sixty-three *Michelin*-starred London restaurants signed up for the government’s ‘Eat Out to Help Out’ scheme. Yet, the 10pm hospitality curfew, announced in September, started another string of permanent restaurant closures, beginning with Kym’s, the sister restaurant to *Michelin*-starred A. Wong’s. The Conduit, a private members club in Mayfair, which formally employed renowned *Michelin*-starred chef, Merlin Labron-Johnson, was closed down in October. Michel Roux, Jr.’s Roux at Parliament Square; David Muñoz’s StreetXO; Simon Rogan’s Roganic; and Xier were all December casualties.

¹⁰⁸ Located by the British Library, I walk past the Gilbert Scott on my way to City, University of London, and while the decision to let the lease expire in 2021 may not have been due to the industry’s current crisis, there is something melancholic about seeing what was once part of the popular Midland Grand Hotel, which was opened by Queen Victoria in 1873, look so dark and lifeless.

Bibliography

Aberdeen Journal, 'The French Cook and the Stockbroker's Daughter', 1st January 1890, p. 5.

Adorno, T. W. [1941] (2005) 'On Popular Music', in S. Frith and A. Goodwin (eds.) *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, London: Routledge, pp. 256-267.

Adorno, T. W. [1951] (2005) *Minima Moralia*. Trans. from the German by D. Redmond and transcribed by A. Blunden. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1951/mm/index.htm>. Last accessed: 11th August 2022.

Agathocleous, T. (2011) *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century: Visible City, Invisible World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agnew, J. (2021) *The Electric Corset and Other Victorian Miracles: Medical Devices and Treatments from the Golden Age of Quackery*. North Carolina: Exposit.

Albala, K. (2013) 'Introduction', in K. Albala (ed.) *Routledge International Handbook of Food Studies*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. xv-xvi.

Alexander, J. C., Thompson, K. and Desfor Edles, L. [2012] (2016) *Contemporary Introduction to Sociology: Culture and Society in Transition*. 2nd edn. Oxon: Routledge.

Allan, K. (2013) *Explorations in Classical Social Theory: Seeing the Social World*. 3rd edn. California: Sage Publications.

Allan, K. (2014) *The Social Lens: An Invitation to Social and Sociological Theory*. 3rd edn. California: Sage Publications.

Allen, B. [2004] (2006) 'Ritz, César Jean (1850-1918)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, n.p. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48534>.

The American Stranger's Guide to London and Liverpool at Table: How to Dine and Order a Dinner; and Where to Avoid Dining: With Practical Hints to Butlers and Cooks, 4th edn, 1859, London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

Anderson, E. (2019) '*The Hotel de Luxe*': *The Architectural and Social Significance of the 'Grand Hotel' in London 1860-1910*. PhD thesis. University of Oxford. Available at: <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:7d0fcd65-6845-4b22-a2e7-68132836cb19>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.

Andrieu, P. (1956) *Fine Bouche: A History of the Restaurant in France*. Trans. from the French by A. L. Hayward. London: Cassell and Company.

Appadurai, A. (1990) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7(2-3), pp. 295-310. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327690007002017>.

Arnold, T. [1840] (1846) 'To Sir. Culling E. Smith, Bart. Anonymous Writing in Newspapers', in A. P. Stanley (ed.) *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, 2nd American edn., New York: D. Appleton and Company, pp. 360-361.

Assael, B. (2018) *The London Restaurant, 1840-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Auerbach, J. A. (1999) *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*. Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Bagwell, L. S., and Bernheim, B. D. (1996) 'Veblen Effects in a Theory of Conspicuous Consumption', *The American Economic Review*, 86(3), pp. 349-373. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2118201>. Last accessed: 18th July 2022.

A Balanced Glass, 'Mission and Values: Why A Balanced Glass?', 17th March 2021. Available at: <https://abalancedglass.com/the-abg-vision>. Last accessed: 31st August 2022.

Barnett, L. (2002) 'Global Governance and the Evolution of the International Refugee Regime', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 14(2-3), pp. 238-262. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/14.2_and_3.238.

Barr, L. (2018) *Ritz and Escoffier: The Hotelier, the Chef, and Rise of the Leisure Class*. New York: Clarkson Potter.

Basu, A. (2019) *Fitzrovia, The Other Side of Oxford Street: A Social History 1900-1950*. Gloucestershire: The History Press.

Baum, T., Dutton, E., Karimi, S., Kokkranikal, J., Devine, F. and Hearn, N. (2007) 'Cultural Diversity in Hospitality Work', *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 14(3), pp. 229-239. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/13527600710775775>.

Beere, R. (2017) *The Role of Franchising on Industry Evolution: Assessing the Emergence of Franchising and its Impact on Structural Change*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Beetz, J. (2016) *Materiality and Subject in Marxism, (Post-)Structuralism, and Material Semiotics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Benjamin, W. (1935) [2002] 'Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century', in *The Arcades Project*, trans. from the German by H. Eiland and K. McLaughlin, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, pp. 3-13.

Big Hospitality, '2020: Review of the Year in Hospitality', 24th December 2022. Available at: <https://www.bighospitality.co.uk/Article/2020/12/18/2020-the-year-the-UK-hospitality-sector-face-its-biggest-crisis-since-the-second-world-war-Coronavirus>. Last accessed: 11th July 2022.

Billiards, vol. 2, no. 50, 'English Hotels in the Forties', 12th January 1895, p. 7.

Birkin, H., 'Retaining Staff', 5th June 2019. Available at:

<https://www.ukhospitality.org.uk/blogpost/1721400/325437/Retaining-Staff>.

Last accessed: 11th July 2022.

Borkowy, B. and Harris, R., 'Photographic Portraits by Lafayette from the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London', 2007. Available at:

<http://www.rvondeh.dircon.co.uk/vehicles/grey1eng.html>. Last accessed: 19th September 2022.

Bourdieu, P. [1977] (2004) 'The Production of Belief: Contribution to an Economy of Symbolic Goods', trans. by R. Nice, in R. Johnson (ed.) *The Field of Cultural Reproduction: Essays on Art and Literature*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 74-111.

Bourdieu, P. [1983] (1986) 'The Forms of Capital', trans. by R. Nice,¹⁰⁹ in J. G. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, Connecticut: Greenwood, pp. 241-258.

Bourdieu, P. [1984] (2010) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans. from the French by R. Nice. Oxon: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1985) 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', *Theory and Society*, trans. from the French by R. Nice, 14(6), pp. 723-744. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/657373>. Last accessed: 18th July 2022.

Bourdieu, P. (1992) 'Thinking About Limits', trans. from the French by R. Boyne, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 9(1), pp. 37-49. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327692009001003>.

¹⁰⁹ The first version of this chapter was published in German, and it is unclear whether Nice translated the original French version or translated the published German version into English.

- Bourdieu, P. (1994) *Raisons pratiques: Sur la théorie de l'action*. Paris: Seuil.
- Bourdieu, P. [1997] (2000) *Pascalian Meditations*. Trans. from the French by R. Nice. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. [1998] (2001) *Masculine Domination*. Trans. from the French by R. Nice. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J. C. and Passeron, J.-C. [1968] (1983) *Le métier de sociologue: Préalables épistémologiques*. 4th edn. Paris: Mouton.
- Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J. C. and Passeron, J.-C. [1968] (1991) *The Craft of Sociology: Epistemological Preliminaries*. Trans. from the French by R. Nice and ed. by B. Krais. New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Bowden, G. H. (1975) *British Gastronomy: The Rise of the Great British Restaurant*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Brandon, R. [2004] (2005) *The People's Chef: Alexis Soyer, A Life in Seven Courses*. Chichester: Wiley.
- British Hospitality Association, LinkedIn profile, n.d. Available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/company/british-hospitality-association/>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.
- Broomfield, A. (2007) *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History*. Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- Brown, L., Edwards, J. and Hartwell, H. (2010) 'A Taste of the Unfamiliar. Understanding the Meanings Attached to Food by International Postgraduate Students in England', *Appetite*, 54(1), pp. 202-207. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2009.11.001>.

