

## Eating in The Netherlands

*Stephen Mennell*

The food of the middle-class Dutch consists to a great extent of vegetables. Vegetable soups, salads, vegetable dishes and much fancy bread and butter and cheese, pastry, gingerbread, honey cakes, and sweets form the principle dishes of a typical Dutch meal. The cookery of the restaurants is purely French, a Frenchman being generally the chef. A feature of the cookery in the houses of rich merchants are the dishes of the Far East. ... The favourite dish of the lower classes is a sort of kedgerree, in which dried stock fish, rice potatoes, butter, and anchovies all play their part. Sauerkraut and sausages, soused herrings and milk puddings also have claims to be considered national dishes.<sup>1</sup>

‘And what do you think of Dutch food?’, asked the appropriately named Adriaan van Dis.<sup>2</sup> It was the one question that floored me. ‘Oh, very nice’, or something equally inane, I muttered into the camera. My mind had gone blank. Had I ever tasted Dutch food on my many visits to the Netherlands, I asked myself afterwards. Well, certainly I had eaten a good deal of cheese, *Hollandse Nieuwe*<sup>3</sup> with raw onion, smoked eel, and rather good biscuits tasting of cinnamon. But what of Dutch cookery, and actual Dutch meals? On reflection, the domestic cookery of my Dutch friends seemed to be as cosmopolitan as the professional cuisine of Amsterdam restaurants. Experiment further revealed that if one asks English friends about Dutch food, they immediately begin to talk about Indonesian *rijsttafels*.

So what did I know of Dutch food from historical sources? Only two remarks, encountered during my research on English and French food, came to mind. First, Balzac:

Les peuples fumeurs, comme les Hollandais, qui ont fumé les premiers en Europe, sont essentiellement apathiques et mous ... La nourriture ichthyophagique à laquelle elle [la Hollande] est vouée, l’usage des salaisons, et un certain vin de Touraine fortement alcoolisé, le vin de Vouvray, combattent un peu les influences du tabac; mais la Hollande appartiendra toujours à qui voudra la prendre; elle n’existe que par la jalousie des autres

cabinets, qui ne la laisseraient pas devenir française.<sup>4</sup>

Second, a report in *L'Art culinaire*, the journal of the leading French chefs, of a visit to the Amsterdam Exhibition of 1883:

La cuisine dite 'bourgeoise' n'est pas compliquée en Hollande. Du thé, des pommes de terre et du genièvre ... et c'est tout, ou à peu près. La viande est un mets réservé pour le dimanche.<sup>5</sup>

Can things really be so bad? I consulted two food writers, Berthe Meijer of *NRC Handelsblad*, and Johannes van Dam, owner of De Kookboekhandel in Runstraat, Amsterdam, the only bookshop in the Netherlands specialising entirely in books on cookery and gastronomy. Mrs Meijer told me that 'The Dutch have no high opinion of their own cuisine and have never made it famous anywhere in the world.' Some evidence for that proposition is that I was able to trace only one book about Dutch food in print in English, and one out of print.<sup>6</sup> Mr van Dam in turn told me that there was no refined food of specifically Dutch character. A symptom of that is the boast found in a booklet published by the Stichting Neerlands Dis:

We laten alles smaken zoals het is. Dat heeft een logische reden: de kwaliteit van onze produkten is bijzonder goed. En dát proef je.<sup>7</sup>

That claim is highly reminiscent of the traditional English claim that, unlike the French, they have no need for any elaborate techniques of cookery, no need of sauces for example, because their raw materials are so superior. As I have argued before,<sup>8</sup> the argument does not hold water. It rests on the view that human beings 'really', even innately, prefer the 'natural' taste of foods, transformed as little as possible by the culinary arts, which are thus seen as little more than a forced adaptation to circumstance. Yet if the rich and noble in France, under whose auspices developed Europe's most successful haute cuisine, had really preferred 'plain' food, it is implausible that they could not have secured the high quality raw materials they wanted.

