Garritt Van Dyk

Commerce, Food, and Identity in Seventeenth-Century England and France

Across the Channel

Commerce, Food, and Identity in
Seventeenth-Century England and France

Food Culture, Food History before 1900

The expanding interest that food studies have elicited in the past few decades confirms the importance of a field that is still very much in the making. The history and cultures of food have been the object of wide-ranging methodological approaches: literary, cultural, economic, and material (to name just a few), and continue to elicit contributions from all the major disciplines.

The series publishes monographs on the history and culture of food, and hosts contributions from different fields, historiographic approaches, and perspectives. Contributions cover a long chronological period running from the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century, respecting the distinctive time frames of food history. A similar criterion determines the wide geographic parameters that the series follows. As of the later Middle Ages, food and cuisine traveled with extreme ease not only within the European continent but increasingly to other parts of the world. The purview of this series thus comprises contributions including Europe, the Atlantic world, as well as exchanges with Asia and the Middle East.

Series editor: Allen J. Grieco

Commerce, Food, and Identity in Seventeenth-Century England and France

Across the Channel

Garritt Van Dyk

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Introduction: The Economics of Taste

Since the early modern period, writers have framed food choices as connected to forms of identity. This grew, in part, from explorations of selfhood that emerged in philosophical and literary texts of the Renaissance.[1] The sixteenth-century essayist Michel de Montaigne thought deeply about why eating was important to experiential knowledge, particularly of the self, but also of society.[2] By the seventeenth century, cultural myths of 'national' identification began to develop around food and drink in England and France that reflected the emergence of collective self-identification, before the advent of the nation as a political idea. While prolonged conflict between the two kingdoms influenced the creation of culturally determined icons of national sentiment, so too did cross-cultural exchanges that were entangled with a burgeoning consumer culture, divergent economic policies, and the rapid expansion of foreign trade. A comparative analysis of this transnational food history yields the greatest insights into how eating and drinking habits and preferences became associated with ideas of what it meant to be French or English, as the notions of what it meant to eat like an Englishman and a Frenchman grew together out of the myths that established the foundations of food choices that are now perceived as both nationally and culturally determined. These choices, in turn, resulted in distinctive foodways that were linked to collective identity and shared cultural virtues that have endured.

The myths and icons that were first cultivated in England and France in the seventeenth century became firmly embedded as cultural tropes by the nineteenth century. The well-known, if overused, aphorism of nineteenth-century French writer and gastronome Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin—'tell me what you eat, and I'll tell you who you are'—is often cited as evidence

---

1   Scholarship on the historical development of selfhood in European culture is extensive; however, the classic texts remain: Greenblatt, *Renaissance Selfhood*; Seigel, *Idea of the Self*; and Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*.
2   See 'Of Experience' in Montaigne's *Essais*, ch. XIII; and for a comparative analysis of Shakespeare's and Montaigne's mobilisations of eating and selfhood, see Goldstein, 'Eats Well with Others'.

---

of how the connection between food choices and collective identity was popularised.[3] While memorable, the maxim is reductive, obscuring the manifold influences that contribute to how choices are made and how they are linked to specific elements that represent a shared identity. An analysis of transnational exchange, and the relationship between foodways and the development of national icons and myths, allows a consideration of contingency, how these ideas succeeded, and the factors that led to their emergence.

In the twentieth century, the French literary theorist and semiotician Roland Barthes proposed a framework for the analysis of food as a system of communication with history in his 1961 essay 'Toward a Psychosociological of Contemporary Food Consumption'.[4] One of the roles identified by Barthes is the commemorative function of food: 'food permits a person to partake each day of the national past' and 'a whole experience, of the accumulated wisdom of our ancestors'. This commemoration preserves the mythic, idealised past, and 'brings the memory of the soil into our contemporary life…through his food the Frenchman experiences a certain national continuity'.[5] Barthes argues that food and drink function not only as cumulative signifiers of a shared cultural past, but also as contemporary markers of national identity.[6]

These ideas by Barthes, Brillart Savarin and others have developed since the end of the eighteenth century so that some food and drink now serve as icons of nationhood. In France, champagne producers proclaim their product is a unique symbol of French sophistication and luxury, linked to the lingering legend of its invention by Dom Pérignon. Across the Channel, a cup of sweet tea is recognised as a quintessentially English icon, invoking both a sense of civility and comfort, a respite from the unrelenting rain. How, and when, did these tastes develop? And, why do these mythical associations persist, despite our knowledge that English scientists first discovered how

---

3   Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste*, p. 4.
4   Barthes, 'Toward a Psychology of Contemporary Food Consumption', p. 24.
5   Pascal Ory affirms the importance of cooking as a source of communal identity, in a more recent example, grouping it with language and religion: 'cooking…invariably involves a collective ritual (the meal and its menu), a tradition (recipe and style), and critical discrimination (the product, the commentary). A cuisine is one of the most distinctive expressions of an ethnic group, or in modern times, a nation.' Ory, 'Gastronomy', p. 445.
6   The term identity is often used loosely, sometimes to signify the individual difference of the self, leaving its meaning ambiguous, and open to interpretation. See Brubaker and Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', pp. 14–21. A more limited definition is useful in the early modern period to express the general sense of shared characteristics for subjects of a particular country in terms of how they viewed themselves collectively. See Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, p. xii.

to make sparkling wine, and London was once the coffee-drinking capital of the early modern world?

