Litera: Dil, Edebiyat ve Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi
Litera: Journal of Language, Literature and Culture Studies

Litera 2021; 31(1): 19-41
DOI: 10.26650/LITERA2020-868450

Research Article

"It's all the Same What I Eat": Jane Austen's Dietary Philosophy

Po-Yu Rick WEI[1]

[1]Assist. Prof., Wenzhou University, School of Foreign Studies, Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, China

ORCID: PY.R.W. 0000-0003-3615-0943

Corresponding author:
Po-Yu Rick WEI,
Wenzhou University, School of Foreign Studies, Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province, China
E-mail: tmac0101t@gmail.com

Submitted: 26.01.2021
Revision Requested: 03.04.2021
Last Revision Received: 05.04.2021
Accepted: 04.05.2021

Citation: Wei, PY.R. (2021). "It's all the same what I eat": Jane Austen's dietary philosophy. *Litera, 31*(1), 19-41. https://doi.org/10.26650/LITERA2020-868450

ABSTRACT

Jane Austen's novels invite various studies from different disciplines, and the eating motif catches critical attention. Furthermore, while cultural study reconstructs eighteenth-century recipes and dining habits, it also reminds readers that the consumption of food in Austen's novels has literary and philosophical significance. This study examines Austen's food allusions and eating passages in her novels, and it finds that from *Juvenilia* (1787-1793) to *Persuasion* (1818) Austen gradually develops her dietary philosophy on eating by giving food and food consumption ethical values, arguing that Austen's treatment of eating and food in her novels corresponds to eighteenth-century philosophical ideas towards eating. The first part of the study focuses on eating and morality. The study examines eighteenth-century English philosophical ideas about eating from John Locke (1632-1704), Anthony Ashley Cooper The Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), and David Hume (1711-1776), and it reviews recent studies on Austen's food plots, emphasizing the importance of food imagery and allusions in the novels. The second part examines Austen's food jokes in her juvenile writing, finding that in these earlier works she satirizes irrational dietary habits such as excessive eating and drinking. The final part of the study examines food passages and food consumers in her mature, complete novels. Here the suggestion is made that in Austen's long novels food is given symbolic meaning and that moral significance is attributed to eating manners and food preferences. An analysis of food imagery and consumption in Austen's works reveals that her preference for plain and modest food corresponds to the teaching of philosophers and moralists of her time and highlights the novelist's preference for moral and decent characters.

Keywords: Jane Austen, dietary philosophy, eighteenth-century philosophy, eighteenth-century English literature, food consumption

Introduction

Jane Austen is an eighteenth-century novelist known for writing about women, romance, and marriage; however, in her works Austen also deals with motifs from daily life, and a close examination of her surviving correspondence shows that she bases most of her plots on the observation of her world. For example, writing to her brother Francis Austen on 25 September 1813, Jane Austen closely records food prices in the market:

> Rostock Market makes one's mouth water, our cheapest Butcher's meat is double the price of theirs;—nothing under 9d all this summer, & I believe upon recollection nothing under 10d,— Bread has sunk & is likely to sink more, which we hope may make Meat sink too. But I have no occasion to think of the price of Bread or of Meat where I am now;—let me shake off vulgar cares & confirm to the happy Indifference of East Kent wealth. (Le Faye, 2014, p. 239-239)

In keeping with her correspondence in general, this letter demonstrates Austen's careful and sensitive observation of the world around her. What makes this letter unique is the rare allusion to the writer's emotion triggered by foodstuff, which "makes one's mouth water." However, almost immediately Austen notices that too much information about the cost of bread and meat can be trivial and bothersome; they are "vulgar cares" after all. The allusion to food in this letter suggests the writer's ambiguous attitude towards food, for Austen is aware of the importance of food and eating, but at the same time, she also senses that too many details might be disturbing. The way Austen talks about food indicates her consistent concern of diet and ethics, as her more positive characters pay less attention to eating and are less obsessed with food.

This study explores Jane Austen's dietary philosophy and treatment of food consumption. By examining allusions to food and eating in her juvenile writings and six complete novels, the study finds that in Austen's early works she makes fun with food, but in her later mature works, Austen explores food's symbolic meaning and gradually develops her ethics of eating. Tracing the allusions of food and eating from *Juvenilia* to *Persuasion*, it is also arguable that Austen's treatment of food corresponds with the development of eighteenth-century philosophy on the topic of food, in which philosophical discussion centers on the consumption of food as a demonstration of

manner, reasoning ability, civilization, and morality. When forming their ideas, contemporary philosophers such as John Locke, Anthony Ashley Cooper The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, and David Hume all talk about the treatment of food as an important medium of human intelligence and virtue. Hub Zwart writes that "whereas ancient dietetics was basically a *private* morality, in recent times the importance of the *social* dimension of food ethics was recognized" (Zwart, 2000, p. 114). This study likewise aims to show how food seasons Austen's novels both symbolically and morally. An analysis of Austen's opinions on food in her novels, therefore, reveals the novelist's dietary ethics that celebrate a plain, decent, and moderate taste.

Food, Morality, Austen

Food consumption provides daily nutrition and pleasure while eating habits and customs indicate the eater's moral and ethical values. As Stephen Mennell explains in *All Manners of Food,* the notion of applying morality to eating began at least in pre-modern England, where as early as the sixteenth century a plethora of cookery books were published and new cooking techniques were invented (Mennell, 1996, p.83). Together with this advancement in culinary art England witnessed changes in people's taste, in their ideas towards health, and in the propriety of what and how to eat. Eighteenth-century moralists shared the idea that excessive eating is dangerous and vulgar. Wetenhall Wilkes[1] writes that there is "nothing more brutish than Gluttony, nothing more unmanly than Drunkness" (Wilkes, 1741, p. 81), while Charles Allen[2] warns his female readers that the luxury of eating is "a despicable selfish vice in men, but in your sex it is beyond expression indelicate and disgusting" (Allen, 1760, p. 39). Similar to contemporary moral lectures, Enlightenment English philosophical meditations emphasize the practice of reason and manner, and as philosophers celebrate the full exploration of men's intelligent ability as well as the balance between reason and emotion, they also believe that proper food choices and eating habits are beneficial to the development of reasoning ability. John Locke, for example, in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) elaborates that children are rational creatures, and reasonable thoughts and talks guarantee their reasoning power. Children in Locke's opinion "understand [reason] as early as they do language; and, if I mis-observe

1 Wetenhall Wilkes (1706-1751) was an English writer and poet. Most of Wilkes's works, including *A Letter of a Genteel Advice to a Young Lady*, deal with theology with a conservative attitude.