So the quality of raw materials provides no explanation of why there never developed a refined Dutch haute cuisine. Nevertheless, there is a clue here to the nature of traditional Dutch food as it is perceived in typical guide books like Fodor's *Holland*,<sup>9</sup> represented in Dutch cookery books like *De Hollandse Keuken* by Drukker and Ykema-Steenbergen,<sup>10</sup> and embodied in the menu at Dorrius (sometimes said to be the only distinguished restaurant in Amsterdam

specialising in Dutch food, though also said to be less pure in that respect than it was in the 1950s and 1960s). A clear picture emerges. Dishes most often regarded as characteristically Dutch include: soups, especially *erwtensoep* and *groentesoep*; *hutspot met klapstuck*, *stamppot van boerenkool met rookworst*, *jachtschotel* and the casserole of meat and potatoes known as *filosoof* (the latter two generally made with leftover cooked meat); and fish of all kinds, including the salt *stokvis*. Vegetables and especially potatoes<sup>11</sup> play a prominent part in a ‘traditional Dutch’ meal. To finish with, there is (at least in the recipe books) a wide range of milk puddings, many of them made with leftover stale bread (*broedschotelje*), and also using eggs in large quantities (for example, *pannekoeken*, *flensjes*). This is the picture conveyed by present-day guide books and the two English-language Dutch cookery books. It seems to differ little from that painted by Lieut.-Col. Newnham Davis in 1908. Yet this guide-book image is now out of date, for my Dutch friends tell me that salt fish dishes, porridges and *broedschotelje* have since the Second World War become very unusual.

But let us accept this image of traditional Dutch food for the moment, even if it is a generation out of date. Although the particular recipes may be Dutch, the general style is not very different from the traditional ‘plain cookery’ also found in Germany and England. On the whole, the winter dishes are more famous than the summer ones – which may be one reason why I, as on the whole a summer visitor to the Netherlands, seem actually to have tasted so few of them. More important, it is obvious that this ‘typically Dutch’ fare is a domestic tradition, not a professional cuisine. It has all the marks of being in origin simple farmers’ food – some prosperous farmers, some poor farmers, but farmers nonetheless, eating the product of their land as it comes. When it is found in a restaurant like Dorrius, its charm resides precisely in its not being over-refined or pretentious, but simply the best of its kind.

So how did it come about that it was such food that came to be regarded as ‘typically Dutch’?

Certainly there seems to have been nothing about what and how Dutchmen ate in the late Middle Ages to distinguish them from their contemporaries elsewhere in Western Europe. At that time, differences between the strata of society in matters of food, as in many other aspects of manners, were more striking than differences between countries.<sup>12</sup> The distinguishing mark of the diet of the secular and ecclesiastical upper classes was their very large consumption of meat and fish, rather than the sophistication of how it was cooked. It is true that at the highest level a grand banqueting cuisine, employing many spices and colourings and other expensive ingredients, was common to the greatest courts of Europe; but this was not everyday fare, certainly not for the lesser nobility. As for the peasantry and ordinary townspeople, although

meat was more abundant in the two centuries following the Black Death, vegetables and dairy produce played a far more important role in their diet. Their cookery was dominated by the cauldron. In the countryside, the pace of change remained extremely slow throughout the early modern period. Speaking of France, Marc Bloch contrasted the monotony of peasant food with the innovation taking place on the social heights, and remarked that ‘Encore à la veille de la Révolution, en face d’une nourriture bourgeoise ou même artisanale déjà sensiblement évoluée, l’ordinaire du paysan restait singulièrement archaïque’.<sup>13</sup>

All this was reflected in the Netherlands. Banquets at the Burgundian court in the fifteenth century were noted less for the skill of the cooks than for the enormous jumbled heaps of food: the meal, we are told, ‘se composait d’un certain nombre de mets [courses], comportant chacun un grand nombre de pièces, habituellement dressées en pyramide sur un seul plat, parmi lesquels on faisait souvent figurer des animaux, porcs, veaux, et même boeufs, rôtis entiers ...’.<sup>14</sup> The nobility of the Low Countries ate like other nobles. The appetite of the Emperor Charles V as described by J.L. Mottley does not sound very exceptional for his time and rank:

He was an enormous eater. He breakfasted at five, on a fowl seethed in milk and dressed with sugar and spices. After this he went to sleep again. He dined at twelve, partaking always of twenty dishes. He supped twice; at first, soon after vespers, and the second time at midnight or one o’clock, which meal was, perhaps, the most solid of the four. After meat he ate a great quantity of pastry and sweetmeats, and he irrigated every repast by vast draughts of beer and wine. His stomach, originally a wonderful one, succumbed after forty years of such labours. His taste, but not his appetite, began to fail, and he complained ... that all his food was insipid.<sup>15</sup>

No less exceptional, if more unexpected in view of the hero’s later reputation, is Mottley’s account of the tastes of the young William the Silent.