- Brown, L. and Paszkiewicz, I. (2017) 'The Role of Food in the Polish Migrant Adjustment Journey', *Appetite*, 109, pp. 57-65. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2016.11.024>.
- Bryant, J. M. (1994) 'Evidence and Explanation in History and Sociology: Critical Reflections on Goldthorpe's Critique of Historical Sociology', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 45(1), pp. 3-19. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/591521>.
- Bullock, A. (2005) 'Alexis Soyer's Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations', *Gastronomica*, 5(4), pp. 50-59. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2005.5.4.50>.
- Burke, E. [1790] (2004) *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Ed. by C. C. O'Brien. London: Penguin Books.
- Cain, J., 'Euston Grove – History of a London Street NW1', 2007. Available at: <https://profjoecain.net/euston-grove-history-london-street-nw1/>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.
- Calhoun, C. (2001-2002) 'Pierre Bourdieu in Context'. Working paper. Available at: <https://www.scribd.com/document/207152418/Calhoun-Pierre-Bourdieu-in-Context>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.
- Calhoun, C. (2013) 'For the Social History of the Present: Bourdieu as Historical Sociologist', in P. Gorski (ed.) *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp.36-66.
- Campbell, C. (1995) 'Conspicuous Confusion? A Critique of Veblen's Theory of Conspicuous Consumption', *Sociological Theory*, 13(1), pp. 37-47. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/202004>.
- Cannadine, D. [1998] (2000) *Class in Britain*. London: Penguin Books.

Cassell's Household Guide to Every Department of Practical Life: Being a Complete Encyclopædia of Domestic and Social Economy, and Forming a Guide to Every Department of Practical Life (vol. 1) (c. 1880s). London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Casson, W. (1908) *Old-Age Pensions Act, 1908*. 3rd edn. London: C. Knight.
Available at: <https://archive.org/details/oldagepensionsa00britgoog/mode/2up?ref=ol>.
Last accessed: 3rd August 2022.

The Caterer, 'About Us', 5th February 2021. Available at:
<https://www.thecaterer.com/page/aboutus>. Last accessed: 14th August 2022.

The Caterer, 'The Caterer', 2022. Available at: <https://www.thecaterer.com>. Last accessed: 31st August 2022.

The Caterer, vol. 1, (Illustrations of Waiters in Work Attire), 6th April 1878, p. 8.

The Caterer, vol. 1, 'Parisian Waiters', 6th April 1878, p. 8.

The Caterer, vol. 2, 'How We Dine in England', 6th September 1879, p. 123.

Chalaby, J. K. (1994) *The Mediatic Discourse from a Sociological Point of View: From the Fall of the Public Press to the Emergence of the Mediatic Field in England, 1830s-1920s*. PhD thesis. London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London. Available at: <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/1476/>. Last accessed: 11th August 2022.

Chalaby, J. K. (1998) *The Invention of Journalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Charles, N. and Kerr, M. (1986) 'Eating Properly, the Family and State Benefit', *Sociology*, 20(3), pp. 412-429. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42854300>.
Last accessed: 18th July 2022.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Why Not English?', 7th December 1895, p.6.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 2, 'Union Among Chefs', 14th December 1895, p.6.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 4, 'Should Hotel Servants Receive Tips?', 28th December 1895, p.6.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 4, 'Union Among Chefs', 28th December 1895, p.6.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 4, 'Why Not English?', 28th December 1895, p.6.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 8, 'Celebrated Chefs', 25th January 1896, pp. 1-2.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 18, 'A Short History of Cookery', 11th April 1896, p. 2.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 18, 'Union Among Chefs', 11th April 1896, p. 6.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 20, 'Economy in the Kitchen', 25th April 1896, p. 10.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 22, 'Wanted Places', 9th May 1896, p. 14.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 26, 'Editorial Chat', 6th June 1896, p. 9.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 26, 'The New Style', 6th June 1896, p. 10.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 26, 'Waitresses on the Terrace', 6th June 1896, p. 10.

The Chef, vol. 1, no. 32, 'How French Cooks are Trained', 18th July 1896, p. 7.

The Chef, vol. 2, no. 35, 'A Famous Epicure', 8th August 1896, pp. 1-2.

The Chef, vol. 2, no. 37, '*Sauce Piquanté*', 22nd August 1896, p. 5.

The Chef, vol. 2, no. 49, 'Above and Below the Salt', 14th November 1896, p. 6.

The Chef, vol. 2, no. 52, (Chef with *Toque Blanche*), 5th December 1896, p. 3.

The Chef, vol. 2, no. 52, 'The Paris Cookery Exhibition', 5th December 1896, p. 11.

The Chef, vol. 4, no. 84, 'About Waiters', 4th December 1897, p. 7.

The Chef, vol. 5, no. 1, 'Wanted Places', 1st January 1898, p. 10.

The Chef, vol. 5, no. 2, 'Above and Below the Salt', 8th January 1898, p. 13.

The Chef, vol. 5, no. 4, 'Cookery as a Profession', 22nd January 1898, p. 9.

The Chef, vol. 5, no. 5, 'The Good Waiter', 29th January 1898, p. 6.

Cheflike, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Why You Should Join Our Society', 1st October 1908, p. 2.

The City Waiters' Provident Society's Journal, 'City Waiters' Provident Protection Society', December 1867, pp. 1-4.

The City Waiters' Provident Society's Journal, 'City Waiters' Provident Protection Society', March 1868, pp. 1-4.

Civitello, L. [2007] (2008) *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People*. 2nd edn. Hoboken: Wiley.

Clark, T. (2007) *Starbucked: A Double Tall Tale of Caffeine, Commerce, and Culture*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

Clausen, S. E. (1998) *Applied Correspondence Analysis: An Introduction*. California: Sage Publications.

The Clermont, 'Out and About', n.d. Available at:
<https://www.theclermont.co.uk/out-about/Stories-we-could-tell>. Last accessed: 23rd June 2021.

Coghlan, A., 'Not Having Enough Staff Is Still the Biggest Problem for Restaurants', 14th April 2022. Available at: <https://london.eater.com/23013242/staff-shortage-uk-restaurants-covid-19-impact>. Last accessed: 10th July 2022.

Coghlan, A., 'Restaurant Heartbreaker Michelin Says Its Stars Will 'Support' the Industry This Year', 8th September 2020. Available at: <https://london.eater.com/2020/9/8/21426944/michelin-star-restaurants-guide-uk-ireland-announcement-2021>. Last accessed: 24th September 2022.

Cohen, M. (2004) 'Benjamin's Phantasmagoria: The Arcades Project', in D. S. Ferris (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 199-220.

Colbert, B. (2020) 'Raw Productions...Exported in Abundance': Continental Tourism in Satire, 1815-1828', in B. Colbert and L. Morrison (eds.) *Continental Tourism, Travel Writing, and the Consumption of Culture, 1814-1900*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 95-118.

Collingham, L. (2005) *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Conboy, M. [2002] (2003) *The Press and Popular Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Conner, L. I. [1998] (1999) *A Yeats Dictionary: Persons and Places in the Poetry of William Butler Yeats*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Corrigan, P. [1997] (2011) *The Sociology of Consumption*. London: Sage Publications.

Crockett, L. [1996] (2009) *Words of Course: A Book of Vocabularie [sic] from the 16th and 17th Centuries*. 3rd edn. California: Historical Resources.

- Curran, J. and Seaton, J. [1981] (2018) *Power Without Responsibility: Press, Broadcasting and the Internet in Britain*. 8th edn. Oxon: Routledge.
- Currid-Halkett, E. (2017) *The Sum of Small Things: A Theory of the Aspirational Class*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Daily Mail*, 'The Old Waiter's Despair', 25th March 1899, p. 6.
- Daily Telegraph*, 'British and Foreign Waiters', 14th January 1905, p. 7.
- Daily Telegraph*, 'World's Fair – Blondin', 2nd January 1890, p. 1.
- Dalal, T. (2000) *The Complete Italian Cookbook*. Mumbai: Sanjay and Company.
- Das, T. (2009) 'Surface Design of Fabrics for Interior Textiles', in T. Rowe (ed.) *Interior Textiles: Design and Developments*, Oxford: Woodhead Publishing, pp. 91-118.
- Davies, G. (2021) *Addressing Skills and Labour Shortages Post-Brexit*. London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development. Available at: https://www.cipd.co.uk/Images/addressing-skills-labour-shortages-post-brexit_tcm18-102313.pdf. Last accessed: 23rd September 2022.
- Davies, S. (1990) 'Functional and Procedural Definitions of Art', *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 24(2), pp. 99-106. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3332789>.
- Davies, S. (1998) '“Functionalism and Proceduralism”: Art, Definition of', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Taylor and Francis, n.p. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780415249126-M006-1>.
- Davison, R. (2007) 'Friend or Foe: French Émigrés Discover Britain', in K. Hardesty Doig and D. Medlin (eds.) *British-French Exchanges in the Eighteenth Century*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 131-148.