2 Charles Allen (c.1728-1792) was an English conduct book writer. His *The Polite Lady, or a Course of Female Education* contributes greatly to modern understanding of eighteenth-century female pedagogy and gender.

not, they love to be treated as rational creatures, sooner than is imagined" (Locke, 2017). In order to make children rational creatures, the adults must be reasonable models first, therefore "[t]he reasons that move them, must be obvious, and level to their thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say) be felt, and touched" (Locke, 2017). To Locke, what and how to eat play important roles in the building of men's character, and in *Some Thoughts* he opposes too much drinking and too many meals and celebrates one or two plain meals a day for children. Locke's opinions on dining may contradict the modern idea about nutrition, but as his real concern is education, the ultimate aim of taking plain diets is to cultivate mature individuals. If both men's body and character can be disciplined through eating, *Some Thoughts* is both a parenting manual and a piece of advice to adults. Similarly, Shaftesbury distinguishes men from other creatures by the former's ability to reason. Shaftesbury in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions* (1711) believes that vulgar people who do not use reason well only "live by their daily search after food and their applications either toward the business of their livelihood or the affairs of their species or kind" (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 213). Shaftesbury continues to explain that the failure to govern one's appetite indicates immaturity and avarice:

> If any one of these creatures be taken out of his natural laborious state and placed amid such a plenty as can profusely administer to all his appetites and wants, it may be observed that, as his circumstances grow thus luxuriant, his temper and passions have the same growth. (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 213)

Accordingly, Shaftesbury also celebrates a plain, natural dining habit that meets human nature, as the "satisfaction of the natural appetite, in a plain way, are infinitely beyond the indulgences of the most refined and elegant luxury" (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 220). The pursuit of fancy food and pleasure betray humanity and men's natural sensation: "It is plain that, by urging nature, forcing the appetite and inciting sense, the keenness of the natural sensations is lost" (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 220). In other words, it is against human nature to pursue too much sensational pleasure.

Empirical philosophers like Locke and Shaftesbury do not oppose human appetite, rather, they recognize the necessity of eating but only encourage a modest dietary satisfaction. An analogous idea of avoiding extremity corresponds to David Hume's teaching in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748), in which Hume

celebrates neural humanity that balances a philosophical meditation and a vulgar, ignorant attitude:

> The most perfect character is supposed to lie between those extremes; retaining an equal ability and taste for books, company, and business; preserving in conversation that discernment and delicacy which arise from polite letters; and in business, that probity and accuracy which are the natural result of a just philosophy. (Hume, 2007, p. 5)

To Hume, a complete and mature individual is the one who develops an easy manner and can apply noble sentiments to all aspects of life. Like Locke and Shaftesbury, Hume approves that being natural is good for men, and the pursuit of the extreme can be dangerous and anti-human. In *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), Hume again holds that appetites are natural, and the passion for food guarantees sensual pleasure:

> There are bodily wants or appetites, acknowledged by every one, which necessarily precede all sensual enjoyment, and carry us directly to seek possession of the object. Thus, hunger and thirst have eating and drinking for their end; and from the gratification of these primary appetites arises a pleasure, which may become the object of another species of desire or inclination, that is secondary and interested. (Hume, 1983, p. 92)

Hume equates the desire for food with the pursuit of fame or glory, elevating the basic bodily need to human satisfaction or achievement. Although Hume is a food epicurean, like Locke and Shaftesbury, he also recognizes the importance of human appetite and approves a proper one.[3] Enjoying good food is not a crime for Hume, and the important message is that, for eighteenth-century philosophers, the propriety of eating is essential to the development of intellect and reason. As this study will explore later, Austen also applies the idea of moderation to her dietary ethics in her novels.

If eating has a philosophical connection with the development of reason and intellect, it becomes more concerned about human manners. In his influential study,

3 In *The Life of David Hume*, Ernest C. Mossner identifies Hume's fondness for "a large and well-prepared meal, for good drink (claret or port), and for the conviviality that good food and good drink in the proper proportions inspire—the witty anecdote, the spicy story, the friendly raillery, the practical joke" (Mossner, 1980, p. 28).

The Civilizing Process, Norbert Elias argues that human beings share a common belief that particular behaviors indeed arouse unpleasant feelings. To remedy the sense of unpleasantness and the possible causes of such reactions, society as a group voluntarily devises regulations and guidelines as steps toward refined manners. The capability of civilizing themselves, according to Elias, is testified by the invention of etiquette at the table. The complexity of eating indicates one's daily necessities, uniqueness of taste, and social life: "Nothing in table manners is self-evident or the product, as it were, of a 'natural' feeling of delicacy" (Elias, 1994, p. 92). The endowment of moral and social significance to eating enables human beings to distinguish themselves from other living creatures. Massimo Montanari elaborates this idea and suggests that in order to distinguish a civilized society from a barbarian one, three key factors about food are especially emphasized: "conviviality; the kind of food consumed; and the art of cooking and dietary regimens" (Montanari, 1999, p. 69). It is also through new approaches to cooking that human beings fix the uncivilized aspect: "Cooking techniques, seasonings, and ways of combining food and drinks—these were all seen as being opportunities to 'correct' nature" (Montanari, 1999, p. 76). Since the equation of morality with manners is a critical progress of civilization, the civilized society sees itself different from one that is careless to the contents and manners of eating. Paying more attention to how one behaves requires the consideration of one's moral value and conduct. Daniela Romagnoli has explained that it is difficult to imagine "a code of good manners, however superficial it might be, that does not depend, albeit indirectly, on a series of moral choices" (Romagnolia, 1999, p. 328), thus ethics and etiquette see themselves in each other. Morality accompanies good manners, and the historical development of table manners especially marks "the gradual abandonment of both indiscrimination behavior and openly exhibited physicality" (Romagnolia, 1999, p. 332). Eating habits and food choices distinguish human beings from animals, whose animalistic instincts do not guarantee a refined culture, manner, and ethical values. Accordingly, while food is given material and economic values, one's treatment of food and eating determines one's manner, even deportment. Marijke Van der Veen's study shows that the elevation of food from a daily necessity to luxurious products makes people think of food in a new perspective, and "[g]luttony became vulgar, and obesity, from begin a sign of the wealthy and the powerful, was deemed a characteristic of lower classes" (Van der Veen, 2003, p. 413). The establishment of etiquette regarding food consumption is therefore a slow progress of civilization that begins with the revolution of food choices and dining habits. Like any writer sensitive enough to the significance of food and eating, Jane Austen also

applies moral and ethical values to the act of eating and at the same time demonstrates her dietary philosophy.