He was disposed for an easy, joyous, luxurious, princely life. Banquets, masquerades, tournaments, the chase, interspersed with the routine of official duties, civil and military, seemed likely to fill out his life. His hospitality, like his fortune, was almost regal. ... His establishment was on so extensive a scale that upon one day twenty-eight master cooks were dismissed, for the purpose of diminishing the family expenses, and there was hardly a princely house in

Germany which did not send cooks to learn their business in so magnificent a kitchen. The reputation of his table remained undiminished for years.<sup>16</sup>

Had the development of absolutist rule proceeded uninterrupted, it is highly probable that the nobility of the Low Countries would have participated with their French counterparts in the development of the courtly haute cuisine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> The Spanish monarchs were employing much the same strategies which led in France to the transformation of warriors into courtiers dependent on the King and forced into virtuoso consumption as a means of asserting their new social identity.

The aristocracy of the Netherlands was excessively extravagant, dissipated, and already considerably embarrassed in circumstances. It had been the policy of the Emperor and of Philip to confer high offices, civil, military and diplomatic, upon the leading nobles, by which enormous expenses were entailed upon them, without any corresponding salaries.<sup>18</sup>

Of course, history took a different turn. As in England, the growth of the absolutist court was nipped in the bud, probably with similar consequences for culinary culture.<sup>19</sup> Certainly the court of the Stadhouder in The Hague was French orientated in its tastes.<sup>20</sup> We know for instance that in 1660, for the wedding banquet of his daughter Susanna, Sir Constantijn Huygens hired a French cook, Maître Jacques, and four other French cooks.<sup>21</sup> We also know that Vincent La Chapelle, one of the greatest cooks of the eighteenth century, was employed by the Prince of Orange from 1734 until his death about 1748. But the Dutch court, such as it was, was in effect a satellite of the French in matters of fashion, rather than having a comparable trend-setting cultural power of its own within Dutch society. Moreover, the courtly circles of the Hague, Leeuwarden and elsewhere were not entirely typical of the Dutch nobility: as Goudsblom points out, in the inland areas of Gelderland and Overijssel, the landed gentry managed to maintain a powerful feudal position.<sup>22</sup> Although I have absolutely no evidence for it, my hunch is that as in England, where the gentry and nobility also retained independent political and social power in their own regional bases even into the nineteenth century, there was less pressure on such magnates to display their rank through mere conspicuous consumption. (That being said, the finest Dutch cookery book of the eighteenth century, strongly French in flavour, was *De Volmaakte Geldersche Keuken-Meid*, published at Nijmegen in 1756, so my hunch may well be wrong – or may have ceased to be right by the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup>)

So what of that other ruling group, the merchant aristocracy, the Regents who dominated Holland and Zeeland? During the Golden Age at least, they seem to have led a relatively modest and unostentatious way of life. Even the burgomasters of Amsterdam wore the same black clothes as business and professional men, and walked about the streets like everyone else; the British ambassador, Sir William Temple, wrote that they ‘are obliged to no sort of expense more than ordinary modest citizens, in their habits, their attendance, their tables’.<sup>24</sup> It seems probable that, in Annie van’t Veer’s phrase, there was ‘geen Rembrandt in de keuken’.<sup>25</sup> Burema describes a typical citizen’s meal [Burgerpot] of the period as consisting of no more than two or three dishes, starting with a soup such as *groentesoep*. They might have more on feast days: he mentions *ballen* and *saucijzen*, which do not sound like exceptionally refined food, and for special occasions *rijkenhutspot* or *olipodrigo* (a stew of Spanish origin which, under the name of ‘olio’ was also popular amongst the English gentry of the time). In ordinary meals, however, vegetable dishes played a prominent part.<sup>26</sup>