This book addresses the origin of the cultural myths that continue to be connected to popular notions of what were considered to be typically 'English' or 'French' ways of eating and drinking in the seventeenth century. A close examination of these preconceptions reveals an alternative history with a more complex story about food practices and their relationship to cultural identification. In an era of empire-building, exploration and scientific discovery, early modern consumers were confronted with a dazzling array of new things to eat and drink, and new ways to eat and drink them. In my analysis, I focus on the role that commerce has played in the transmission of ideas, including the relationship between food and identity, using economic history to examine both commercial and cultural exchange in the trading networks of England and France. I explore how food choices that became part of the enduring cultural identity of both countries was influenced by global trade, and how the economic policies of these nation-states in the seventeenth century were influenced by what their citizens chose to eat and drink.

A brief survey of the populations of France and England, and London and Paris in particular, provides a starting point for a comparison of some demographic factors that affected local patterns of consumption. In 1670 Paris had a population estimated at somewhere between 495,000 and 570,000, higher than the range of 475,000–550,000 in London.[7] This changed by 1700, however, as London grew to become the largest European city. On a relative basis, London was also more representative of England, with a population in 1700 that was 11% of the total number of inhabitants (5.1 million).[8] Paris, with 500,000 inhabitants, was only 2% of the much larger overall population of 21.5 million in France.[9] In addition to its size relative to overall population, it has been estimated that a sixth of the English-born population in 1700 lived in London at some point.[10] This high level of contact with the largest city in Europe increased the circulation of ideas in England about new commodities and modes of consumption.

7   Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris*, pp. 15–17.
8   Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', p. 688.
9   Dupâquier, 'La population française aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', pp. 34–37. Also, see Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, pp. 127–128, for a comparative discussion of demographic factors.
10   Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750', p. 221.

While these figures provide some rough idea of total population, they are less useful in a discussion of what might loosely be described as 'elite' consumers. A direct comparison of French nobility with English social classes is complicated because there are fewer stratifications in England, beyond peerage, the gentry, and land ownership. English peers only numbered about 160 during the seventeenth century, while the number of gentry is roughly estimated at between eight and twenty thousand.[11] It should be noted, however, that the concentration of land ownership in England was higher than in France, with a smaller number of families controlling the largest estates.[12]

Without attempting to determine a precise beginning, I argue that the period from the middle of seventeenth century into the early eighteenth was marked by changes in emulation and the influence of court culture, the introduction of new comestibles, and the development of new modes of consumption and spaces of sociability that disrupted established social norms. As each of these changes occurred, the relative importance of conventional social hierarchies and wealth waxed or waned, complicating a quantitative demographic analysis. This leads to a series of questions in the economic history of food that this book sets out to answer.

How did the increase in global trade affect the definition of 'French' and 'English' cultures? In turn, how did the demands of cultures that could be defined as 'French' or 'English' affect trade? Finally, how did economic issues related to the production, consumption and distribution of food cultures establish the contours of early modern French and English cultural identity? To answer these questions, I focus on ingredients and comestibles specific to their respective food traditions: sparkling champagne, coffee, spices, and sugar. Each of these is now associated with myths of national identification that originated, before the advent of the nation as a political idea, during the seventeenth century.

Emblems of Identity: *Poulet au pot* and Roast Beef

From 1600 onwards, statesmen and commentators employed the emotive power of food as symbols to frame debates about political economy. This

---

11   Mingay, *English Landed Society*, p. 6.
12   This is noted by Stephen Mennell in his discussion of how food choices developed in England and France. Mennell argues that social display remained important for the English landed gentry with some London houses outshining the royal court in terms of social and political influence. Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p. 120.

rhetorical practice endured well beyond this time, as can be seen by the emblematic roast beef of England (and later Britain) and the *poule au pot* (chicken in a pot) of France, which to this day are lauded as national dishes with historical roots. Crucially, it was not the ingredients alone that shaped this cultural interpretation that became increasingly nationalised; rather it was the myths created around each dish that secured their place in the cultural imaginary and helped to shape the culinary definitions of each nation in the centuries that followed. As we shall see, these foods were laden with meanings in the seventeenth century that were understood at many levels of society and were used as emblems to communicate ideas of shared identity in opposition to outside influences or internal strife well before the invention of the nation-state.

Poule au pot provides an effective example of how food myths developed in this period and were tied to ideas of political economy that both emerged from and endured beyond absolutism to become a dish of the people and of the nation. In the early seventeenth century, the King of France, Henri IV, faced the difficult task of rebuilding the country after it was torn apart during the French Religious Wars, fighting between Protestants and Catholics, from 1562–1598. The war had claimed millions of lives and ravaged the countryside, with crops, food, and animals plundered over many years. Famine followed the violence, claiming even more lives. Henri IV was dedicated to restoring France to its previous levels of peace and prosperity and emphasised the role of agriculture and animal husbandry in the post-war recovery. His minister of finance, Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully, promoted this focus on the regenerative power of the land when he proclaimed that 'tilling the soil and grazing are the two teats of France'.[13] This sentiment was reinforced, fifty years later, by a mythical promise, communicated posthumously in Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe's *Histoire du roy Henry le Grand* (1662): 'if God allows me to live long enough, I will see to it that there is not a labourer in my kingdom who does not have a chicken in his pot.'[14] Originally written as a didactic text for young Louis XIV, the promise of a poached chicken reflected the legendary love of Henri IV for the welfare of country farmers rebuilding their lives after the Wars of Religion. The word *poule* refers not to a chicken, but a hen, presumably too old to lay eggs, destined to be a

---

13   Sully, *Les Oeconomies royales de Sully*, p. 257.
14   Hardouin, *Histoire du roy*, p. 528. The first edition of this text was published in 1661, but the passage regarding the *poule au pot* does not appear in the 1661 edition but was added to the 1662 edition within the *Recueil de quelques belles actions et paroles mémorables du Roi Henry le Grand*. For a history of the editions, see Issartel, 'Hardouin de Péréfixe'.

main course. Not all peasants could have afforded laying fowl, and fewer still would have had so many that they would be able to eat one with any regularity. Even if the promise did not extend to the poorest inhabitants, and was more idealistic than practical, it reflected the author's image of a benevolent ruler with a desire to provide a basic level of affluence, a chicken in every pot, for a broad-based constituency.