- Deer, C. [2008] (2014) 'Reflexivity', in M. Grenfell (ed.) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, 2nd edn., Oxon: Routledge, pp. 195-210.
- Delahunty, A. and Dignen, S. [2001] (2012) *A Dictionary of Reference and Allusion*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deloitte, 'The Future of Hospitality: Uncovering Opportunities to Recover and Thrive in the New Normal', 2020. Available at:
<https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/ca/Documents/consumer-industrial-products/ca-future-of-hospitality-pov-aoda-en.pdf>. Last accessed: 10th July 2022.
- DeNora, T. (2003) *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dickens, C. [1849-1850] (2016) *David Copperfield*. Available at:
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/766/766-h/766-h.htm>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.
- Dickens, C. and anon. et al [1862] (2005) *Somebody's Luggage*. Available at:
<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1414/1414-h/1414-h.htm>. Last accessed: 14th June 2020.
- Dickens, C., Jr. (1879) *Dickens's Dictionary of London*. Available at:
<http://www.victorianlondon.org/publications/dictionary.htm>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.
- Dizikes, J. (2002) *Sportsmen and Gamesman*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Dolan, P. (2011) 'Civilizing Processes', in D. Southerton (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, California: Sage Publications, pp. 174-177.
- Dolan, P. (2014) 'Figurations', in A. C. Michalos (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 2273-2277.

Dublin Gastronomy Symposium (2022) 'Citation', p. 1. Available at: https://arrow.tudublin.ie/dgs/dgs_fellowships_2022_mennell.pdf. Last accessed: 18th March 2023.

Dunning, M. and Hughes, J. (2020) 'Power, Habitus, and National Character: The Figurational Dynamics of Brexit', *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 45(1), pp. 262-291. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.45.2020.1.262-291>.

Dymond, L. H. (2015) *A Recent History of Recognized Economic Thought: Contributions of the Nobel Laureates to Economic Science*. North Carolina: Lulu Publishing Services.

The Edinburgh Evening News, 'What the Waiters Want', 24th September 1897, p. 4.

Elias, N. [1939] (2000) *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*. Trans. from the German by E. Jephcott and ed. by E. Dunning, J. Goudsblom and S. Mennell. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Elias, N. [1939] (2012) *On the Process of Civilisation: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations. The Collected Works of Norbert Elias* (vol. 3). Trans. from the German by E. Jephcott and ed. by S. Mennell, E. Dunning, J. Goudsblom and R. Kilminster. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Elias, N. [1970] (1978) *What is Sociology?* Trans. from the German by G. Morrissey and S. Mennell. London: Hutchinson.

Elias, N. [1974] (2008) 'Towards a Theory of Community', in R. Kilminster and S. Mennell (eds.) *Essays II: On Civilising Processes, State Formation and National Identity, The Collected Works of Norbert Elias* (vol. 15), Dublin: University College Dublin Press, pp. 119-154.

Elias, N. [1989] (1996) *The Germans: Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Trans. from the German by E. Dunning and S. Mennell, and ed. by M. Schröter. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1986) *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Eller, J. D. (2017) *Social Science and Historical Perspectives: Society, Science, and Ways of Knowing*. Oxon: Routledge.

Elvin, C. N. (1860) *A Hand-Book of Mottoes Borne by the Nobility, Gentry, Cities, Public Companies, &c*. London: Bell and Daldy.

Engler, S. (2005) 'Illusory Equality: The Discipline-Based Anticipatory Socialization of University Students', in L. Chisholm, P. Büchner, H.-H. Krüger and P. Brown (eds.) *Childhood, Youth and Social Change: A Comparative Perspective*, Hampshire: The Falmer Press, pp. 123-131.

The Equiano Centre, 'Black Londoners 1800-1900', c. 2007-2017. Available at: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/drupal/site_equiano-centre/projects/black-londoners-1800-1900. Last accessed: 11th July 2022.

Eyben, R. (2019) '“The Moustache Makes Him More of a Man”: Waiters' Masculinity Struggles, 1890-1910', *History Workshop Journal*, 87, pp. 188-210. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbz008>.

#FairKitchens, 'About #FairKitchens', n.d. Available at: <https://www.fairkitchens.com/en/About.html>. Last accessed: 31st August 2022.

Fallon, S. and Rothschild, M. (2000) *World Food: France*. Melbourne: Lonely Planet.

Feldman, Z. (2021) '“Good Food” in an Instagram Age: Rethinking Hierarchies of Culture, Criticism and Taste', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 24(6), pp. 1340-1359. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494211055733>.

Felluga, D. F. (2015) *Critical Theory: The Key Concepts*. Oxon: Taylor and Francis.

Fennell, C. A. M. (ed.) (1892) *The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases*. Cambridge: C. J. Clay and Sons at the University Press.

Fitzgerald, M. (2011) *Ragged London: The Life of London's Poor*. Gloucestershire: The History Press.

Floud, R., Wachter, K. and Gregory, A. (1990) *Height, Health and History: Nutritional Status in the United Kingdom, 1750-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Friedman, S. (2016) 'Habitus Clivé and the Emotional Imprint of Social Mobility', *The Sociological Review*, 64(1), pp. 129-147. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12280>.

Fryer, P. [1984] (2018) *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto Press.

Galofré-Vilà, G., Hinde, A. and Guntupalli, A. (2017) 'Heights Across the Last 2,000 Years in England'. Working paper. Available at: <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:7a2abc40-b986-47b0-8e5a-b30ff738eb5b>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.

Gardner, C. V. (2013) *Empowerment and Interconnectivity: Towards a Feminist History of Utilitarian Philosophy*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Garratt, L. (2016) 'Using Bourdieusian Scholarship to Understand the Body: Habitus, Hexis and Embodied Cultural Capital', in J. Thatcher, N. Ingram, C. Burke and J. Abrahams (eds.) *Bourdieu: The Next Generation: The Development of Bourdieu's Intellectual Heritage in Contemporary UK Sociology*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 73-87.

Gentempo, P. [2020] (2022) *Your Stand Is Your Brand: How Deciding Who to Be Will Revolutionize Your Business and Change Your Life*. 2nd edn. California: Hay House.

Gillespie, C. [2001] (2011) *European Gastronomy into the 21st Century*. Ed. by J. Cousins. Oxon: Routledge.

Giousmpasoglou, C., Marinakou, E. and Zopiatis, A. (2021) 'Hospitality Managers in Turbulent Times: The COVID-19 Crisis', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 33(4), pp. 1297-1318. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-07-2020-0741>.

The Globe: War Edition, 'Foreign Waiters Exodus', 3rd August 1914, p. 2.

Gordon, J. B. (1993) 'The Key to Dedlock's Gait': Gout as Resistance', in D. Bevan (ed.) *Literature and Sickness*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 25-52.

Gordon, W. C. (ed.) (1887) *The Langham Hotel Guide to London: Prepared for the Use of Visitors*. 6th edn. London: Waterlow and Sons.

Gosha, R., 'CRISPR Gene Editing could Fix Racism', 14th February 2021. Available at: <https://ryangosha.medium.com/crispr-gene-editing-could-fix-racism-d100b03c7bd5>. Last accessed: 31st March 2022.

Gottardello, D. and Karabag, S. F. (2022) 'Crisis Innovation: A Study of Michelin-Starred Restaurants' Strategic Renewal and Alignment', *International Hospitality Review*, ahead of print, n.p. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IHR-03-2022-0010>.

Gottdiener, M. (2000) 'Approaches to Consumption: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives', in M. Gottdiener (ed.) *New Forms of Consumption: Consumers, Culture, and Commodification*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 3-31.

GOV.UK, 'The National Minimum Wage in 2022', 1st April 2022. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-national-minimum-wage-in-2022>. Last accessed: 18th August 2022.

GOV.UK, 'Tips at Work', n.d. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/tips-at-work>. Last accessed: 20th August 2022.

Gray, D. D. (2010) *London's Shadows: The Dark Side of the Victorian City*. London: Continuum International Publishing.

Gref, L. G. (2010) *The Rise and Fall of American Technology*. New York: Algora.

Gregory, M. V. (2003) '“Most Revolting Murder by a Father”: The Violence of Rhetoric of Parent Child-Murder in *The Times* (London), 1826-1849', in J. Thorn (ed.) *Writing British Infanticide: Child-Murder, Gender, and Print, 1722-1859*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, pp. 70-90.