During the seventeenth century, the Amsterdam style of life does appear to have become somewhat grander. Certainly merchants indulged in very long and elaborate banquets when entertaining important guests in their homes or on great municipal occasions. Cosimo de Medici, visiting Amsterdam in 1668, had a meal at the home of the merchant Hochpied with whom he was staying; it lasted six hours, and although Cosimo thought the dishes could have been finer, this was counterbalanced by the oysters, served in a separate room before the dessert.<sup>27</sup> Nicolaes Tulp attacked sumptuous wedding feasts and had a law passed against them in 1655, with no more effect than other sumptuary laws in other times and other places.<sup>28</sup> By the eighteenth century, the Amsterdam elite were painted in highly coloured clothes instead of sober black, had bigger country houses than before and generally, according to Burke, imitated the French more. Their attitudes in general were shifting from ones typical of entrepreneurs to one typical of rentiers, and they seem more than ever before to have taken as a reference group the courtly circles at The Hague.<sup>29</sup>

If as seems probable, the merchant elite followed the courtiers in adopting French fashions in food in the eighteenth century, the effect would have been to ‘decapitate’ any native tradition of Dutch cookery – a fate which also befell English cookery in the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The defection of the upper classes, I would guess, formed a dyke somewhere in the middle ranks of the social hierarchy, through which culinary models did not permeate into the food of the ordinary Dutchman, and robbing ‘Dutch’ food of any great pressure towards innovation. This hypothesis seems to fit both the history of Dutch cookery books and evidence of ordinary

people's food in the Netherlands.

Cookery books appeared in Dutch, as in all the other vernacular languages of Europe, quite early in the history of printing: the first appears to be the *Boecxke van Cokerye* printed in Brussels in 1510.<sup>31</sup> As elsewhere, they included recipes taken from the common sources of medieval courtly cookery, such as Taillevent. As in England, several of the early books seem to have been written by medical men, with health in view. Other books seem to have been written by practising chefs in rich households, for other practising chefs, though, as in England, a popular book like *De Verstandige Kock of Sorghvuldige Huys-houdster* (1668) contains rather simple dishes and appears to be addressed more to modest country gentlemen and townspeople than to courtiers with French chefs. But after 1700, again as in England, although French cookery books such as those of La Varenne, Massialot and La Chapelle were published, most of the native cookery books are of the 'kitchen-maid' kind. Books like the classic *De Volmaakte Hollandse Keuken-Meid* of 1745, like such famous English books of the period as Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, were written by gentlewomen for the instruction of female cooks or kitchen-maids, and no doubt also for housewives supervising the work of their servants.<sup>32</sup> The recipes themselves are for bourgeois food, and could not have escaped the influence of French chefs. (Glasse borrowed recipes extensively from Massialot, at first and second hand, while simplifying them for her audience.)<sup>33</sup>

But perhaps a more decisive phase in the shaping of 'traditional Dutch food' is marked by the appearance in 1803 of what was to be the most popular Dutch cookery books of the nineteenth century, *Aaltje: De Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid*,<sup>34</sup> which went through numerous editions. The word *zuinig* is significant, reflecting again a concern in common with English cookery writers with thrift and economising in the kitchen. This concern, as I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>35</sup> is not so prominent in French cookery writing, where more 'courtly' attitudes seem to have filtered through and persisted in society, and the difference seems linked to the differences in the enjoyment people brought to their eating.

Just as in England, where a preference for 'plain food' has often been attributed to the influence of Puritanism (an explanation to which I myself give little credence), so in the Netherlands it has also been laid at the door of Calvinism. There seems to be more evidence in the Netherlands than in England of the *predikanten* denouncing the pleasures of the table.<sup>36</sup> Yet their main following was not among those who could best afford to indulge themselves in such pleasures: the Regent class, for example, generally took a more latitudinarian attitude towards their religion.<sup>37</sup> And if the preachers had a large following among the common people, poverty more than adherence to Calvinist doctrine provides a parsimonious explanation of the

prevalence of plain food. The poor were indeed very numerous in the pre-industrial Netherlands. The food of the poorer people seems to have changed very little between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. Burema describes the midday meal at an Amsterdam hospital in the seventeenth century as consisting of *groentesoep met vlees* on Sundays and Wednesdays, *gort met boter en zoete melk* on Mondays and Saturdays, *groenten met rundvet en bouillon gestoofd* on Tuesdays and Fridays, and *rijst met boter en melk* on Thursdays. The preponderance of vegetables, soup, bread, groats and stockfish persists in many bills of fare through to the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Even such things as butter and other dairy produce, which we think of as abundant in the Netherlands today, were not then available to many: lard and dripping rather than butter were the common fats, for instance. For all that, there apparently are differences in attitudes towards food and drink between Dutch Catholics and Protestants. Johannes van Dam tells me:

Once I crossed the Netherlands from north to south on a bike, and I found that in the north there were three liquor stores to one bar, against three bars to one store in the south. In the north the Calvinists drink their *jenever* at home, where even God can't see you; in the south they drink their beer in the bar, so everyone can share. Really, there is a huge difference between Protestants and Catholics.