The reality, however, had not been realised by 1774, and the symbol resurfaced when Louis XVI took the throne after Louis XV died from smallpox. Louis XV was not a popular king, but the public sentiment expressed for Louis XVI was cautiously hopeful that the new monarch would emulate Henri IV. A letter from the *salonnière* Marie Anne de Vichy-Chamrond, marquise du Deffand to Horace Walpole shortly after Louis XVI's coronation described the scene at the equestrian statute of Henri IV in Paris: 'At the base of the statue of Henri IV someone wrote in large letters: *Resurrected*. It was left there for two days. Some unknown person wrote these verses underneath: *Henri resurrected, I quite like this fitting remark / But to make up my mind, I am waiting for the chicken in the pot*.'[15] The unconditional enthusiasm of the bold inscription on Henri's statue is tempered by the wait-and-see sentiment of the verses added underneath. She continued in her exchange with her English correspondent, reminding him of the totemistic value of the dish for the French people: 'Surely you know the words of Henri IV who wanted his peasants to be well-off enough to have a chicken in their pot every Sunday.'[16] Madame du Deffand reported several months later that the iconic dish appeared again in verse in a sardonic comment on the proposed economic reforms of Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot under Louis XVI: 'Finally the hen will be put in the pot / At least we can presume it / Because it has been promised to us for two hundred years / And we never stopped plucking it.'[17]

The *poule au pot* was originally an anecdote included in the biography of Henri IV as an example of a monarch's love for his people. This was not only a pedagogical device providing the heir to the throne with a model to emulate, but also a message to all who read the biography—this is what a good king does. By its very nature, the dish was directly connected to the land through agriculture and a rustic ideal of abundance, promoted by a monarch who cared for welfare of his people. This symbolic meaning

15   Mme. du Deffand to Horace Walpole, June 22, 1774, in Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 6, p. 64.
16   Deffand to Walpole, p. 64.
17   Deffand to Walpole, September 11, 1774, in Walpole, *Correspondence*, vol. 6, p. 93.

became deeply embedded into French culture as it passed through a line of Bourbon kings, from Henri IV to Louis XIV, and emerged again after the coronation of Louis XVI as a barometer for economic well-being: will there be a chicken in the pot?

While *poule au pot* was employed as a symbol of economic prosperity in France, English roast beef was claimed around the same time as a defiant proclamation of simplicity, health, and liberty, often in opposition to the corrupting power of foreign influence. In Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), the Constable of France describes English warriors as fuelled by beef: 'Give them great meals of beef and iron and steel, they will eat like wolves and fight like devils.'[18] Shakespeare uses a French character to make this statement about the connection between food and valour with the presumption that the English reputation as beefeaters is renowned. The source of the comment, French noblemen, is used by the English author as a point of differentiation between the two cultures—reaffirming the symbolic value of beef to his English audience.

Shakespeare's association between beef and the strength of Englishman is echoed by Joseph Addison's commentary in the *Tatler* in 1709: 'I shall begin with a very earnest and serious exhortation to all my well-disposed readers, that they would return to the food of their forefathers, and reconcile themselves to beef...This was that diet which bred that hardy race of mortals who won the fields of Cressy and Agincourt.' Addison admires plain beef because it is food that is 'simple and natural' set in opposition to 'pomp and luxury' associated with French cuisine: 'I look upon a French ragoust to be as pernicious to the stomach as a glass of spirits; and when I have seen a young lady swallow all the instigations of high soupes, seasoned sauces, and forced meats, I have wondered at the despair or tedious sighing of her lovers.'[19] The same opposition between simplicity and luxury is evident in William King's satirical poem, in 1708, *The Art of Cookery*, which is 'Humbly Inscrib'd to the Honourable Beef Steak Club'. In his preface to the reader, he states that his purpose is to show 'his Aversion to the Introduction of Luxury, which may tend to the corruption of Manners, and declare his love to the old British Hospitality, Charity, and Valour...when Beef and Brown bread were carried every day to the Poor.'[20] King's nostalgia for an idealised past associated with shared virtues and collective identity is embodied in the plain, but very substantial, nourishment that sustained the most vulnerable Britons.

18   Shakespeare, *Henry V* (Act 3, Scene 7).
19   Addison, *Tatler,* March 21, 1709.
20   King, 'Publisher to the Reader' in *Cookery*, p. 4

Not fit for English men or women, French food is condemned as damaging and luxurious. Resistance to French food grew, evident in the lyrics to the ballad 'The Roast Beef of Old England' written by Henry Fielding for his play *The Grub Street Opera* (1731): 'When mighty Roast Beef was the Englishman's food, / It ennobled our brains and enriched our blood…But since we have learnt from all-vapouring France / To eat their ragouts as well to dance, / We're fed up with nothing but vain complaisance'.[21] The title of the lyrics also appears on William Hogarth's satirical print of the Gate of Calais, *O the Roast Beef of Old England* (1749), depicting a corpulent French monk fondling a side of raw beef as it passes by. Hogarth was one of the twenty-four founding members of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks established in Covent Garden in 1735, with an emblem of a gridiron, and the motto, 'May Beef and Liberty be our Reward'. The alignment of beef with liberty, in opposition to absolutist monarchy, strengthened the association of the food with national identity, and distinguished the English from the French.[22] Consequently, it is a comparative analysis of this transnational food history that will yield the greatest insights, as the notions of what it meant to eat like a Englishman and a Frenchman grew together out of the myths that established the foundations of food choices that are now perceived as both nationally and culturally determined.