The Grocer, 'About Us', 2022. Available at: <https://www.thegrocer.co.uk/about-us>. Last accessed: 24th September 2022.

Gruenfeld, D. H., Inesi, M. E., Magee, J. C. and Galinsky, A. D. (2008) 'Power and the Objectification of Social Targets', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(1), pp. 111-127. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.111>.

Guimarães. I., Oliveira, E. and Rocha, M. (2010) 'Conspicuous Distinction: A Reading of Veblen and Bourdieu'. Working paper. Available at: <https://ideas.repec.org/p/cap/mpaper/032010.html>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.

Habermas, J. [1962] (1991) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. from the German by T. Burger and F. Lawrence. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Hansard. HC Deb., vol. 94, col. 1323-1324 (7th June 1901) [Electronic version].

Hansard. HC Deb., vol. 118, col. 943 (26th February 1903) [Electronic version].

Hansard. HL Deb., vol. 229, col. 247 (2nd March 1961) [Electronic version].

Harding, G. (2017) ‘‘A Change Comes Over the Spirit of Your Vision’: Champagne in Britain, 1860-1914’, in M. Addyman, L. Wood and C. Yiannitsaros (eds.) *Food, Drink, and the Written Word in Britain, 1820-1945*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 107-134.

Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hatton, S., ‘Northumberland Avenue, WC2’, 12th October 2015. Available at: <https://www.theundergroundmap.com/wp/northumberland-avenue-wc2/>. Last accessed: 25th June 2022.

Hatton, T. J. (2014) ‘How Have Europeans Grown So Tall?’, *Oxford Economic Papers*, 66(2), pp. 349-372. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpt030>.

Heard, C. (2011) *The Suite Life: The Magic and Mystery of Hotel Living*. Ontario: Dundurn.

Hewitt, M. (2014) *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’*. London: Bloomsbury.

Higgs, M. [2007] (2013) *Life in the Victorian and Edwardian Workhouse*. Stroud: The History Press.

Highmore, B. (2008) ‘Alimentary Agents: Food, Cultural Theory and Multiculturalism’, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29(4), pp. 381-398. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860802372337>.

Hill, D. D. [2011] (2022) *History of World Dress and Fashion*. 2nd edn. San Antonio: GeminiDragon Publishing.

Hill, L. (2014) 'Adam Ferguson's Sociology of Emotion', in D. Lemmings and A. Brooks (eds.) *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, New York: Routledge, pp. 119-137.

Himmelweit, S., Simonetti, R. and Trigg, A. (2001) *Microeconomics: Neoclassical and Institutional Perspectives on Economic Behaviour*. London: Thomson Learning.

Holton, R. (1997) 'Bourdieu and Common Sense', *SubStance*, 26(3), pp. 38-52. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3685593>.

Homer, K. (2020) *The Little Book of Gucci*. London: Welbeck.

Hope, A. (2005) *Londoners' Larder: English Cuisine from Chaucer to the Present*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

Hopkins, J. (2012) *Fashion Design: The Complete Guide*. Lausanne: AVA Publishing.

Hopper, C. (2013) *Selling Eating: Restaurant Marketing Beyond the Word 'Delicious'*. Indianapolis: Young and Laramore.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T. W. [1947] (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. Trans. from the German by E. Jephcott and ed. by G. S. Noerr. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Horse and Hound, 'Horse & Hound Celebrates 120 Years', 4th January 2005. Available at: <https://www.horseandhound.co.uk/archives/ihorse-hound-i-celebrates-120-years-60444>. Last accessed: 2nd September 2022.

The Hotel Review, vol. 3, no. 21, 'Catering and Journalism', March 1886, p. 8.

The Hotel Review, vol. 3, no. 24, 'An Hotel-Keepers' Protection Society', June 1886, p. 59.

The Hotel Review, vol. 3, no. 25, 'The News of the Trade', July 1886, p. 70.

The Hotel Review, vol. 3, no. 25, 'The Pillory', July 1886, p. 77.

The Hotel World, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Mine Host Abroad', 4th January 1882, p. 5.

The Hotel World, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Table d'Hote [sic] Gossip', 4th January 1882, pp. 4-5.

The Hotel World, vol. 1, no. 3, 'Vix ea Nostra voco', 18th January 1882, p.1.

The Hotel World, vol. 1, no. 7, 'Mine Ease at Mine Inn', 15th February 1882, p. 3.

The Hotel World, vol. 3, no. 2, 'Hotels – Past and Present', 10th January 1883, p. 6.

The Hotel World, vol. 3, no. 6, untitled, 7th February 1883, p. 4.

The Hotel World, vol. 3, no. 8, untitled, 21st February 1883, p. 4.

The Hotel World, vol. 3, no. 13, untitled, 28th March 1883, p. 4.

Hughes, J. (2017) 'Norbert Elias', in R. Stones (ed.) *Key Sociological Thinkers*, 3rd. edn., London: Palgrave.

Hutton, G., 'Hospitality Industry and Covid-19', 11th May 2022. Available at:
<https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9111/CBP-9111.pdf>.
Last accessed: 11th July 2022.

I Got Your Back, 'The Project', 2022. Available at:
<https://igotyourback.info/#project>. Last accessed: 31st August 2022.

Iacono, A. M. (2016) *The History and Theory of Fetishism*. Trans. from the Italian by V. Tchernichova, M. Boria and E. McDonald. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ioannou, G. and Dukes, R. (2021) 'Anything Goes? Exploring the Limits of Employment Law in UK Hospitality and Catering', *Industrial Relations*, 52(3), pp. 255-269. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/irj.12329>.

Islington Daily Gazette and North London Tribune, 'Suicide of a Waiter', 11th June, p.2.

Jacobsen, M. H. (2020) 'Introduction: In Times of Nostalgia: The Brave New World of a Grand Old Emotion', in M. H. Jacobsen (ed.) *Nostalgia Now: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on the Past in the Present*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 1-28.

Jamal, A. (1998) 'Food Consumption Among Ethnic Minorities: The Case of British-Pakistanis in Bradford, UK', *British Food Journal*, 100(5), pp. 221-227. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/00070709810221436>.

James, K. (2002) *Escoffier: The King of Chefs*. London: Hambledon and London.

Johnson, S. [1755] (1827) *A Dictionary of the English Language* (vol. 2), 2nd edn., ed. by H. J. Todd. London: Printed for Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown and Green.

Jones, D. G. B. and Tadajewski, M. (eds.) (2016) *The Routledge Companion to Marketing History*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Kaestle, C. F. (1988) 'The History of Literature and the History of Readers', in E. R. Kintgen, B. M. Kroll and M. Rose (eds.) *Perspectives on Literacy*, Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, pp. 95-126.

Kennedy, J. (2008) 'Anonymity', in P. J. Lavrakas (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*, California: Sage Publications, pp. 27-28.

Kershen, A. J. (2003) 'Immigrants, Sojourners and Refugees: Minority Groups in Britain, 1900-1939', in C. Wrigley (ed.) *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 135-151.

Khan, M. A. [1991] (2015) *Restaurant Franchising: Concepts, Regulations, and Practices*. 3rd edn. Toronto: Apple Academic Press.

King, A. and Plunkett, J. (2004) 'Introduction', in A. King and J. Plunkett (eds.) *Popular Print Media, 1820-1900* (vol. 1), Oxon: Routledge, pp. 1-21.

Kollnitz, A. (2013) 'The Devil of Fashion: Women, Fashion and the Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century-German and Swedish Cultural Magazines', in J. H. Hancock, T. Johnson-Woods and V. Karaminas (eds.) *Fashion in Popular Culture: Literature, Media and Contemporary Studies*, Bristol: Intellect, pp. 225-242.

Kotschevar, L. H. and Withrow, D. (2008) *Study Guide to Accompany Management by Menu*. 4th edn. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons.

Lane, J. F. (2000) *Pierre Bourdieu: A Critical Introduction*. London: Pluto Press.

Langley, L. (1994) 'Music', in J. D. Vann and R. T. VanArsdel (eds.) *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 99-126.

Łastowiecka-Moras, E. (2020) 'Standing and Sitting Postures at Work and Symptoms of Venous Insufficiency – Results from Questionnaires and a Doppler Ultrasound Study', *International Journal of Occupational Safety and Ergonomics*, 27(4), pp. 963-969. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803548.2020.1834232>.