Critics have established that food and eating play minor but by no means insignificant roles in Austen's novels. Maggie Lane in *Jane Austen and Food*, for example, examines Austen's culinary and dietary motifs from academic perspectives. Introducing eighteenth-century people's dining habits, the preparation of meals, housework, and domestic economy, Lane also argues that food is never innocent in Austen's novels: "[i]t is almost always in dialogue or reported or free indirect speech that a specific food is mentioned" (Lane, 1995, p. xi-xii). Lane holds that in Austen's plots, food highlights one's taste, integrity, and maturity, and food becomes "a symbol to suggest some quality about a person or situation that is all the more profound for not being spelled out" (Lane, 1995, p. 140). Food bespeaks Austen's moral concerns, and it is through the discussion of foodstuff that Austen endows trivial objects with meanings and characters with ethical judgments. The study of Austen's eating passages refuses to take the food imagery and consumption at face value. It points to the fact that food appears in Austen's novels for reasons, holding that foodstuff relates both to one's individual economic and social status as well as personal virtues.

Austen's allusion to food also corresponds with the plot's progression or the novel's moral message. Lisa Hopkins focuses on food in *Emma* (1815) and argues that the consumption and serving of food as gifts signify the heroine's journey to maturity and maternity. Food in *Emma*, as Hopkins identifies, also clarifies social attitudes and financial status (Hopkins, 1998, p. 63). Food bespeaks not only one's background but also one's position within society. Randi Pahlau holds that in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) Austen's treatment of food resembles her knowledge of Christian hospitality, and in this novel, Austen uses food and eating passages to assess her characters' morality. Pahlau explains that both accepting and offering food in Austen's time have religious meanings since food "has always been irretrievably linked to hospitality, also prominent in scriptural teachings. The gifts of hospitality, such as food, drink, and shelter, are obtained from the natural world of agriculture and animals" (Pahlau, 2019, p. 49). As a result, in *Pride and Prejudice,* Mr. Darcy's family estate Pemberley exhibits ideal Christian hospitality and stewardship, reflecting "the intimacy Adam and Eve experienced before the Fall and are extended to the nonhuman world as well" (Pahlau, 2019, p. 53). Reading the religious significance of food suggests the elevation of material culture and the widening of the novel's interpretation.

Not every critic sees food's underlying meaning in Austen's novels. In *The Food Plot in the Nineteenth-Century British Novel*, Michael Parrish Lee points out an antagonism between the "food plot" and the "marriage plot" in nineteenth-century English novels. Lee proposes that Austen has a preference for marriage over food, and the focus on matrimony makes the food passages only part of the background with little importance. Adopting Malthusian theory concerning population control, sexual desire, and food supply, Lee detects "the possibility of appetite overtaking desire as the driving force of narrative and selfhood" (Lee, 2016, p. 7). Lee also sees a contradiction between sexuality and eating in Austen's novels as well as the novelist's preference for characters with the potential to enter marriage above characters who care about nothing but their appetite:

> The marriage plot remains stable so long as meals and eating stay subordinated as background and benign narrative structure and do not in themselves become the focus of interest. Similarly, the characters who people this plot remain psychologically complex only when they continue to participate without interest in the culinary rituals that serve as the most persistent textual remainders of bodily necessity. (Lee, 2016, p. 23)

Accordingly, characters who stay in the food plot are treated as part of the background that provides the main characters with enough space to explore their matrimonial interest. Lee also recognizes that characters obsessed with eating are psychologically flat, even childish, in Austen's novels.[4] In addition, Austen's food-based characters may endanger the building of romance either by equalizing matrimonial feeling to eating, such as Mrs. Jennings in *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), or by dismissing both eating and marriage as insignificant and unnecessary, such as Mr. Woodhouse in *Emma* (Lee, 2016, p. 39-42). To Lee, Austen is one of the nineteenth-century English authors who consolidates "the Anglophone novelistic social as a field of sexuality with a sexualized model of subjectivity and a sexualized narrative telos" (Lee, 2016, p. 42). In short, Austen makes a clear distinction between eating and romance, and in her novels the obvious indifference to food-based characters indicates the novelist's reluctance to give eating significant meaning.

Lee is correct in seeing that Austen's positive heroes and heroines show less interest in eating; however, to see food as merely an uninteresting or casual throwaway is to

4 The only exception is Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park* because her appetite is decided by reading rather than actual eating (Lee, 2016, p. 35).

underestimate the delicacy of Austen's artistic arrangement. It is also a fallacy to read the marriage plot and food plot as two contradictory ideas because food in effect supports marriage by showing the characters who and what they are. Treating Austen completely as a nineteenth-century novelist further suggests anachronism, since in her novels one reads eighteenth-century, even classical, legacies; she is the product of the Enlightenment after all. The way Austen sees food consumption, as this essay will demonstrate, echoes eighteenth-century philosophers' discussion of dietary ethics. Reading Austen's treatment of food plots along with opinions from Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hume shows that it is not indifference but a decent dietary philosophy that promises Austen's positive characters their ideal marriages. From her earliest writings to her mature works, Austen explores human integrity by the recognition of food's complexity, and she gradually develops a dietary philosophy based on the principles of temperance, moderation, and decency.

The Food Jokes in *Juvenilia*

To young Austen, food is the source of many jokes and sarcasm. In Austen's biography Claire Tomalin points out that since her youth Austen was familiar with jokes about food, such as "drunken quarrels, and characters [who] are found 'dead drunken,' or actually die of drink" (Tomalin, 1999, p. 32). To Austen, food "is funny in itself and by association" (Tomalin, 1999, p. 32) and contributes to her early senses of humor. Tomalin is correct in suggesting that food-related jokes constitute a sarcastic tone in Austen's juvenile writing, as young Austen usually takes a mocking stance to her characters' treatment of food, especially excessive eating and drinking. In "Jack and Alice," the heroine Alice Johnson comes from a family "a little addicted to the Bottle and the Dice" (Austen, 2006, p. 14). We soon learn that this is a sarcastic statement because Alice's father is called "a drunken old Dog" (Austen, 2006, p. 28) and her brother Jack's drinking leads to his early death. Even Alice is often "heated by wine" (Austen, 2006, p. 17) and has "too great a relish for her Claret" (*J* 20). Alice's drinking problem turns her into a disgrace, and Lady Williams warns her that "when a person is in Liquor, there is no answering for what they may do" (Austen, 2006, p. 21). Lady Williams admits that Alice is a good girl, but "Sobriety is not one of [her virtues]. The whole Family [is] indeed a sad drunken set" (Austen, 2006, p. 26). Young Austen sees drinking problems in a farcical way, and Austen's attitude towards alcohol remains ambiguous due to the absence of a serious accusation against alcoholism. For young Austen, the drinking problem is less a crime than is a blemish of virtue.