That food was selected for its potency as a symbol should not be a surprise because the need for nourishment is universal. Not everyone enjoys, or values, food in the same way but the commonality of the practice is undeniable. Food was viewed not only as sustenance, but also as a means of social differentiation within a society and as a means of self-identification, often in opposition to inhabitants of other countries. As new comestibles were sourced from around the globe, food choices were influenced by, and exerted a mutual influence on commerce. The revenue generated by this trade was considerable and encouraged more forays into unfamiliar territory in competition with other state-sponsored actors in search of exotic goods for a growing consumer market.

The varying modes of self-identification and social distinction in England and France in the same period offer an opportunity to examine the difference in responses to the relationship between food, commerce, and national

---

21   Baldwin and Wilson, '250 Years of Roast Beef', p. 203.

22   For a discussion of the symbolism of English roast beef, see Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*; and for a compelling argument for the alignment of cuisine with politics in the period see Lehmann, 'Politics in the Kitchen'.

identity. Ideas about the nation, even if they did not amount to nationalism, appeared in early modern discourse in England, and were used to frame the debate about political economy. The origins of national identity are located in culture, as can be seen in the responses of writers and artists from the period, and through the establishment of the French academies and the development of industries to promote economic self-sufficiency.[23] While I am not proposing an earlier development of the nation in England or in France, I do question the role that food and commerce played in developing a sentiment of national belonging, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, before the political idea of the nation developed.

By focusing on commerce and cultural exchange and drawing on transnational and comparative methodologies,[24] I challenge existing myths and suggest a new chronology for the development of the association of food with cultural and national identities and identifications.[25] Marc Bloch noted that comparative history was most successfully employed in 'a parallel study of societies that are at once neighbouring and contemporary, exercising a constant mutual influence, exposed throughout their development to the action of the same broad causes just because they are close and contemporaneous, and owing their existence in part at least to a common origin.'[26] Employing these two complementary approaches here avoids the limitations imposed by either, permitting an analysis which is driven by the inherent quality of the history, not the requirements of the methodology.

1651–1717: Global Commerce and Cultural Identity

This analysis is centred on the period from 1651–1717, beginning with the publication of the first cookbook dedicated to French cuisine, and ending with the establishment of regular shipments of tea from the English East India Company's monopoly on the trade from Canton.[27] These dates are

23   For early modern nationalism in England see Newman, *Rise of English Nationalism*; and Kumar, *Making of English National Identity*. For the development of the pre-revolutionary French idea of the nation see Bell, *Cult of the Nation*.

24   Tyrell, 'Reflections on the Transnational Turn', pp. 457–458. Tyrell asserts the complementary nature of comparative and transnational methodologies.

25   Bayly, Beckert, Connelly, Hofmeyr, Kozol, and Seed, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', pp. 1441–1464.

26   Bloch, 'A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies', p. 47.

27   EIC access to Canton was agreed in 1713. Routine shipping began in 1717 and marks the point at which the value of coffee and tea imported into Britain is split 50/50. See Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, p. 75.

significant because the publication of *Le Cuisinier françois* marked the rise of French culinary hegemony, while the start of British direct trade in tea signalled the East India Company's consolidation of its position as a trading power.[28] These iconic moments frame a crucial period for understanding the significance of the connections between global commerce and the development of what later became national food cultures and stereotypes. Food choices, and the fluidity of meaning and significance attributed to them by elite consumers, changed dramatically during the second half of the seventeenth century, as trade and exploration redefined the known universe of food and drink in England and France. As a result, consumer demand for novelty and innovation in London and Paris during this interval outstripped the supply of new goods. Consumption of the latest imports functioned as a measure of social distinction and had local and global implications, as both goods and ideas circulated through these local and global trade routes. Attempts by the state to control domestic consumption of imported goods through sumptuary prohibitions in France and England failed. These laws struggled to regulate expenditure and consumption to preserve social distinctions and to encourage re-export of 'luxury' imported goods. Unable to control patterns of consumption, through the latter half of the seventeenth century the governments of England and France instead chose to harness the demand for new goods through taxes, for their economic benefit.[29]

More importantly, because of this expansion of trade, the balance of precious metals used for payments ebbed and flowed, raising concerns about the impact of global commerce on the financial stability of England and France. Even though Spain, Portugal and the Dutch Republic also experienced the same effect, the relationship between England and France more usefully illuminates the broadly entrenched food cultures embedded in the development of cultural identity.[30] Some of the most enduring myths associated with the cuisines of England and France developed in the second half of the seventeenth century. These culinary myths emerge from an idea of cultural difference that precedes the political idea of nation, even as it presumes nationhood in prototypical form.[31] Furthermore, the fundamental

---

28   For the importance of the tea trade see Erikson, *Chartering Capitalism*, p. 125. For the start of the French culinary hegemony, see Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment*, p. 12.

29   Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment*, p. 95.

30   The special nature of the relationship between these two countries in later periods has been discussed by Robert and Isabelle Tombs in their book, *That Sweet Enemy*.

31   In saying this, I do not assert the separation of political and cultural influences on state formation. Instead, like more recent theorists of nationalism, I view the differentiation of political and cultural nationhood as a false dichotomy. See A. D. Smith, 'Ethnie and Nation', pp. 127–142.

connection of economic influences to both the political and the cultural is incorporated here, not as determinist or even lockstep with development, but still influential, and under-addressed in terms of its role in cultural production.[32]

The role of food and commerce in this pre-national state contributed to the emergence of the concepts of 'national taste', the way that English and French consumers viewed themselves, and the construction of ideas about what it meant to be 'French' or 'English' by virtue of comparison and connection. The cuisine of the court, and patterns of consumption by the bourgeoisie and the gentry were cultural practices identified by these sectors of society as expressions of 'national' identity, but they were not nationalistic in the modern sense of a political group sharing common beliefs acting as a collective entity.[33] Instead, they expressed a sentiment of national belonging in a cultural sphere and were codified in the culinary practices of England and France. Cuisine in this period did not serve to unify all of the population within its borders, but it operated as an emblem of cultural identity.