This whole issue is the subject of a forthcoming article by Anneke van Otterloo,<sup>39</sup> and despite all the ways in which Dutch culinary history is for me reminiscent of that of England, I am inclined to think that the role of religion in the two countries must differ considerably. Another difference between England and the Netherlands is perhaps that, because industrialisation and rapid urbanisation came late to the Netherlands, the domestic tradition of good farmers' food was less disrupted there than its counterpart in England.<sup>40</sup>

In one respect, however, some of the popular Dutch cookery books published at the end of the nineteenth and early in the present century look to my eyes almost more English than the English: the obsession with economising. The English were also much concerned with using up leftovers and making a few pence go a long way, but I have never encountered in English cookery books something that was common in the Dutch, the pricing of every ingredient in every recipe to the nearest cent. Good examples of this are the prolific Martine Wittop Koning's *In en om de Vliegenkast*, a book entirely of carefully costed recipes for leftovers adapted from a German book, the same author's much more widely read *Eenvoudige Berekende Recepten*, and



A. Simonszoon's popular *Geïllustreerd Koekboek*.<sup>41</sup> Even in books which did not provide such minute costings, as in Miss A.C. Manden's *Recepten van de Haagsche Kookschool*, there were clear concessions to economy:

In de luxe-keuken wordt bijna altijd boter gebruikt, maar wil en zuinig zijn dan wordt rund-, kalfs- en varkensvet gebruikt; ook let merg der beenderen kan dienst doen voor het braden van vleesch.<sup>42</sup>

Wittop Koning, Simonszoon and Manden were all teachers of cookery in the various kinds of *huishoudscholen* which exerted a great influence on Dutch eating. Numerous private cookery schools were established in the major Dutch cities from the 1880s, mainly catering (in Pieter Rietbergen's words) to the needs of 'middle-class families which wanted to educate their daughters to play their prescribed role as responsible and capable housewives'. But, at the same time, other schools were founded under the influence of the Nederlandse Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen to give evening classes for working-class girls.<sup>43</sup> The aim was not only to improve the girls' skills in the kitchen but also, by allowing them to take home the food they had prepared in class, to convince their families that the new ways were better. Martine Wittop Koning was herself involved in these classes, and drew on her experience in her book *Onze Volkskeuken*.<sup>44</sup> The tone of earnest do-gooding, the emphasis on explaining the how and why of every simple operation, and the belief in the scientific basis of new and improved modes of cookery are all, for me, reminiscent of the efforts of the Universal Cookery and Food Association during the same era in England.<sup>45</sup> But there is no doubt that the *huishoudscholen* were much more numerous and influential than any equivalents in England. As Anneke van Otterloo shows in her study of cookery teachers and *huishoudscholen*, they not only formed part of the more general movement through which, in the final decades of the last century and the first of the present one, the Dutch middle class sought to 'improve' and 'civilise' their inferiors, but also tried to improve the eating habits of the upper strata too.<sup>46</sup>

The *huishoudscholen* remained influential into the 1950s, but since then, with living standards rising rapidly, Dutch eating habits have changed under much the same influences as in other European countries. Among other trends, the proportion of income spent on food has diminished, but the consumption of meat, fats and industrially processed foods has risen.<sup>47</sup> As Catherine Salzman has shown in a study of cookery columns in the popular women's magazine *De Margriet*, 'traditional Dutch food' is now presented with a respectful nostalgia absent in the early 1950s; 'recipes out of "grandmother's time" have become more and more fashionable,

although one suspects that grandmother would never have recognised some of them'.<sup>48</sup> But 'traditional Dutch food' is only one strand, for, as in English women's magazines, much greater emphasis is now placed on variety, adventure and positive enjoyment in eating.<sup>49</sup>