Too much drinking is usually paired with gluttony.[5] Austen in her juvenile writing has noticed the ridiculousness of over-eating, reminding her readers that gluttony violates the ancient Christian doctrine. In the unfinished epistolary novel "Lesley Castle," Miss Charlotte Lutterell's folly is highlighted by her obsession with food. Ignoring the sudden death of her sister's fiancé, Charlotte's primary concern is the food at the wedding: "why what in the name of Heaven will become of all the Victuals! We shall never be able to eat it while it is good. However, we'll call in the Surgeon to help us" (Austen, 2006, p. 146). She and her mother "agreed that the best thing we could do was to begin eating them immediately, and accordingly we ordered up the cold Ham and Fowls, and instantly began our Devouring Plan on them with great Alacrity" (Austen, 2006, p. 147). Charlotte arouses laughter and horror because her reaction to the tragedy is merciless. Gluttony here carries more than the idea of greed and insatiability; it speaks of cruelty as well as the indifference to humanity. The indulgence in food is not escapism but intentional harm to those who suffer. Austen also lampooned romantic characters by starting a philosophical discussion about provisions. Edward in "Love and Freindship" controverts his sister's accusation against his imprudent marriage by suggesting that love conquers all the obstacles. Edward challenges his sister: "[D]ost thou then imagine that there is no other support for an exalted Mind (such as is my Laura's) than the mean and indelicate employment of Eating and Drinking?" (Austen, 2006, p. 111) The sister answers coldly: "None that I know of, so efficacious" (Austen, 2006, p. 111). Here Austen mocks the sentimentalism that celebrates the passionate enthusiasm but belittles the earthly, practical human need, and it also indicates that Austen does not overlook the importance of food, instead, she develops an awareness of food's significance in her early writing stage. Food also embodies hospitality in a traditional sense. In "Evelyn", Mrs. Webb welcomes the stranger Mr. Gower with a substantial feast (Austen, 2006, p. 232), and later the Webbs present Mr. Gower with their house and give him their daughter in marriage. Food here excites benevolence and hospitality, and Mrs. Webb offers Mr. Gower chocolate, a relatively expensive drink in the eighteenth century, which further implies her fortune and generosity. Food therefore responds to specific episodes and characters, playing tiny yet important roles that garnish the plots.

Whether they are discussed sarcastically or seriously, food passages in Austen's juvenile writing serve as a preparation for a deeper discussion of eating manners and

5 Gluttony is considered not necessarily a virtue but at least an exhibition of manliness in eighteenth-century England, and it is only at the turn of the century that the quality of food gains more importance than how much one can devour (Murray, 1998, p.167-169).

food preferences in her mature works, and the similar characters who are obsessed with eating or the unpleasant eating hours will all return as ridicule in Austen's later novels. Food in Austen's juvenile works shows that if Austen has yet to understand food's depth, she at least is aware of its special role in daily lives. Food appears in satirical pieces and at farcical moments; however, besides jokes and humor, Austen also endows food with depth and significance. In her mature and complete novels, Austen characterizes her men and women with the help of food allusions. It is in her long and complete novels that Austen attributes the discussion of food consumption to characters with a sense of morality or vulgar behavior.

Food's Symbolic Meaning

In her earlier complete novels, Austen elaborates the relationship between food and characters, and she begins to explore food's symbolic meaning. In *Pride and Prejudice*, it is to be noticed that food sometimes bespeaks class or cultural differences. Mr. Darcy's wealth reminds other characters of excessive drinking, as can be seen when one young Lucas boy says that if he were as rich as Mr. Darcy: "[he] would keep a pack of foxhounds, and drink a bottle of wine everyday" (Austen, 2007, p. 34). Upon this speech Mrs. Bennet immediately retorts: "'Then you would drink a great deal more than you ought…… and if I were to see you at it I should take away your bottle directly'" (Austen, 2007, p. 34). The passage humorously portrays lower class people's misconception about rich people because it is an eighteenth-century myth that the privileged class easily abandon themselves to excess drinking and amusement. Austen here is careful enough to perceive the foodstuff's economic status. Austen also knows how to use food's social and cultural meaning to strengthen her plot and character building. In *Pride and Prejudice*, Mr. Bingley talks about the white soup, a French dish that manifests his wealth and rising social status, that he plans to serve at Netherfield ball (Austen, 2007, p. 100). Similarly, Mr. Hurst who "lived only to eat, drink, and play at cards" (Austen, 2007, p. 62) has a special preference for ragout, a fancy French stewed meat that underscores Mr. Hurst's snobbishness and shallowness. As Lane has noticed, white soup and ragout are fashionable and fancy dishes that usually appear at the privileged class's table, and they may imply Austen's patriotism and sarcasm of the pursuit of French taste (Lane, 1995, p. 56; p. 151). Locke in *Some Thoughts* writes that having too much fine food such as ragout may ignite gluttony and improper desires (Locke, 2017), and the mention of ragout by Austen further highlights the delicate relationship among class snobbishness,

economy, and food choice.[6] Also, by linking a minor but vulgar character to food with French background, Austen very likely shows her political opinion of and her attitude towards French culture.[7] The way one treats or arranges food further suggests a certain degree of integrity and principle. In Elizabeth's second visit to Pemberley, she is treated with substantial food, including "cold meat, cake, and variety of all the finest fruits in season…and the beautiful pyramids of grapes, nectarines, and peaches" (Austen, 2007, p. 488). The passage shows not only the host's hospitality but also his cautiousness in life. Lane points out the symbolic significance in this passage by saying, "pyramids of fruit are symbolic of the rigid social pyramid which the love between Elizabeth and Mr. Darcy must find the will to topple" (Lane, 1995, p. 146). While Lane's interpretation focuses on the social structure that the romance based on social gap needs to break, the pyramids of fruits can also symbolically suggest the firm and stable affection that Elizabeth and Mr. Darcy will develop. Accordingly, food with specific cultural background constitutes Austen's realism for the plot's details, and food also offers symbolic and multilayered interpretations. Whether it is white soup, ragout, or simple fruits, Austen reasonably incorporates them in the novel and endows them with moral or symbolic meanings.