Culinary Hegemony as Cultural Export

The promulgation of French culinary hegemony began in 1651 with the publication of *Le Cuisinier françois.* French cuisine emerged, in print, as the dominant force in the development of cooking technique when French chefs departed from the pan-European traditions of the past, first identifying, and later codifying, the flavours and spices now associated with classic French cuisine.[34] This excellence was declared in the name of France, disseminated through the agency of printed cookbooks for the benefit of all who wished to share in the superiority of French cuisine. This break with the ancients, and a turn toward domestic flavours prefigured the mercantilist policies of Colbert, with more lasting results.[35]

---

32 Yoshino, *Consuming Ethnicity*, p. 11.
33 On the lack of cohesion of the early modern Parisian bourgeoisie outside their *quartier*, see Garrioch, *Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie*, pp. 1–7.
34 I use the term 'chefs' here to stand in for the historical French term *maîtres d'hôtel* to avoid confusion with the modern role of the same name in English. The role of the *maître d'hôtel* in the seventeenth century was not merely *chef de cuisine*, but head of all household staff with management responsibility for all domestic servants in a château.
35 DeJean, *Essence of Style*, p. 113.

In 1670, Savinien d'Alquié's *Les Délices de la France*, a guidebook, extolled the many virtues of France, including French cuisine and its unique flavours: 'I believe that we have things so special and so agreeable in taste, that no other Nation than ours has them, like truffles, whose taste is so charming and salutary, that there is nothing else like it in the world'.[36] He claimed that the best chefs in the world were French, and that Italians, Spaniards, Germans, English, Poles, Muscovites and Turks were all obliged to entertain in the French manner, when they want to have a good meal. In France, he boasted, you find the most refined, delicate and special meats—only roast Phoenix was beyond the reach of the French chef. The hyperbolic prose was directed at foreign travellers, exporting the appeal of French culinary excellence to all of Europe. Guidebooks and travel literature like *Les Délices de la France* in the late seventeenth century helped to establish France as a destination for connoisseurs of refined cuisine.

As an export, French cuisine became the prevailing mode for courtly entertaining across Europe. In France, aspiring bourgeoisie emulated courtly cooking through more modest culinary displays, forced by economic limitations to select only the best dishes, forming a canonical repertoire still recognisable today.[37] The *nouvelle cuisine* was quickly imported into London by powerful Whig politicians who competed for the services of celebrity French chefs. Unlike the bourgeoisie, the landed gentry struggled to translate the French extravagance of courtly cuisine through the language of English economy, despite the best attempts of English cookbooks to appear *au courant*.[38] The powerful grip of French fashion did not give way to Francophobia until later in the eighteenth century, when English cooks rejected elaborate cuisine in favour of simple fare, emblematic of Englishness.

An exploration of the role of cuisine in the formation of cultural identity in the seventeenth century necessarily begins with historical studies of the cuisines of France and England. The main focus of food historians who have written about this period is the printed cookbook, which replaced the manuscript compilations of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The issues of author and audience, culinary style and the dining experience are common, but the methodological approaches of scholars to primary sources and materials have varied.[39] Through the selective use of transnational

---

36   d'Alquié, *Les Délices de la France*, pp. 232–234.
37   Wheaton, *Savoring the Past*, pp. 194–195.
38   Lehmann, *The British Housewife*, pp. 193–194.
39   The most comprehensive study of French cuisine is Wheaton, *Savoring the Past*. Significantly, Wheaton dismisses the myth of Italian origins of French cooking through the court of Catherine

and comparative approaches in this analysis, the presence (or absence) of cultural exchange or emulation is neither presumed nor favoured.[40]

A close reading of primary sources is necessary to determine how French cuisine spread in translations of French texts, and how the texts were transformed, or not, in their assertion of French superiority, the influence of food culture as it developed during the *ancien régime*, and its emergence as a cultural marker for France.[41] French-authored cookbooks attempted to promulgate culinary hegemony but failed when English editions were not faithfully translated. Instead, French recipes were changed to appeal to the English audience through language that emphasised economy and simplicity, and included familiar ingredients rejected by *nouvelle cuisine*.

Mercantilism and Non-Traditional Influences on Economic Thought

By selecting food and drink that seventeenth-century consumers considered representative of their own narrowly defined collective ideologies, this book explores the role that the contrasting mercantilist trade policies of England and France played in forming their choices, and how these choices influenced the development of their economies. The role of economics in shaping the food traditions of seventeenth-century consumers provides tangible evidence which complements cultural history. As a discipline, economics is not primarily concerned with money, but with choices. And choices have consequences—costs, measured not only in terms of money, but also as time or lost opportunity. These consequences resonate beyond the sphere of the self-interested individual, and extend into unexpected areas of social, cultural, political, and intellectual practices. A number of economic theories, however, presume pre-existing consumer demand,

de Medici, locating importance instead in her use of court festivals. This is also discussed by Strong in *Feast*.

40   Mennell, *All Manners of Food*. The discussion of the divide in court and country food is really a comparison of France and England, characterising French cooking as courtly and defining English cooking as the cuisine of the gentry. The comparison does not consider Wheaton's assertion of overlap between bourgeois and haute cuisine in France and contradicts Lehmann's archival evidence that French courtly cuisine was served to the English court.