Law, A. (2015) *Social Theory for Today: Making Sense of Social Worlds*. London: Sage Publications.

Lazzari, M. and Schlesier, D. [2005] (2012) *Exploring Art: A Global Thematic Approach*. 4th edn. Boston: Wadsworth.

Leavitt, S. A. (2002) *From Catharine Beecher to Martha Stewart: A Cultural History of Domestic Advice*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

The Leeds Mercury, 'The Abuse of 'Tips'', 11th February 1890, p. 8.

Lemire, D. (2013) 'A Historiographical Survey of Literacy in Britain between 1780 and 1830', *Constellations*, 4(1), pp. 248-261. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.29173/cons18862>.

Leppington, C. H. D'E., 'Work and Wages in Hotels and Restaurants', in *Good Words*, 33, January 1892, pp. 754-758.

Linklater, A. and Mennell, S. (2010) 'Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations – An Overview and Assessment', *History and Theory*, 49(3), pp. 384-411. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40864499>. Last accessed: 24th July 2022.

The Little Mermaid (1989) Written and directed by J. Musker and R. Clements. California: Walt Disney Pictures.

Lloyd's Weekly News, 'Waiter's Despair', 10th September 1905, p. 23.

Lo, Y. T., Jusoh, A., Mardani, A. and Streimikiene, D. (2018) 'Restaurant Branding Matters: A Quantitative Report on How Brand Image Can Moderate Relationship', *Journal of International Studies*, 11(4), pp. 270-281. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.14254/2071-8330.2018/11-4/19>.

London Evening Standard, 'Hotels and the New Tax', 30th June 1909, p. 5.

The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette, 'An unsere Leser', 31st May 1890, p. 1.

The London Hotel and Restaurant Employés Gazette, 'The German Waiter', 6th September 1890, pp. 1-2.

Loyal, S. (2004) 'Elias on Class and Stratification', in S. Loyal and S. Quilley (eds.) *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 122-141.

Lucas, R. and Mansfield, S. (2010) 'The Use of Migrant Labour in the Hospitality Sector: Current and Future Implications', in M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds.) *Who Needs Migrant Workers?: Labour Shortages, Immigration, and Public Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 159-186.

Mac Con Iomaire, M. (2009) *The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: An Oral History*. PhD thesis. Technological University Dublin. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21427/D79K7H>.

Macfarlane, G. J., Thomas, E., Papageorgiou, A. C., Croft, P. R., Jayson, M. I. and Silman, A. J. (1997) 'Employment and Physical Work Activities as Predictors of Future Low Back Pain', *Spine*, 22(10), pp. 1143-1149. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1097/00007632-199705150-00015>.

MacVeigh, J. (2009) *International Cuisine*. New York: Cengage Learning.

Mahar, C., Harker, R. and Wilkes, C. (1990) 'The Basic Theoretical Position', in R. Harker, C. Mahar and C. Wilkes (eds.) *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practice of Theory*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-25.

Mansey, C. J. (2019) 'A Defence of Historical Sociology', *Sentio*, 1(1), pp. 30-35. Available at: <https://sentiojournal.uk/issues/issue-1-validity/>. Last accessed: 24th July 2022.

Marron, M. B. (2020) *Misogyny and Media in the Age of Trump*. London: Lexington Books.

Mars, G. and Nicod, M. (1984) *The Worlds of Waiters*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Mars, V. (2013) 'Experiencing French Cookery in Nineteenth-Century London', in D. Kelly and M. Cornick (eds.) *A History of the French in London: Liberty, Equality, Opportunity*, London: University of London Press, pp. 217-240.

Marx, K. [1844] (2009) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. Trans. from the German by M. Milligan, revised by D. J. Struik, transcribed by A. Blunden, proofed and corrected by M. Carmody. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/preface.htm>. Last accessed: 9th August 2022.

Marx, K. [1867] (1990) *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (vol. 1). Trans. from the German by B. Fowkes. New York: Penguin.

Marx, K. [1867] (2015) *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (vol. 1). Trans. from the German by S. Moore and E. Aveling, ed. by F. Engels, transcribed by Zodiac [sic], H. Kuhls, A. Thurrott, B. McDorman, B. Schultz and M. Gimenez, proofed by A. Blunden, C. Clayton, M. Harris and D. Allinson. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf>. Last accessed: 9th August 2022.

Maslow, A. H. (1943) 'A Theory of Human Motivation', *Psychological Review*, 50(4), pp. 370-396. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0054346>.

Mason, L. (2004) *Food Culture in Great Britain*. London: Greenwood Press.

McAllister, J., 'Government Closes Door on 'Low-Skilled' EU Migrants', 9th February 2020. Available at: <https://www.bighospitality.co.uk/Article/2020/02/19/Government-closes-door-on-low-skilled-EU-migrants>. Last accessed: 24th September 2022.

McCulloch, J. (2002) 'Health Risks Associated with Prolonged Standing', *Work*, 19(2), pp. 201-205. Available at: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12454452/>. Last accessed: 18th July 2022.

McDowell, L. (2010) 'The Use of Migrant Labour in the Hospitality Sector: A Commentary', in M. Ruhs and B. Anderson (eds.) *Who Needs Migrant Workers?:*

Labour Shortages, Immigration, and Public Policy, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 187-191.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2007) 'Division, Segmentation, and Interpellation: The Embodied Labors of Migrant Workers in a Greater London Hotel', *Economic Geography*, 83(1), pp. 1-25. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-8287.2007.tb00331.x>.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2009) 'Precarious Work and Economic Migration: Emerging Immigrant Divisions of Labour in Greater London's Service Sector', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(1), pp. 3-25. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00831.x>.

McGovern, C. (2006) *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

McKay, J. (2013) *The Magazines Handbook*. Oxon: Routledge.

McNeil, P. and Riello, G. (2005) 'The Art and Science of Walking: Gender, Space and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 9(2), pp. 175-204. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2752/136270405778051338>.

Medley, K. I. M. and Lesser, E. (1911) *An Inquiry into the Waiter's Calling*. London: Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Agency.

Mennell, S. (1980) 'Time and Taboo, Civilisation and Science: The Work of Norbert Elias', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 11(2), pp. 83-95. Available at: <https://www.anthro.ox.ac.uk/jaso-1980-1985#collapse393541>. Last accessed: 22nd July 2022.

Mennell, S. [1985] (1996) *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Mennell, S. (2014) 'Indigestion in the Long Nineteenth Century: Aspects of English Taste and Anxiety, 1800-1950', in J. A. Klein and A. Murcott (eds.) *Food Consumption in Global Perspective: Essays in the Anthropology of Food in Honour of Jack Goody*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 135-158.

Mennell, S. (2015a) 'Civilising Offensive and Decivilising Processes: Between the Emic and the Etic', *Civilising Offensives*, 4(1), n.p. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.11217607.0004.109>. Last accessed: 22nd July 2022.

Mennell, S. (2015b) 'Sociogenesis and Psychogenesis: Norbert Elias's Historical Social Psychology as a Research Tradition in Comparative Sociology', *Comparative Sociology*, 14(4), pp. 548-564. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15691330-12341357>.

Michelli, J. A. (2008) *The New Gold Standard: 5 Leadership Principles for Creating a Legendary Customer Experience Courtesy of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mille, R., 'Nice: The Mythical City', in *The Rotarian*, vol. 166, no. 1, January 1995, pp. 20-23.

Miller Dickson, M. (2020) 'On Waiters and Writers: Views of Authorship in Charles Dickens's 'Somebody's Luggage'', *Criterion: A Journal of Literary Criticism*, 13(1), pp. 73-82. Available at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/criterion/vol13/iss1/10>. Last accessed: 22nd July 2022.

Milne-Smith, A. (2006) 'A Flight of Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914', *The Journal of British Studies*, 45(4), pp. 796-818. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/505958>.

Ministry of Defence, 'The Old War Office Building: A History', July 2001. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/49055/old_war_office_build.pdf. Last accessed: 24th July 2022.

Mitchell, S. (1996) *Daily Life in Victorian England*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Montanari, M. (2013) *Italian Identity in the Kitchen, or Food and the Nation*. Trans. from the Italian by B. A. Brombert. New York: Columbia University Press.

Moon, A., 'Victorian Office Moves', 19th January 2015. Available at: <https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2015/01/victorian-office-moves.html>. Last accessed: 23rd September 2021.

Moor, L. (2007) *The Rise of Brands*. Oxford: Berg.