So what can one say by way of conclusion about 'traditional Dutch cookery'? First of all, that though like all countries the Netherlands possesses dishes of its own – as do particular regions within the country – in overall style it is not so radically different from the ordinary domestic food of Germany or England. Nor indeed, making allowance for the different ingredients and so on, was it necessarily so different from what the French peasantry ate most of the time in the past – but the Dutch, like the English and the Germans, never erected a *grande cuisine* of their own upon the mundane foundations of their domestic cookery; nor, for that matter, did they invent and romanticise a great peasant cuisine, as gallic publicists did for the French in the 1920s. Secondly, one can certainly say that 'traditional Dutch cookery' is now only one strand in the very cosmopolitan cuisine of the present day. The strength of the Indonesian strand may itself be distinctively Dutch, but the general cosmopolitanism of recent decades is a common characteristic of most Western countries. Everywhere in Western Europe, the social contrasts have diminished, but the varieties have increased in cuisine as in so much else. Thirdly, one can confess that – compared with what is known about the history of French and English food – one sees Dutch food only through a glass darkly. But many other hands are at work now in studying the development of Dutch eating, and we shall soon know more.

## Notes

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- 1 Lieut.-Col. N. Newnham-Davis, *The Gourmet's Guide to Europe* (London: Grant Richards, 1908).
  - 2 'Van Dis' translates as 'of the table'. The reference is to my appearance on his chat show on VPRO television channel in May 1985, after the award of the degree of Doctor in de Sociale Wetenschappen by the University of Amsterdam for my book *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985). [Note added in 2015.]
  3. That is, raw fresh herring. [Note added in 2015.]
  4. Honoré de Balzac, *Traité des Excitants Modernes*, printed as an appendix in J.-A. Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du Goût* (Paris: Charpentier, 1862), p. 415.
  5. E. Raff, *L'Art culinaire*, 9 septembre 1883.
  6. Heleen A. M. Halverhout, *Dutch Cooking* (Amsterdam: De Driehoek, 1972); C. van Limburg Stirum, *The Art of Dutch Cooking* (London, André Deutsch, 1962).
  7. *Neerlands Dis Restaurants* (Leidschendam: Stichting Neerlands Dis, 1986).
  8. Stephen Mennell, *All Manners*, especially pp. 102–3.
  9. *Fodor's Holland, 1985* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985).
  10. I. Drukker and R. Ykema-Steenbergen, *De Hollandse Keuken* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1984).
  11. On the development of potato dishes, see Joop Witteveen, 'Potato Recipes in Holland from 1600 until 1850', in *Food in Motion: The Migration of Foodstuffs and Cookery Techniques* (London: Prospect Books, 1983), pp. 41–58.
  12. Mennell, *All Manners*, pp. 40–61.
  13. Marc Bloch, 'Les aliments de l'ancienne France', in J. J. Hémardinquer, ed., *Pour une histoire de la nourriture* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970), pp. 231–35. [Originally in *Encyclopédie française*, 1954.]
  14. Alfred Gottschalk, *Histoire de l'alimentation et de la gastronomie*, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions Hippocrate, 1948), I, p. 337. Cf. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955, p. 239. [Originally 1924.]
  15. J. L. Mottley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1906), I, pp.115–16.
  16. *ibid.*, p. 212.
  17. See Mennell, *All Manners*, chapters 4 and 5.
  18. Mottley, *Dutch Republic*, p. 221. Cf. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Dublin: UCD

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Press, 2006 [Collected Works, vol. 2]). [Note amended 2015.]