41   The apogee of the French culinary hegemony is located in the nineteenth century with Antoine Câreme. See Parkhurst-Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste*, p. 10. For an analysis of the intersection of religion, imperialism, and culinary hegemony, see Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*. For a discussion of luxury industries during the reign of Louis XIV, see DeJean, *Essence of Style*, p. 2.

limited only by the constraints of budget and income. For example, Ralph Davis' analysis of English seventeenth-century trade used Say's Law, which assumes that supply creates its own demand, to explain how imports and re-exports changed during the period.[42] Similarly, Jan de Vries' explanation for shifting patterns of consumption in early modern Northern Europe was that increased wage income, or conversely reduced prices, necessarily increase demand.[43] Consumers, unfortunately, are anything but rational. These analyses do not account for non-economic factors that produce contrary results: lower prices may relegate a luxury good to the status of commodity; new products may not initially succeed, in spite of unsatisfied demand for novelty, unless they can be contextualised in the consumer's social and cultural framework.

An examination of the economics of this period reveals the influences that gave rise to myths associated with cultural identity and provides insight into the development of seventeenth-century cultural practices and patterns of consumption. In particular, it is worth exploring how the economic concerns addressed by mercantilist writers influenced social, cultural, political and intellectual life in the seventeenth century. Before political economy was considered a separate discipline, scientific, religious, and philosophical discourse informed economic thought.[44] The prevailing school of economic thought in the seventeenth century was mercantilism, loosely defined as a system of economic programs and ideas common to early modern Europe. Seventeenth-century mercantilist authors addressed a disparate range of topics from sovereignty and power to population and botany.[45] The term 'mercantilism', however, is often dismissed when it is used as an analytical framework. Economic historian D. C. Coleman famously referred to the idea of mercantilism as a unified economic policy or theory as a 'red-herring of historiography.'[46] Mercantilism is not a complete system with a coherent doctrine like physiocracy, but the term has been used as a metonym for the practical economic policies of early modern nation-states and the body of literature which debated how to increase state wealth and

---

42   Davis, 'English Foreign Trade', pp. 150–166.
43   de Vries, 'Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods', p. 115.
44   Schabas makes the argument that economic discourse prior to the nineteenth century viewed commerce, trade, and money as natural phenomena. See Schabas, *Natural Origins of Economics*.
45   For example: Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*; Petty, *Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind*); and Linnaeus, *Economy of Nature*.
46   'Eli Heckscher and the Idea of Mercantilism', in D. C. Coleman, *Revisions in Mercantilism*, p. 117.

power.[47] Newer studies of mercantilism address the concerns raised by earlier historians of economic thought, and consider this strand of early modern political economy in a wider cultural context.[48] A consideration of sources not traditionally considered as economic, provides a new perspective on the formation of cultural practices in the period and the mutually influential relationship between culture and economics.[49]

Through the use of primary sources, the methodology employed here considers mercantilism from an interdisciplinary perspective. Typical primary sources where economic information and data can be found include newspapers, trade periodicals, pamphlets, economic treatises, household accounts, and price data. These traditional sources are supplemented by economic inflections found in cultural documents and sources, such as cookbooks, poems, plays, correspondence, paintings, engravings, and ephemera. The differences in authors, audiences, and medium allow for a consideration of the influence of political economy within the broader cultural setting in which it was developed. A more inclusive approach to sources also creates opportunities for analysis in the absence of traditional data, by providing a context to infer, with qualification, causal connections.[50] The combination of cultural history and economic history provides both a theoretical framework and concrete examples to illustrate the various factors which influenced the habits through which early modern English and French consumers fashioned their own ideas of who they were.[51]

De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum: Analysing the Economics of Taste

The Latin maxim that 'in matters of taste there can be no dispute' is often translated more loosely as 'there is no accounting for taste', meaning that taste is too subjective to be analysed objectively.[52] Traditional consumer theory is limited in this respect, because it assumes that consumer choices are influenced by a desire to gain the greatest possible benefit, defined as

---

47   Vardi, *Physiocrats and the World*, pp. 2–4.
48   For example: Magnusson, *Mercantilist Economics*, pp. 1–2; and Pincus, 'Rethinking Mercantilism', pp. 3–4.
49   Stern and Wennerlind, *Mercantilism Reimagined*.
50   Boix and Rosenbluth 'Bones of Contention', p. 1.
51   For examples of this blended approach, see: Shovlin, *Political Economy of Virtue*; and Stein, *Plumes*.
52   Stigler and Becker, 'De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum', pp. 76–90.

the most goods or services for the least amount of money. The consumer who seeks to maximise individual utility, subject to the constraints of income and substitute goods, is considered a rational consumer. A consumer who does not make choices to maximise utility is irrational, and beyond the scope of standard economic theory. Despite this apparent limitation, choices based on taste or fashion can still be analysed, provided that the social and cultural context in which the choice is made is also evaluated.[53] As Adam Smith identified in *The Theory of Moral Sentiment*: 'Few men... are willing to allow, that custom or fashion have much influence upon their judgments concerning what is beautiful', they 'imagine that all the rules which they think ought to be observed in each of them are founded upon reason and nature, not upon habit or prejudice.'[54] Smith's observation reminds us of the fallacy of objectivity and the role of culture and familiarity in matters of taste. I evaluate these influences on cultural practices in this period, not only to widen the scope of my analysis, but also because I argue that socioeconomic forces are deeply embedded in the associated cultural processes.[55]

The Anglo-French trade relationship in the seventeenth century offers an example of taste overriding the assumption of rational market-driven behaviour. The tariffs, treaties and embargoes commonly associated with mercantilist protectionism affected the supply of French wines in England in the middle of the century.[56] French wine producers begged Louis XIV's Controller General, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, to help them when a new English tax was levied on French wines in 1670. Colbert not only remained confident of continued English consumption, he also predicted that scarcity would increase consumer demand: 'it is likely that after the tax increase, demand will increase, having seen everywhere, that wine is consumed most heavily in those places where it is most expensive; it being difficult if not impossible for the English to give up drinking French wine.'[57] Colbert astutely recognised not only the inelasticity of demand for French wine, but also the appeal of what we would now refer to as conspicuous consumption. In dismissing the wine producers' concerns, he observed the social status ascribed to expensive wine, the English consumers' cultural preference

---

53   Gary Becker addresses the influence of collective demand on consumer choice. Becker, 'A Note on Restaurant Pricing', pp. 1109–1116.
54   Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, vol. V, p. *i*.
55   Davis, Diefendorf, and Hesse, *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe*, p. 1.
56   Ludington, *Politics of Wine in Britain*, p. 35.
57   Letter from Jean-Baptiste Colbert to Simon Arnauld de Pomponne, March 28, 1670, in Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 524.

for French wine, and concluded that higher prices would actually increase demand.