Moore, A. (2018) 'Toward a Central Theory of Childhood Sexuality: A Relational Approach', in S. Lamb and J. Gilbert (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Sexual Development: Childhood and Adolescence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35-53.

Morgan, J. L. (2006) *Culinary Creation: An Introduction to Foodservice and World Cuisine*. Massachusetts: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Morrison, K. A. (ed.) (2018) *Companion to Victorian Popular Fiction*. North Carolina: McFarland and Company.

Morrison, R. D. and Murphy, B. L. (2013) *Chlorinated Solvents: A Forensic Evaluation*. Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry.

Morse, J. M. (2010) '“Cherry Picking”: Writing From Thin Data', *Qualitative Health Research*, 20(1), p. 3. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732309354285>.

The Motor Car Journal, vol. 11, untitled, 1909, p. 450.

Mungovan, T. J. (2013) 'Amongst Our First and Best Members' or 'The Disappear of the Trade Union Official'? *Immigrant Involvement in the British Trade Union*

Movement, 1865-1901. MA thesis. University of Leiden. Available at: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/21552>. Last accessed: 22nd August 2022.

Musgrave, E., 'Commemorating 135 Years of Drapers', 5th August 2022. Available at: <https://www.drapersonline.com/insight/analysis/commemorating-135-years-of-drapers>. Last accessed: 2nd September 2022.

Nealon, J. T. (2012) *Post-Postmodernism: Or, the Cultural Logic of Just-in-Time Capitalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Negi, J. (2008) *Fundamentals of Culinary Art (Theory and Practice of Cooking)*, New Delhi: S. Chand.

Nelson, N. and King, J. R. (2022) 'Discourse Synthesis: Textual Transformations in Writing from Sources', *Reading and Writing*, 36, pp. 769-808. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-021-10243-5>.

Network Rail, 'The History of London Cannon Street Station', 2022. Available at: <https://www.networkrail.co.uk/who-we-are/our-history/iconic-infrastructure/the-history-of-london-cannon-street-station/>. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.

Newnham-Davis, N. (1899) *Dinner and Diners: Where and How to Dine in London*. London: Grant Richards. Available at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/53079>. Last accessed: 11th September 2022.

Newnham-Davis, N. (1899) *Dinner and Diners: Where and How to Dine in London*. London: Grant Richards. Available at: <https://www.victorianlondon.org/publications2/dinners.htm>. Last accessed: 11th September 2022.

Newnham-Davis, N. (1908) *The Gourmet's Guide to Europe*. 2nd edn. New York: Brentano's. Available at: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Gourmet_s_Guide_to_Europe/yC52zhxq6mQC?hl=en&gbpv=0. Last accessed: 4th August 2022.

Nicholson, M. (1987) 'Food and Power: Homer, Carroll, Atwood and Others', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 20(3), pp. 37-55. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24778824>. Last accessed: 22nd July 2022.

Norbert Elias Foundation, 'Jason Hughes: Researching the Human Society', 2019. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=coW8RitkWQA&t=1634s>. Last accessed: 19th March 2023.

O'Donoghue, J., Goulding, L. and Allen, G. (2004) 'Consumer Price Inflation since 1750', *ONS: Economic Trends*, 604, pp. 38-46. Available at: <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ukgwa/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/elmr/economic-trends--discontinued-/no--604--march-2004/consumer-price-inflation-since-1750.pdf>. Last accessed: 28th August 2022.

Oestreich, J. (2011) 'Knights of the Napkin: Waiters as Class-Enforcers in David Copperfield', *Victorians Institute Journal Annex*, 39, n.p. Available at: https://nines.org/exhibits/Knights_of_the_Napkin_Waiters. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.

ONS, 'Average Actual Weekly Hours of Work for Full-Time Workers (Seasonally Adjusted)', 16th August 2022. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/timeseries/ybuy/lms>. Last accessed: 18th August 2022.

ONS, 'Chefs in London and the UK, 2009 to 2017', 11th January 2019. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/adhocs/009492chefsindelondonandtheuk2009to2017>. Last accessed 31st August 2023.

ONS, 'VACS02: Vacancies by Industry', 16th August 2022. Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peoplenotinwork/unemployment/datasets/vacanciesbyindustryvacs02>. Last accessed: 31st August 2022.

Our Own Circular, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Situations Wanted', 2nd July 1898, p. 4.

Pall Mall Gazette, 'English Versus Foreign Waiters', 10th October 1889, p. 7.

Pall Mall Gazette, 'Exodus of Foreign Waiters, 1st August 1914, p. 4.

Panayi, P. (1995) *German Immigrants in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914*. Oxford: Berg.

Panayi, P. (2008) *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food*. London: Reaktion Books.

Panayi, P. and Manz, S. (2013) 'The Rise and Fall of Germans in the British Hospitality Industry, c. 1880-1920', *Food and History*, 11(2), pp. 243-266. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.FOOD.5.102112>.

Papilloud, C. and Schultza, E.-M. (2018) 'Pierre Bourdieu and Relational Sociology', in F. Dépelteau (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology*, Cham: Springer Nature, pp. 343-356.

Pardon, G. F. (1862) *Routledge's Popular Guide to London and its Suburbs*. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge.

Parkhurst Ferguson, P. (1998) 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-Century France', *American Journal of Sociology*, 104(3), pp. 597-641. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/210082>.

Parkhurst Ferguson, P. (2004) *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Paulle, B., B. van Heerikhuizen and M. Emirbayer (2012) 'Elias and Bourdieu', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 12(1), pp. 69-93. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X11433708>.

Pazzaglia, G. and Margolis E. (2008) 'Cultural Capital', in V. N. Parrillo (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Social Problems*, California: Sage Publications, pp. 185-186.

Pepperell, N. (2016) 'The Unease with Civilization: Norbert Elias and the Violence of the Civilizing Process', *Thesis Eleven*, 137(1), pp. 3-21. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513616638480>.

Perkin, H. (1990) *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*. London: Routledge.

Polák, M. (2013) *Class, Surplus, and the Division of Labour: A Post-Marxian Exploration*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Porter, B. (1984) 'Bureau and Barrack': Early Victorian Attitudes Towards the Continent', *Victorian Studies*, 27(4), pp. 407-433. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3826902>. Last accessed: 24th July 2022.

Prasch, T. (2008) 'Eating the World: London in 1851', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36(2), pp. 587-602. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1060150308080352>.

Pratt, J. [2005] (2012) 'Explaining the History of Punishment', in B. S. Godfrey and G. Dunstall (eds.) *Crime and Empire 1840-1940: Criminal Justice in Local and Global Context*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 25-42.

Prestwich, P. E. (2002) Review of 'The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture', by R. Spang. *Canadian Journal of History*, 37(1), p. 130. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3138/cjh.37.1.130>.

Punch, or the London Charivari, vol. 15, no. 364, 'The Model Waiter', July to December 1848, p. 103. Available at: <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Punch/zP8CAAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0>. Last accessed: 4th August 2022.

Punch, or the London Charivari, vol. 103, 'An Evening From Home', July to December 1892, p. 264. Available at:
<https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Punch/uGcPAQAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq>. Last accessed: 17th August 2022.

Raymond, J. [1999] (2002) 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century', in J. Raymond (ed.) *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, London: Frank Cass, pp. 109-140.

The Restaurant, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Foreign Waiters in London', August 1909, p. 6.¹¹⁰

The Restaurant, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Waiters – German and English', August 1909, p. 18.

The Restaurant, vol. 1, no. 2, 'Business Management', September 1909, p. 34.

The Restaurant, vol. 1, no. 2, 'For the Benefit of Italian Waiters', September 1909, p. 35.

The Restaurant, vol. 1, no. 3, 'English and Foreign Waiters', October 1909, p. 70.

The Restaurant, vol. 1, no. 5, 'The British Waiters [sic] Society', December 1909, p. 116.

The Restaurant, vol. 2, no. 7, 'The International Caterers', February 1910, p. 149.

The Restaurant, vol. 2, no. 7, 'The International Caterers', February 1910, p. 154.

The Restaurant, vol. 2, no. 7, 'Tax the Foreign Waiters', February 1910, p. 150.

¹¹⁰ The number of *The Restaurant* did not 'reset' with each new volume, i.e., if the number of the journal is '33', regardless of volume, this would be the thirty-third edition of the journal to be printed. Copies of the journals have also been collated, and therefore page numbering reflects those provided in the collated edition, and not those provided in the original publications.