Food imagery and eating passages are not Austen's casual arrangements, and it is through the specific mentioning of food that Austen enriches the plot and characters. In *Sense and Sensibility*, Austen characterizes Mrs. Jennings as being one of the wealthy and friendly but plain type of people who often use food to express deeper feelings. Expecting Colonel Brandon and Marianne's possible union, Mrs. Jennings shows her relief: "One shoulder of mutton, you know, drives another down. If we *can* but put Willoughby out of her head!" (Austen, 2011, p. 364-366). The proverb "one shoulder of mutton drives another down" means that eating only makes one hungrier, and Mrs. Jennings's comparison of appetite to romance speaks of her practical personality. Lee is right to argue that Mrs. Jennings "regards people's hidden depth as equivalently romantic and gastronomic" (Lee, 2016, p. 41), but the allusion to mutton seasons the plot because it serves as comic relief to Marianne's forgone state and a prediction to

6 There is a tradition for eighteenth-century English intellectuals to use ragout to mock foreign culture and taste. For example, Henry Fielding in *Tom Jones* refers to "ragoo" as "the high *French* and *Italian* Seasoning of Affection and Vice which Courts and Cities afford" (Fielding, 1973, p. 27). Shaftesbury also writes that in order to be fashionable, English cooks "have run into the more savory way of learned ragout and medley" (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 386).

7 Warren Roberts in *Jane Austen and French Revolution* holds that due to the horror of the French Revolution, as well as her identification with Burkean philosophy and Toryism, Austen may experience Francophobia due to French Revolution and Napoleon Wars (Roberts, 1995, p. 46).

her future. Talking about food all the time, Mrs. Jennings, who stays in the food plot, in effect encourages the advance of the marriage plot and differentiates herself from marriage plot characters, making the readers sympathize with marital-based characters. The proverb about the shoulder of mutton proves that Austen knows the cultural meaning of food as well as the effect that the mention of food will achieve. Even though Austen's characters are ignorant of food's latent meaning and are sometimes embarrassed by the allusion of food, Austen is fully aware of food's other meanings and she intends to make them significant. Taking good care of the Dashwood sisters on their journey to London, Mrs. Jennings "was solicitous on every occasion for their ease and enjoyment, and only disturbed that she could not make them choose their dinners at the inn, nor extort a confession of their preferring salmon to cod, or boiled fowls to veal cutlets" (Austen, 2011, p. 296). According to Lee, this is where the food plot interferes with the marriage plot as the Dashwood sisters are confused and even annoyed. However, this substantial dinner implies several important messages that not only highlight the characters' images but also reflect the struggle of romance between Marianne and Willoughby. As fish is unaffordable to most of Austen's contemporaries, salmon emphasizes Mrs. Jennings's wealth. The salmon may also remind Marianne of her lovesickness because this is the kind of fish that has a hard life only for propagation. According to Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, a female salmon is "[e]xhausted from her journey and starving, for she has not eaten since leaving the sea, she deposits her eggs from this spawning ground, and the equally exhausted male ones fertilize them" (Toussaint-Samat, 2009, p. 275). If it is too bold to suggest that Marianne is like the female salmon that struggles for propagation, her journey to London in search of Willoughby nevertheless echoes the female salmon's difficult life. Mrs. Jennings is unlikely to catch the connotation of the salmon, but the Dashwood sisters' current situation is indeed coded in the reluctance to make choices for the dinner.

In *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*, two of Austen's earliest complete novels, Austen weaves food's symbolic meaning with her plots. Austen pays close attention to food's cultural and social background, and she is aware of the symbolic meaning of specific food and therefore the mentioning of food and the eating passages are not purposeless. The food plots spice the marriage plot up, and the two novels together emphasize that characters interested in appetite may sometimes act as foils to characters pursuing romance. Austen's early awareness of the importance of food is testified by the fact that she captures the symbolic meaning of food and adopts them to the novels which are rendered interesting.

Food and Ethics

As previously mentioned, Austen in her letter notices that too much mention of food is only a vulgar obsession. The references to food in Austen's earlier novels such as *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* further point out that food is not without symbolic meaning. Equally obvious is that the indifference to food indicates one's ethical judgement. In her later complete novels, such as *Emma*, *Mansfield Park* (1814), and *Northanger Abbey* (1818), Austen talks about a variety of foods with high frequency, and food mentioned in plots corresponds to characters' sense of morality and taste. In other words, food choices and diet preferences have ethical purposes in these novels. Even though food imagery fades out from Austen's last complete work *Persuasion*, as there are no detailed dining plots in this novel, its symbolic and moral function remains.

Emma can be regarded as the best example for its embroidery of foodstuff references in conversation and plots. Different kinds of foods, such as formal meals, sweets, fruit, drinks, and supper, appear properly in ceremonies and gatherings to accompany the eaters, and the novel also contains more detailed descriptions of dining. In this novel, Austen also uses food to stress the characters' lack of intelligence or morality. *Emma* follows John Locke's idea that the purpose of eating is to satisfy the basic need but not to flaunt. Locke in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) suggests that doing good, like taking food, is innate in human nature:

> Let a man be ever so well persuaded of the advantages of virtue, that it is as necessary to a man who has any great aims in this world, or hopes in the next, as food to life: yet until he hungers or thirsts after righteousness, until he feels an uneasiness in the want of it, his will will not be determined to any action in pursuit of this confessed greater good; but any other uneasiness he feels in himself, shall take place, and carry his will to other actions. (Locke, 2017)

Locke does not devalue morality and virtue, instead, he elevates eating by linking it to the drive to do good. This explains the dietary philosophy of most of Austen's positive characters, for although she does not endow her positive characters with gluttonous tendencies, she never regards eating as entirely base or low. For Austen, the purpose of eating is not to display wealth or satisfy sensual pleasure, and particular treatment and objection to food might as well be reprehensible. At the beginning of

Emma, Mr. Woodhouse disapproves of eating too much wedding-cake, however ironically, his protest is based on bodily rather than ethical concerns: "His own stomach could bear nothing rich, and he could never believe other people to be different from himself. What was unwholesome to him, he regarded as unfit for any body" (Austen, 2012, p. 28). Mr. Woodhouse's protest against too much eating does not characterize him as a wise old man; instead, he fails the readers' expectation of morality in eating. Paying too much attention to his guests' food, Mr. Woodhouse also prevents the intellectual conversation from happening:

> Mrs. Bates, let me propose your venturing on one of these eggs. An egg boiled very soft is not unwholesome. Serle understands boiling an egg better than any body. I would not recommend an egg boiled by any body else – but you need not be afraid – they are very small, you see – one of our small eggs will not hurt you. Miss Bates, let Emma help you to a *little* bit of tart – a *very* little bit. Ours are all apple tarts. You need not be afraid of unwholesome preserves here. I do not advise the custard. Mrs. Goddard, what say you to *half* a glass of wine? A *small* half glass – put into a tumbler of water? I do not think it could disagree with you. (Austen, 2012, p. 40)

Here Mr. Woodhouse is unaware of his contradictions. As he wants to show hospitality, he also intervenes overly much. Maggie Lane instead focuses on what Emma does not do in this passage. To Lane, Emma presents the guests with minced chicken and oyster and fails to meet the guests' real needs, showing that she values her satisfaction more than other people's comfort (Lane, 1995, p.156). Lane is correct to point out that Emma fails to be a good hostess, while Mr. Woodhouse's hospitality is embarrassing and implies insincerity.