This departure from the traditionally inverse relationship between demand and price is interpreted as irrational when evaluating the actions of a decontextualised individual. The increase in demand at a higher price is rational, however, if social and cultural factors are considered. English consumers who wanted to display their wealth and taste by purchasing expensive French wine got exactly what they paid for. This example illustrates the approach used here, which requires a perspective that blends economic and cultural history. Apart from price and traditional economic constraints, there are social and cultural factors which contribute to the choices that economic actors make that fall outside the domain of traditional economic analysis.[58] Sarah Stein's study of the nineteenth-century ostrich feather trade *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce,* for example, refers to an overlap in the Venn diagrams of the economic and cultural spheres as the 'as-yet-untheorised interstices of economic and cultural history.'[59] Tracking the trade in ostrich feathers, or the development of bubbles in champagne, requires not only an analysis of the network of supply and demand, but also an analysis of changes in cultural patterns that influenced choices.

Utilising this blended cultural-economic approach, Chapter 1 looks at the English contribution to the origin and development of French champagne and challenges the presumption that cultural exchange between England and France in the seventeenth century, in matters of taste, was a one-way street. The English role in the development of sparkling wine is examined, and takes into account the influence of trade, taxes, scientific inquiry, cultural inertia, and myth to solve what French champagne historians have referred to as the English Paradox—how could a country that does not produce wine develop an innovative winemaking technique—that evolved into an icon of Frenchness?

Chapter 2 evaluates the role of mercantilist trade policies in forming French and English culinary traditions through a comparative analysis of import substitution and the joint-stock company, and a transnational analysis of cooking and cultural exchange. In 1651, the publication of *Le Cuisinier françois* communicated the development of a specifically French cuisine that abandoned the exoticism of imported spices for the delicacy of

58   Ashraf, Camerer, and Loewenstein, 'Adam Smith, Behavioural Economist', p. 141.
59   Stein, *Plumes*, p. 7.

native herbs.[60] The new cuisine acted as both an import substitute for spices imported through trade where France lacked a significant presence, and as a cultural export, disseminating the dominance of the French culinary hegemony through printed texts and the circulation of ideas. French recipes and French chefs came to England, but the French methods and flavours did not take hold.[61] Imitations of French cuisine abounded, but were French in name only, ignoring the painstaking and expensive techniques in favour of shortcuts in the name of economy. The circulation of people and ideas should have encouraged cultural exchange. An analysis of factors that discouraged the assimilation of French cuisine reveals why the imported culinary modes did not take hold.

Chapter 3 examines coffee in the context of the development of two sociable institutions that emerged during this period: the London coffeehouse and the Parisian café.[62] The different trajectories of the development of the Parisian café and the London coffeehouse are compared in conjunction with the introduction and transmission of the coffee habit in England and France. Here, the nature of the history calls for a comparative, rather than transnational approach to analyse how the development of new sociable spaces provided a context for the development of cultural practices, affecting how coffee was received in each country. The role of the Franco-Ottoman political relationship, commercial diplomacy, and the mythical influence of Turkish diplomatic envoy, Soliman Aga, are evaluated for their purported influence in communicating the cultural practice to Parisian nobles.

In Chapter 4 the focus shifts from innovation and novelty to an old commodity, produced in new colonies—sugar.[63] Sugar in the seventeenth century is often referred to as the common denominator which enabled European consumption of coffee, tea and chocolate. Through an alternative view, these combinations are 'unbundled' here to provide a clearer picture of the political economy and cultural context in which sugar was consumed.[64] Unbundled from its beverage companions, the value of sugar to the economy of each state is assessed to test the contemporary English claims that the French were too poor to buy sugar, and the French claims that the English sugar had to be consumed domestically as tariffs made it too expensive to re-export.

---

60   La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois*.
61   Wheaton, *Savoring the Past*.
62   Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*; Forster and Ranum, *Food and Drink in History*.
63   Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*; Stein, *French Sugar Business*.
64   de Vries, *Industrious Revolution*; Smith, *Consumption*.

Comparative and transnational methodologies reveal that development of food habits as cultural practices and the economic policies of each country in this period were mutually influential and informed the way elite consumers thought about themselves in terms of being 'English' or 'French'. This is shown through an analysis that challenges traditional presumptions through a couplet of contrasts in the subjects for each chapter: cultural inertia and trade in the development of innovation in winemaking; new maritime trade in an old commodity (spices) and how market access affected the adoption or resistance of cultural practices; the arrival of new commodities (coffee and tea) and the contingency of cultural exchange; and old commodities (sugar) grown in new colonies, removing foreign producers from the economic equation. This examination of the acceptance of, or resistance to novelty, new goods, and new spaces will show how economic policies and cultural practices transformed how early modern consumers of England and France described themselves as 'English' or 'French'.

Bibliography

Printed Primary Sources

Addison, Joseph. *The Tatler*, No. 131, February 1709–1710; No. 148, March 21, 1709–1710.

d'Alquié, Savinien. *Les Délices de la France*. Paris: G. de Luyne, 1670.