The Restaurant, vol. 2, no. 14, 'A Ridiculous Society', September 1910, p. 324.

The Restaurant, vol. 2, no. 17, 'The British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction', December 1910, p. 119.

The Restaurant, vol. 4, no. 32, 'Hotel Tips', March 1912, p. 121.

The Restaurant, vol. 4, no. 33, 'Chefs in the Making', April 1912, p. 200.

The Restaurant, vol. 4, no. 36, 'Beware, this Summer Time!: How to Become a Waiter in One Hour', July 1912, p. 400.

The Restaurateur, vol. 1, no. 1, (British Youths at the School of Instruction Taking 'Lessons in Trimming Salts, Cruets, Etc.' and 'Serviette Folding'), March 1912, p. 17.

The Restaurateur, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Culinary Terms', March 1912, pp. 20-21.

The Restaurateur, vol. 1, no. 1, 'Reasons Why Every Britisher Should Patronize and Support the Loyal British Waiters' Society and School of Instruction', March 1912, p. 18

The Restaurateur, vol. 1, no. 1, 'School of Instruction: Available for British Youths', March 1912, p. 16.

The Restaurateur, vol. 1, no. 10, 'Imitation, the Sincerest Form of Flattery: Waiters' School Opened in Paris', January 1913, p. 17.

The Restaurateur, vol. 1, no. 10, (Lesson at the Waiters' School in Paris), January 1913, p. 17.

Reynolds, D. (2013) *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the Twentieth Century*. Oxon: Routledge.

Ritzer, G. (1998) *The McDonaldization Thesis: Explorations and Extensions*. London: Sage Publications.

Ritzer, G. (2001) *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos*. London: Sage Publications.

Roberts, J. R. H. and Godfrey, W. H. (eds.) (1949), 'Euston Station and Railway Works', in *Survey of London (vol. 21): The Parish of St. Pancras (part 3): Tottenham Court Road and Neighbourhood*, pp. 107-114. Available at: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol21/pt3>. Last accessed: 23rd September 2021.

Robinson, S. (2018) *Networked New Radical Divides: How Power and Privilege Shape Public Discourse in Progressive Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rollock, N. (2014) 'Race, Class and 'The Harmony of Dispositions'', *Sociology*, 48(3), pp. 445-451. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038514521716>.

Roux, M. (2000) *Life is a Menu: Reminiscences and Recipes from a Master Chef*. London: Constable.

Rubin, I. I. [1928] (2008) *Essays on Marx's Theory of Value: I. Marx's Theory of Commodity Fetishism*. Translated from the Russian 3rd edn. by M. Samardžija and F. Perlman. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/rubin/value/>. Last accessed: 24th July 2022.

Rykwert, J. [1977] (2009) 'On Strata in the Kitchen, or the Archaeology of Tasting', in J. Kuper (ed.) *The Anthropologists' Cookbook*, revised edn., Oxon: Routledge, pp. 58-66.

Salgado, S. and Nienstedt, H.-W. (2016) 'Euro Crisis and Plurality: Does the Political Orientation of Newspapers Determine the Selection and Spin of Information?', *European Journal of Communication*, 31(4), pp. 462-478. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116659977>.

Sanabria-Díaz, J. M., Aguiar-Quintana, T. and Araujo-Cabrera, Y. (2021) 'Public Strategies to Rescue the Hospitality Industry Following the Impact of COVID-19: A Case Study of the European Union', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 97, pp. 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2021.102988>.

Santos, A. R. D. and Mansey, C. J. (2022) 'Latin America in the *Chef's Table*: An Analysis of Gender Inequalities in Netflix's Documentary Series', *Anthropology of Food*, 17, pp. 106-125. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4000/aof.13328>.

Saunders, K. C. (1981) *The Social Stigma of Occupations: The Lower Grade Worker in Service Organisations*. Farnborough: Gower.

Savigny, H. (2020) *Cultural Sexism: The Politics of Feminist Rage in the #MeToo Era*. Bristol: Bristol University Press.

Schudson, M. [2003] (2016), 'The New Journalism', in D. Crowley and P. Heyer (eds.), *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society*, 6th edn., Oxon: Routledge, pp. 111-118.

Scott, C. (c. 1900) *How They Dined Us in 1860 and How They Dine Us Now*. London: The Trocadero.

Scott, J. and Marshall, G. [1994] (2009) *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seagrave, K. (1998) *Tipping: An American Social History of Gratuities*. Jefferson: McFarland Press.

Shakespeare, W. [1602] (1918) *The Shakespeare Apocrypha: Being a Collection of Fourteen Plays Which Have Been Ascribed to Shakespeare*. Ed. by C. F. Tucker Brooke. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Shattock, J. and Wolff, M. (1982) 'Introduction', in J. Shattock and M. Wolff (eds.) *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, pp. xiii-xix.

Shore, E. (2007) 'Dining Out: The Development of the Restaurant', in P. Freedman (ed.) *Food: The History of Taste*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 301-332.

Simmons, S. and Vries, M. K. (2010) 'Envy Me? The Rise and Fall of Gucci', in De Wit, B. and Meyer, R. (eds.) *Strategy: Process, Content, Context*, 4th edn., Hampshire: Cengage Learning, pp. 693-701.

The Simpsons, season 11, episode 9, 'Gift of the Magi', written by T. Martin and directed by M. Nastuk, 19th December 1999, New York: Fox.

Sinclair, T. R. and Sinclair, C. J. (2010) *Bread, Beer and the Seeds of Change: Agriculture's Imprint on World History*. Wallingford: Cabi.

Skipper, L. (2017) 'The Evolution of Wallpaper Interior Design Schemes in a Commercial Setting: The Interiors of the St Pancras Renaissance Hotel (Midland Grand Hotel), London 1870s-1980s', *Journal of Design History*, 30(3), pp. 315-334. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epw039>.

Sluis, A. (2016) *Deco Body, Deco City: Female Spectacle and Modernity in Mexico City, 1900-1939*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Smith, D. B. (2001) 'Home Economics Education', in M. Forman-Brunell (ed.) *Girlhood in America: An Encyclopedia* (vol. 1), Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, p. 362-367.

Spang, R. L. (2000) *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Spang, R. L., 'The Napoleonic Era and the Restaurant Expansion', interview by CitiesX, 19th January 2018. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNiOHzuSo_Q. Last accessed: 23rd July 2022.

Spindler, M. (2002) *Veblen and Modern America: Revolutionary Iconoclast*. London: Pluto Press.

Spivey, N. N. [1992] (2019) 'Discourse Synthesis: Creating Texts from Texts', in J. R. Hayes, R. E. Young, M. L. Matchett, M. McCaffrey, C. Cochran and T. Hajduk (eds.) *Reading Empirical Research Studies: The Rhetoric of Research*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 469-509.

St. James' Gazette, 'Waiters', 11th April 1891, p. 12.

Stephens, W. B. (1990) 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', *History of Education Quarterly*, 30(4), pp. 545-571. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/368946>.

Stormonth, J. (1874) *Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. Pronunciation revised by P. H. Phelp. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons.

Swaine, G. (2021) *London's Historic Railway Terminal Stations: An Illustrated History*. Philadelphia: Pen and Sword Transport.

Swartz, D. (1997) *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Symons, M. [1998] (2004) *A History of Cooks and Cooking*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

The Tablet, 'Waiters Who Will Wait for Reform No Longer', 18th August 1900, p. 239.

Tan, T. (2008) *CultureShock! Great Britain: A Survival Guide to Customs and Etiquette*. New York: Marshall Cavendish.

Tannahill, R. [1973] (1988) *Food in History*. Revised edn. London: Penguin.

Taylor, D. (1996) 'Cesar Ritz and Auguste Escoffier vs the Savoy Hotel Company', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 15(1), pp. 29-39. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0278-4319\(95\)00054-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0278-4319(95)00054-2).

Taylor, D. and Quest, M. (2007) *Hospitality a Portrait: The British Hospitality Association, 1907-2007*, London: British Hospitality Association.

The Telegraphic Journal and Electric Review, vol. 12, no. 279, 'The Ronalds Electric Telegraph', 31st March 1883, p. 264.

Terkel, S. [1972] (2004) *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do*. New York: The New Press.

Thomson, P. [2008] (2014) 'Field', in M. Grenfell (ed.) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, 2nd edn., Oxon: Routledge, pp. 65-82.