19. Mennell, *All Manners*, chapters 4 and 5.
20. See Henri Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe*, 4 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1878–80), IV, chapter 8.
21. Pieter Rietbergen, ‘The Hague, 20 April 1660: the wedding banquet of Susanna Huygens’. Typescript, Insituut voor Neue Geschiednis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1986.
22. Johan Goudsblom, *Dutch Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 15.
23. *De Volmaakte Geldersche Keuken-Meid* (Nijmegen: Hendrik Heymans, 1756).
24. Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam* (London: Temple Smith, 1974), p. 66.
25. Annie van’t Veer, *Oud-Hollands Kookboek* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1966), p. 69.
26. L. Burema, *De Voeding in Nederland van de Middeleeuwen tot de Twintigste Eeuw* (Assen: Van Borcum, 1953), p. 97; Witteveen, ‘Potato recipes’.
27. G. J. Hoogewerff, ‘Het bezoek van Cosimo de Medici, Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667–69), Journalen en Documenten’, in *Werken: Historisch Genootschap Utrecht*. Derde Serie, No. 41, Amsterdam, 1919. (Joop Witteveen, rather than my own learning, led me to this information.)
28. Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam*, p.67; Mennell, *All Manners*, p. 30. Cf. Simon Schama, ‘The Unruly Realm: Appetite and Restraint in Seventeenth-Century Holland’, *Daedalus*, 108: 3 (1979), p. 113.
29. Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam*, pp. 67, 104–9.
30. Mennell, *All Manners*, p. 204ff.
31. On early Dutch cookery books, see Berthe Meijer, ‘Dutch cookbooks printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, *Petits Propos Culinaires*, 11, 1982, pp. 47–55; and A. van’t Veer, *Oud-Hollands Kookboek*.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 105ff.
33. Jennifer Stead, ‘Quizzing Glasse: or Hannah Scrutinised’, *Petits Propos Culinaires*, 13, pp. 9–24; 14, pp. 17–30, 1983; Priscilla Bain, ‘Recounting the Chickens: Hannah Further Scrutinised’, *Petits Propos Culinaires*, 23, pp. 38–41.
34. *Aaltje: De Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid* (Amsterdam: Elwe & Werlingshoff, 1803).
35. Mennell, *All Manners*.
36. See R. B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam: De Kerk der Hervorming in de Gouden Eeuw*, 5 vols (Amsterdam: Ten Have, 1965–78), II, pp. 117–43.

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37. Goudsblom, *Dutch Society*, p. 18; Schama, 'Unruly Realm', pp. 115, 117. Schama explains the apparently inconsistent behaviour of the period by positing the coexistence of two contrasting value-systems, an approach which he himself describes as 'a very rough and ready kind of structuralism' which he derives mainly from Victor Turner. But such approaches assume it is useful to imagine that there are 'value-systems' in accordance with which people behave (and to posit two of them smacks of Ptolemaic epicycles). It seems to me to be more useful to start from the general volatility of people's behaviour in early modern Europe, as well as the relative inefficacy of governmental apparatuses in enforcing laws. Both points are of course discussed at length by Norbert Elias in *On the Process of Civilisation* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2012 [Collected Works, vol. 3]). [Note amended 2015.]
38. Burema, *De Voeding*, pp. 112–15, 186–201, 280.
39. Anneke van Otterloo, 'Over culinaire culturen in Noord en Zuid: Enkele opmerkingen bij de sociogenese van nationale stijl en regionale variaties in Nederland', in *Groniek: Gronings Historisch Tijdschrift*, 95 (1986), pp. 36–55.
40. Mennell, *All Manners*, p. 221ff.
41. M. W. Koning, *In en om de Vliegenkast: Eene Verzameling voorschriften tot het Smakelijk Verwerken van Spijsresten* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1907), and *Eenvoudige Berekende Recepten* (Almelo: W. Hilarius, 1901); A. Simonsz, *Geïllustreerd Kookboek*, (Zutphen: P. van Belkum, 1903).
42. Mej. A.C. Manden, *Recepten van de Haagsche Kookschool* ('s-Gravenhage: Gebroeders van Cleef, 1923 [38th impression – 1st edition, 1895]).
43. Pieter Rietbergen, 'To Feed the Poor and Improve Their Morals', Typescript, Historisch Instituut, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1986.
44. J. Bienfait and M. Wittop Koning, *Onze Volkskeuken* (Amsterdam: Van Looy, 1901).
45. Mennell, *All Manners*.
46. Anneke van Otterloo, 'Voedzaam, smakelijk en gezond: Kookleraressen en pogingen tot verbetering van eetgewoonten tussen 1880 en 1940', [*Amsterdams*] *Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 12: 3 (1985), pp. 495–541.
47. Adel P. den Hartog, *Voeding als maatschappelijk verschijnsel* (Utrecht: Bohn, Scheltema & Holtema, 1982).
48. Catherine Salzman, 'Margriet's advice to the Dutch housewife: changes in eating habits in the Netherlands, 1945–75', in *Food in Motion* (London: Prospect Books, 1983).
49. Cf. my own study of French and English women's magazines since the late nineteenth

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century: Mennell, *All Manners*, pp. 223–65.