Mr. Woodhouse's obsession with food is also unique, for he only cares about what is salutary to the body, and his primary concern is if the food is "unwholesome", a word which invites multiple interpretations.[8] In *Emma*, Mr. Woodhouse's supper (his insistence on taking supper explains his being outdated) is mostly gruel, the food suitable for elderly people. Elizabeth even humors her father's fondness for gruel: "a young woman hired for the time, who never had been able to understand what she meant by a basin

8 *OED* explains that "unwholesome" contains several meanings, including "Not beneficial, salutary, or conducive to morals" and "Not favourable to or promoting good health; not salubrious, wholesome, or healthful; injurious to health."

of nice smooth gruel, thin, but not too thin" (Austen, 2012, p.184). The texture he prefers —"thin, but not too thin"— describes Mr. Woodhouse's stubbornness and his code for socializing: he stays within the circle but avoids intimacy, and his food preferences again highlight his eccentricity. Jean-Louis Flandrin points out that the pursuit of the taste of food goes with the pursuit of beauty in literature, music, and art in general, noting that even early in the sixteenth century "[n]ot everyone chose to heed the advice of the doctors over the dictates of appetite" (Flandrin, 1999, p. 425). Mr. Woodhouse ignores taste, and his dietary eccentricity suggests Austen's awareness of the strong resemblance between food and its consumer.

Austen's exploration of food preferences and personal traits in *Emma* continues in the characterization of Harriet and Mr. Elton. Harriet has a predilection for walnuts, which stimulates her romance with Mr. Martin, who "had gone three miles round one day, in order to bring her some walnuts, because she has said how fond she was of them" (Austen, 2012, p. 46). As a cheap and common snack, the walnut becomes a metaphor for Harriet's plainness. But Emma fails to sense the connection and assumes that "the girl who could be gratified by a Robert Martin's riding about the country to get walnuts for her, might very well be conquered by Mr. Elton's admiration" (Austen, 2012, p. 58). In contrast to Harriet, Mr. Elton's mentioning of various foods implies his tendency to be distracted in courtship and his mundane character. When Emma encourages Harriet and Mr. Elton's romance, the latter "was only giving his fair companion an account of the yesterday's party at his friend Coles, and that [Emma] was come in herself for the Stilton cheese, the north Wiltshire, the butter, the cellery, the beet-root and all the desserts" (Austen, 2012, p. 156). Mr. Elton's speech on food in effect implies his more earthly, base thinking. The food plot in this passage indeed delays the development of romance, it however leaves an important message to Harriet: Mr. Elton is not a decent suitor[9].

In all of Austen's novels, only comic or morally questionable characters make long comments on food. In *Emma*, Miss Bates's lengthy words on apples and Mrs. Elton's tedious comment on strawberries only multiply their vulgar concern and personality. A similar comment occurs in *Mansfield Park*, in which Austen elaborates that eating is not a crime, but the greed for and obsession with food or dining is. Visiting Sotherton,

9 In his discussion of the conflict between food plot and marriage plot, Lee instances this passage and explains how romance is endangered by food (Lee, 2016, p.23-4). It is true that Elton's speech on food is rendered uninteresting by Emma, but his main audience is Harriet, who listens "with a very pleased attention" (Austen, 2012, p.156), and therefore food does not really bother the potential courtship.

Mrs. Norris, who "obtained a few pheasant's eggs and a cream cheese from the housekeeper" (Austen, 2017, p. 202) prides herself. Mrs. Norris's obsessive speech on the gifts irritates the other ladies: "'What else have you been spunging?' said Maria, half pleased that Sotherton should be so complimented" (Austen, 2017, p. 204). The passage shows that too much concern for food is an indication of vulgarity, and the food obsession contradicts intellectuality. It is also in the same novel that one reads Austen's satire on gluttons. The characterization of Dr. Grant manifests that Austen sees gluttony with sarcasm as she writes in her juvenile works, but for mature Austen, gluttony carries a criminal connotation. When he is first introduced, one learns that Dr. Grant "was very fond of eating, and would have a good dinner every day; and Mrs. Grant, instead of contriving to gratify him at little expense, gave her cook as high wages as they did at Mansfield Park, and was scarcely ever seen in her offices" (Austen, 2017, p. 62). The obsession with eating makes Dr. Grant a singular character among Austen's novels, as he is the only gourmand—to exclude Mr. Woodhouse's nervousness about health or General Tilney's insistence on meat consumption—who enjoys and studies eating. However, to be a connoisseur of food is nothing positive in Austen's works. Like Mr. Woodhouse, Dr. Grant's demand for gourmandism causes trouble for the family, since Mrs. Grant is helpless in satisfying her husband's appetite. Mary Crawford also sees in Dr. Grant "an indolent selfish bon vivant, who must have his palate consulted in everything, who will not stir a finger for the convenience of any one, and who, moreover, if the cook makes a blunder, is out of humour with his excellent wife" (Austen, 2017, p. 212). In Dr. Grant one also sees a clear difference between an epicurean and a glutton. According to Launcelot Sturgeon's *Essays, Moral, Philosophical and Stomachical on the Important Science of Good-Living* (1823), gluttony is "a mere effort of the appetite" but epicurism suggests "a refined and discriminating taste" (Sturgeon, 1823, p. 3). Dr. Grant violates the rule by ignoring "a delicate susceptibility in the organs of degustation" (Sturgeon, 1823, p. 3) and only attending to the vulgar cares of eating. The concentration on food harms domestic happiness, and Shaftesbury has argued that the concern for private good is "an ill and vicious affection" (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 170). To Shaftesbury, Dr. Grant's obsessive eating implies immorality,

> For if this private affection be too strong, as when the excessive love of life unfits a creature for any generous act, then is it undoubtedly vicious; and, if vicious, the creature who is moved by it is viciously moved and can never be otherwise than vicious in some degree when moved by that affection. (Shaftesbury, 2003, p. 171)

Eating reveals evil nature, and from Mr. Woodhouse to Dr. Grant, Austen sophisticatedly portrays the morality of eating. If food preference echoes the characters' personality, the attitude towards eating further signifies dietary philosophy.