Thorne Thorne [sic], R. (1888) *On the Progress of Preventive Medicine During the Victorian Era: Being the Inaugural Address Delivered Before the Epidemiological Society of London, Session 1887-88*. London: Shaw and Sons.

Thurley, D., 'Old Age Pensions Act 1908', 12th August 2008. Available at: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN04817/SN04817.pdf>. Last accessed: 3rd August 2022.

Tickletooth, T. (1860) *The Dinner Question*. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. Available at: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/mq4etbz3/items?canvas=3>. Last accessed: 23rd September 2021.

Tosh, J. (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. London: Yale University Press.

Tosh, J. (2002) 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12, pp. 455-472. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440102000191>.

Townley, B. (2015) 'Exploring Different Forms of Capitals: Researching Capitals in the Field of Cultural and Creative Industries', in A. Tatli, M. Özbilgin and M. Karatas-Özkan (eds.) *Pierre Bourdieu, Organisation, and Management*, New York: Routledge, pp. 187-206.

Trainor, T. (2012) *Victorian London Slums and the Seven Dials*. North Carolina: Lulu Publishing Services.

Trask, L. (2009) *Why Do Languages Change?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trigg, A. B. (2001) 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption', *Journal of Economic Issues*, 35(1), pp. 99-115. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00213624.2001.11506342>.

Trubek, A. (2000) *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

TUC Report, 'Waiters and Fair Wages', 1898. Available at: <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=6001468&reftable=ecatalogue&refirn=6001401>. Last accessed: 22nd August 2022.

UKHospitality, 'Record Staff Shortages Causing Hospitality to Lose £21bn in Trade', 23rd June 2022. Available at: <https://www.ukhospitality.org.uk/news/609344/Record-staff-shortages-causing-hospitality-to-lose-21bn-in-trade.htm>. Last accessed: 18th July 2022.

UKHospitality, 'The UK's Hospitality Workforce Strategy: Fixing the Crisis', May 2022. Available at: <https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.ukhospitality.org.uk/resource/resmgr/2022/documents/campaigns/workforcestrategy/ukhworkforcestrategy.pdf>. Last accessed: 11th July 2022.

Urquhart, C. (2013) *Grounded Theory for Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide*. London: Sage Publications.

Vacca, C. S. (2004) *Reform Against Nature: Woman Suffrage and the Rethinking of American Citizenship, 1840-1920*. New York: Peter Lang.

Van den Berghe, P. L. [1981] (1987) *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. Connecticut: Praeger.

Van den Eeckhout, P. (2015) 'Waiters, Waitresses, and their Tips in Western Europe before World War I', *International Review of Social History*, 60(3), pp. 349-378. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859015000504>.

Van Heerikhuizen, B., '8.7 Figurational Processes', lecture by the University of Amsterdam, 4th August 2015. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4xgnqWhxILE>. Last accessed: 25th July 2022.

Van Krieken, R. (1998) *Norbert Elias*. London: Routledge.

Vandenberghe, F. (1999) 'The Real is Relational': An Epistemological Analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's Generative Structuralism', *Sociological Theory*, 17(1), pp. 32-67. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2751.00064>.

Vandenberghe, F., 'Critical Realism and Pierre Bourdieu's Generative Structuralism', webinar by the Critical Realism Network, 7th September 2016. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2D5J6PamTvg>. Last accessed: 18th July 2021.

Vander Hook, S. (2010) *Trail of Tears*. Edina: ABDO.

Vann, J. D. and VanArsdel, R. T. (1994) 'Introduction', in J. D. Vann and R. T. VanArsdel (eds.) *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 3-8.

Veblen, T. [1899] (1922) *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: B.W. Huebsch. Available at: http://files.libertyfund.org/files/1657/1291_Bk.pdf. Last accessed 30th March 2022.

Vincent, A. (2018) 'Shaping Tastes: Authority Versus Democracy and Professionals Versus Amateurs', *Dublin Gastronomy Symposium: Food and Power*, pp. 1-7. Available at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/dgs/2018/May29/2/>. Last accessed: 11th July 2022.

Wäckerle, M. (2014) *The Foundations of Evolutionary Institutional Economics: Generic Institutionalism*. Oxon: Routledge.

Wagar, W. (2004) *H. G. Wells: Traversing Time*. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

The Waiters' Record, no. 1, 'Waiters' Grievances', February 1900, p. 2.

The Waiters' Record, no. 2, (Paul Vogel, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Waiters' Society), March 1900, p. 2.

The Waiters' Record, no. 3, 'Correspondence', April 1900, p. 3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 3, 'Made in Germany', April 1900, pp. 2-3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 6 [sic],¹¹¹ 'What We Demand', August 1900, pp. 1-2.

The Waiters' Record, no. 8, 'Waiters' Wants and How to Get Them', September 1900, pp. 2-3.

¹¹¹ This was actually the seventh number of the publication.

The Waiters' Record, no. 9, 'What the 'Sun' Says', October 1900, p. 3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 12, 'Insulting Treatment of a Waiter', January 1901, p. 3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 16, 'Notes by the Secretary', May 1901, p. 3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 16, 'The Paul Vogel Fund: Financial Report', May 1901, p. 2.

The Waiters' Record, no. 17, 'The Long Hours of Barmaids', June 1901, p. 2.

The Waiters' Record, no. 18, 'Waiters' Tips', July 1901, p. 3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 18, 'Which Restaurant Managers Should Read', July 1901, p. 3.

The Waiters' Record, no. 19, 'Notes and Comments', August 1901, p. 1.

The Waiters' Record, no. 20 and 21, 'Waiters and the Holborn Restaurant', September and October 1901, p. 3.

Walton, W. (2001) Review of 'The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture', by R. Spang. *The Business History Review*, 75(2), pp. 361-363. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3116651>.

Warde, A. (2006) 'Cultural Capital and the Place of Sport', *Cultural Trends*, 15(2-3), pp. 107-122. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548960600712827>.

Waters, T. R., and Dick, R. B. (2015) 'Evidence of Health Risks Associated with Prolonged Standing at Work and Intervention Effectiveness', *Rehabilitation Nursing Journal*, 40(3), pp. 148-165. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/rnj.166>.

Webster, I., 'UK Composite Price Index Values Since 1750', 12th January 2017. Available at: <https://www.officialdata.org/articles/uk-composite-price-index-values-since-1750/>. Last accessed: 3rd August 2022.

Wells, H. G. (1904) *The Food of the Gods*. London: Macmillan.

Wildes, V. J. (2005) 'Stigma in Food Service Work: How it Affects Restaurant Servers' Intention to Stay in the Business or Recommend a Job to Another', *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 5(3), pp. 213-233. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.thr.6040022>.

William Reed, 'Who We Are', 2022. Available at: <https://www.william-reed.com/who-we-are/>. Last accessed: 24th September 2022.

Williams, K. [1998] (2006) *Get Me A Murder A Day!: A History of Mass Communication in Britain*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Wilson, L. (2001) Review of 'The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture', by R. Spang. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 31(4), pp. 640-641. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/206877>. Last accessed: 24th July 2022.

Wiseman, N. P. S. (1853) *Essays on Various Subjects* (vol. 1). London: C. Dolman. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/essaysonvarious01wiseiala>. Last accessed: 14th July 2022.

Wohl, A. S. [1977] (2017) *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London*. Oxon: Routledge.

Wood, R. C. (1992) *Working in Hotels and Catering*. London: Routledge.

Wood, R. C. (1993) 'Status and Hotel and Catering Work: Theoretical Dimensions and Practical Implications', *Hospitality Research Journal*, 16(3), pp. 3-15. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/109634809301600302>.

Wright, R. [2015] (2016) ‘‘Now We’re Musicians’’: Using Bourdieu’s Concepts of Habitus, Capital and Field to Analyse Informal Learning in Canadian Music Education’, in P. Burnard, Y. H. Trulsson and J. Söderman (eds.) *Bourdieu and the Sociology of Music Education*, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 79-98.

Young, P. (2008) ‘The Cooking Animal: Economic Man at the Great Exhibition’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36(2), pp. 569-586. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1060150308080340>.

Zachrel, K. A. (2008) *Modern Consumption: Restaurant and Café Culture in the Art of Manet and Degas*. MA thesis. University of Missouri-Kansas City. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/openview/384917bae7aa3f31fe732b5396ab6043/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750>. Last accessed: 10th August 2022.

Zimmerman, E. (1996) *The Boundaries of Fiction: History and the 18th-Century British Novel*. New York: Cornell University Press.