The obsession with or addiction to eating and drinking, like gluttony, draws attention to one's moral deficiency. In *Northanger Abbey*, John Thorpe asks Catherine about Mr. Allen's health and drinking habit: "He seems a good kind of old fellow enough and has lived very well in his time, I dare say; he is not gouty for nothing. Does he drink his bottle a-day now?" (Austen, 2013, p. 134). John further justifies drinking by saying that it does good to society: "I am sure of *this* - that if every body was to drink their bottle a-day, there would not be half the disorders in the world there are now. It would be a famous good thing for us all" (Austen, 2013, p. 134). John only makes Catherine leave the conversation "with rather a strengthened belief of there being a great deal of wine drank in Oxford, and the same happy conviction of her brother's comparative sobriety" (Austen, 2013, p. 136). Like the young Lucas boy's assumption on the upper class's drinking problem, John's theory implies an eighteenth-century British stereotype: wealthy people usually lose themselves in drinking, a way to express social and economic status.[10] In John, Austen once again parallels excessive eating or drinking with class arrogance.

John is the only heavy drinker in Austen's complete novels, but in the same work, General Tilney, whose eccentric temper is gradually revealed as the plot progress, follows a pattern similar to Mr. Woodhouse and Dr. Grant's. His foible is about the standard he sets in dining. The General "was very particular in his eating, [Catherine] had, by her own unassisted observation, already discovered" (Austen, 2013, p. 428). He also confesses that, "though as careless on such subjects as most people, he did look upon a tolerably large eating-room as one of the necessaries of life" (Austen, 2013, p. 340). General Tilney's problematic dietary ethics continue to be disturbing. He is obsessed not only with dining quality, such as the dining room, but also with the food on his table, such as fresh fruit and the proper way of eating. General Tilney boasts to Catherine about his garden to exhibit his wealth, because he "loved good fruit—or if he did not, his friends and children did. There were great vexations, however, attending such a garden as his. The utmost care could not always secure the most valuable fruits" (Austen,

10 Excess drinking for the privileged class is eighteenth-century normality, as James Walvin explains that too much drinking "in propertied and educated society was an unexceptional norm. The vernacular expression, after all, is 'Drunk as a Lord' not 'Drunk as a labourer'" (Walvin, 2007, p.149).

2013, p. 364-366). Knowing that Mr. Allen has no care for gardens, "[w]ith a triumphant smile of self-satisfaction, the General wished he could do the same" (Austen, 2013, p. 366). General Tilney's satisfaction in sensual pleasure, in Locke's words, prevents him from real happiness, for

> as soon as the studious man's hunger and thirst make him uneasy, he, whose will was never determined to any pursuit of good cheer, poignant sauces, delicious wine, by the pleasant taste he has found in them, is, by the uneasiness of hunger and thirst, presently determined to eating and drinking, though possibly with great indifferency, what wholesome food comes in his way. (Locke, 2017)

Locke again endows food and dining with intellectual significance, and to him, the earthly pleasure does not guarantee happiness because "the greater visible good does not always raise men's desires in proportion to the greatness it appears" (Locke, 2017). What General Tilney also fails to notice is that his insistence on eating and seemingly careless allusions to wealth make him vulgar. The characterization of General Tilney further makes Austen's sophisticated meditation on dietary ethics more obvious, for the unpleasant food topic has nothing to do with the pretension to taste but the ignorance of the psychological or moral depth.

As foods bespeak some characters' vulgarity and play significant roles in *Emma*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Northanger Abbey*, they nevertheless fade out from the plot of Austen's last complete work *Persuasion*. Food appears in *Persuasion* with slight allusions. The most significant symbolic food reference is the nuts that imply female firmness and virtue. Captain Wentworth praises a nut from an upper bough, saying to Louisa that such a nut is honorable since it outlives all the storms. The nut after autumn "is still in possession of all the happiness that a hazel-nut can be supposed capable of" (Austen, 2010, p. 166). Captain Wentworth then comes to his conclusion: "My first wish for all, whom I am interested in, is that they should be firm" (Austen, 2010, p. 166). The firm, unchanged, and strong nuts here symbolize Anne's loyalty and Austen's perfection of romance. The elevation of nuts deepens the philosophy of courtship, showing that food's symbolic meaning to Austen never fades. From the walnuts in *Emma* to the nuts in *Persuasion*, Austen's preference of a solid but plain taste, as well as her celebration of a more reserved behavior, is made clear in her discussion of food references.

"It is All the Same to Me What I Eat"

The parallel between eighteenth-century philosophical and moral discussion of food and dining and the dietary ethics Austen celebrates in her novels consolidates the fact that Austen does treat food with cultural and moral significance. Austen distinguishes epicureans from people who are merely pleasure-seeking, as Lord Chesterfield teaches his son:

> Pleasure is the rock which most young people split upon: they launch out with crowded sails in quest of it, but without a compass to direct their course, or reason sufficient to steer the vessel; for want of which, pain and shame, instead of pleasure, are the returns of their voyage. Do not think that I mean to snarl at pleasure, like a Stoic, or to preach against it, like a parson; no, I mean to point it out, and recommend it to you, like an Epicurean: I wish you a great deal; and my only view is to hinder you from mistaking it. (Chesterfield, 1998, p. 48-49)

Both Austen and Chesterfield believe that there are principles and rules to follow in the pursuit of earthly satisfaction. The fulfillment of one's appetite should not betray manner and virtue. It is also obvious that most of Austen's more positive heroes and heroines do not bother with the discussion of food, and even if they do, when talking about food they show moral righteousness and genuine care. When Mr. Knightley in *Emma* opposes the idea of an outdoor picnic, he shows genuine care based on good reason: "The nature and the simplicity of gentlemen and ladies, with their servants and furniture, I think is best observed by meals within doors. When you are tired of eating strawberries in the garden, there shall be cold meat in the house" (Austen, 2012, p. 630). The passage highlights Mr. Knightley's moral rectitude with a careful consideration of the relationship between people and foodstuff. It invites more academic perspectives about Austen's treatment of food, for it is Mr. Knightley, a man from the more traditionally privileged class, talking to Mrs. Elton, a newly rising middle-class woman. The various opinions of food from different backgrounds imply more critical attention should be paid to eighteenth-century literature and dining culture. How and what did the aristocracy and the middle-class eat? Did eighteenth-century men and women treat eating in a similar way? How did eating influence class formation and was it a gendered concept at that time? These questions remain unsolved in the essay due to limited space but deserve scholarly attention from different disciplines.

The main concern of the current study, however, is eating and morality. Austen's attitude towards eating finds the best expression in Catherine Morland's words. Returning from Bath and Northanger Abbey to her home, Catherine suffers from depression, and Mrs. Morland attributes this sadness to her daughter's being accustomed to a fancy life: "Wherever you are you should always be contented, but especially at home, because there you must spend the most of your time. I did not quite like, at breakfast, to hear you talk so much about the French-bread at Northanger" (Austen, 2013. p. 486-488). Catherine strongly protests against this accusation: "I am sure I do not care about the bread. It is all the same to me what I eat" (Austen, 2013, p. 488). Catherine's sulkiness comes not from the food she takes, and her words further represent the philosophy about dining of all Austen's positive characters. Austen's more intelligent, romantic, reasonable characters are aware of the existence of various kinds of foodstuff and the necessity of taking them, but they also express a moderate and temperate attitude towards eating. However, her unintelligent or worldly characters have more concerns about food, and they are occupied by eating and gourmandizing. It is not all the same to them what they eat.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.
Conflict of Interest: The author has no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support: The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.
Çıkar Çatışması: Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.
Finansal Destek: Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

References

Allen, Charles, (1760). *The Polite Lady, or a Course of Female Education*. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.jp/books/about/The_Polite_Lady_Or_a_Course_of_Female_Ed.html?id=6u98vgAACAAJ&redir_esc=y.

Austen, Jane., Sabor, Peter (Ed.). (2006). *Juvenilia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

—., Shapard, David M. (Ed.). (2007). *The Annotated Pride and Prejudice*. New York, NY: Anchor.

—., Shapard, David M. (Ed.). (2010). *The Annotated Persuasion*. New York, NY: Anchor.

—., Shapard, David M. (Ed.). (2011). *The Annotated Sense and Sensibility*. New York, NY: Anchor.—., Shapard, David M. (Ed.). (2012). *The Annotated Emma*. New York, NY: Anchor.—., Shapard, David M. (Ed.). (2013). *The Annotated Northanger Abbey*. New York, NY: Anchor.

—., Shapard, David M. (Ed.). (2017). *The Annotated Mansfield Park*. New York, NY: Anchor .Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope., Robert, David. (Eds.). (1998). *Letters*. New York, NY: Oxford UP.

Elias, Norbert. (1994). *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners, and State Formation and Civilization*. (J. Edmund, Trans.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell. Le Faye, Deirdre. (Ed.). (2014). *Jane Austen's Letters*. 4th ed., Oxford, UK: Oxford UP.

Fielding, Henry., Baker, Sheridan Warner. (Eds.). (1973). *Tom Jones: An Authoritative Text, Contemporary Reactions, Criticism*. New York, NY: Norton.

Flandrin, Jean-Louis. (1999). From Dietetics to Gastronomy: The Liberation of the Gourmet. In JL. Flandrin & M. Montanari (Eds.), *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present* (pp. 418-432). New York: NY: Columbia University Press.

Hopkins, Lisa. (1998). Food and Growth in *Emma*. *Women's Writing*, 5(1), 61-70. https://doi.org/10.1080/09699089800200031

Hume, David., Millican, Peter. (Eds.). (2007) *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*. New York, NY: Oxford UP.

—., Schneewind, J. B. (Eds.). (1983). *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company.

Lane, Maggie. (1995). *Jane Austen and Food*. London, UK: The Hambledon Press.

Lee, Michael Parrish. (2016). *The Food Plot in the Nineteenth-Century British Novel*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Locke, John. (2017). *Complete Works of John Locke*. Hastings, UK: Delphi Classics.

Mennell, Stephen. (1996). *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Chicago, IL: U of Illinois Press.

Montanari, Massimo. (1999). Food Systems and Models of Civilization. In JL. Flandrin & M. Montanari (Eds.), *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present* (pp. 69-78). New York: NY: Columbia University Press.

Mossner, Ernest Campell. (1980). *The Life of David Hume*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Murray, Venetia. (1998). *High Society: A Social History of The Regency Period, 1788-1830*. London, UK: Viking.

Pahlau, Randi. (2019). Jane Austen's Appetite for Stewardship, Hospitality, and Paternalism: Food in *Pride and Prejudice*. *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(1), 47-57. https://doi.org/10.17077/2168-569X.1520

Roberts, Warren. (1995). Jane Austen and the French Revolution. London, UK: Athlone.

Romagnoli, Daniela. (1999). Mind Your Manners: Etiquette at the Table. In JL. Flandrin & M. Montanari (Eds.), *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present* (pp. 328-338). New York: NY: Columbia University Press.

Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper., Klien, Lawrence Eliot. (Eds.). (2003). *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sturgeon, Launcelot. (1823). *Essays, Moral, Philosophical and Stomachical on the Important Science of Good-Living*. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=MI4IAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA87&dq=Essays,+Moral,+Philosophical+and+Stomachical+on+the+Important+Science+of++%09Good-Living&hl=zh-TW&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj5yKdy67uAhWafd4KHanfBuUQ6AEwAHoECAEQAg#v=onepage&q=Essays%2C%20Moral%2C%20Philosophical%20and%20Stomachical%20on%20the%20Important%20Science%20of%20%20%09Good-Living&f=false.

Tomalin, Claire. (1999). *Jane Austen: A Life*. New York, NY: Vintage.

Toussaint-Samat, Maguelonne. (2009). *A History of Food*. (Anthea Bell, Trans.). London, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Van der Veen, Marijke. (2003). When is Food a Luxury?. *World Archaeology*, 34(3), 405-427. https://doi.org/10.1080/0043824021000026422

Walvin, James. (2007). *English Urban Life, 1776-1851*. London, UK: Routledge.

Wilkes, Wetenhall. (1744). *A Letter of a Genteel and Moral Advice to a Young Lady*. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.jp/books/about/A_Letter_of_Genteel_and_Moral_Advice_to.html?id=Kco6AQAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y.

Zwart, Hub. (2000). A Short History of Food Ethics. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, 12, 113-126. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009530412679