Colbert, Jean Baptiste. *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert.* Paris: Impr. impériale, 1861–1873.

Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe, *Histoire du roy Henry le Grand*. Paris: Thomas Lolly, 1662.

King, William. *The Art of Cookery: In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry*. London: Bernard Lintott, 1708.

La Varenne, Francois Pierre de. *Le Cuisinier françois*, eds. J.L. Flandrin, P. Hyman, and M. Hyman. Paris: Montalba, 1983.

Linnaeus, *The Economy of Nature*. Transl. of *Oeconomia naturae*. London: Benjamin Stillingfleet, 1775.

Montaigne, Michel de. *Les Essais*, Édition Villey-Saulnier. Paris: PUF, 2004.

Petty, Sir William. *An Essay Concerning the Multiplication of Mankind: Together with Another Essay in Political Arithmetick Concerning the Growth of the City of London, with the Measures, Periods, Causes, and Consequences Thereof. 1682.* 2nd, rev. and enl. ed. London: Mark Pardoe, 1686.

Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, François de. *Les Aventures de Télémaque,* 1699.

Sully, Maximilien de Béthune, duc de. *Les Oeconomies royales de Sully, vol. II, 1595-1599*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1970.

Walpole, Horace. *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Vol. 6*, ed. W. S. Lewis. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937.

Secondary Literature

Ashraf, Nava, Colin F. Camerer, and George Loewenstein. 'Adam Smith, Behavioural Economist'. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19:3 (2005), 131–145.

Baldwin, Olive, and Thelma Wilson. '250 Years of Roast Beef'. *The Musical Times*, 126: 1706 (1985), 203–207.

Barthes, Roland. 'Toward a Psychology of Contemporary Food Consumption'. In *Food and Culture. A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan & Penny Van Esterik. New York & London: Routledge, 1997, 20–27.

Bayly, C. A., Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History'. *The American Historical Review* 111: 5 (2006), 1441–1464.

Becker, Gary S. 'A Note on Restaurant Pricing and Other Examples of Social Influences on Price'. *Journal of Political Economy* 99: 5 (1991), 1109–1116.

Bell, David. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism 1680-1800.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Bloch, Marc. 'A Contribution Towards a Comparative History of European Societies' in *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers by Marc Bloch*. Trans. J. E. Anderson. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967.

Boix, Charles, and Frances Rosenbluth 'Bones of Contention: The Political Economy of Height Inequality'. *American Political Science Review* 108 (February 2014), 1–21.

Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme. *The Physiology of Taste: or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*. Trans. M.F.K. Fisher. New York: Heritage, 1949.

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 'Beyond 'Identity''. *Theory and Society* 29 (2000), 14–21.

Coleman, D. C., ed. *Revisions in Mercantilism*. London: Methuen, 1969.

Cowan, Brian William. *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005

Davis, Natalie Zemon, Barbara B. Diefendorf, and Carla Alison Hesse. *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.

Davis, Ralph. 'English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700'. *The Economic History Review* 7: 2 (1954), 150–166.

DeJean, Joan. *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented High Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication and Glamour*. New York: Free Press, 2005.

de Vries, Jan. 'Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods: Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe'. In *Consumption and the World of Goods,* eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Dunn, Richard S. *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713.* London: Cape, 1973.

Dupâquier, Jacques. *La Population française aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles.* Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1979.

Erikson, E. *Chartering Capitalism: Organizing Markets, States, and Publics.* New York: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2015.

Forester, Robert and Orest A. Ranum. *Food and Drink in History: Selections from the Annales, économies, sociétes, civilisations, volume 5.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.

Garrioch, David. *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690-1830.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Goldstein, David B. 'Eats Well with Others: Culinary Skepticism in *As You Like It* and Montaigne's "Of Experience".' *Criticism* 59: 4 (2017): 639–660.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, [1983] 2005.

Harding, Vanessa. *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Issartel, Thierry. 'Hardouin de Péréfixe et les enseignements absolutistes d'Henri IV: l'Histoire du roy Henry le Grand (1661)' in Gregory Champeaud et Céline Piot (s.d.), L'image d'Henri IV à travers les siècles. Actes de la journée d'études (Nérac, 15 mai 2010), Editions d'Albret, 2010, 95–143.

Kumar, Krishan. *The Making of English National Identity.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Laudan, Rachel. *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013.

Lehmann, Gilly. *The British Housewife: Cookery Books, Cooking and Society in Eighteenth- Century Britain.* Devon: Prospect Books, 2003.

Lehmann, Gilly. 'Politics in the Kitchen'. *Eighteenth-Century Life* 23: 2 (1999), 71–83.

Ludington, Charles. *The Politics of Wine in Britain.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Magnusson, Lars, ed., *Mercantilist Economics.* Boston: Kluwer, 1993.

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

Mingay, Gordon. *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.

Newman, Gerald. *The Rise of English Nationalism 1740–1830.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987.

Ory, Pascal. 'Gastronomy'. In *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Parkhurst-Ferguson, Priscilla. *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006.

Pincus, Steven. 'Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries'. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 69:1 (January 2012), 3–34.

Rogers, Ben. *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull and the English Nation*. London: Vintage, 2004.

Schabas, Margaret. *The Natural Origins of Economics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Shovlin, John. *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Siegel, Jerrold. *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Smith, A. D. 'Ethnie and Nation in the Modern World', *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*. 14:2 (1985), 127–142.

Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, eds. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981.

Spary, E.C. *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Stein, Robert Louis. *The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Stein, Sarah Abrevaya. *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Stern, Philip J. and Carl Wennerlind, eds. *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Stigler, George J., and Gary S. Becker. 'De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum'. *The American Economic Review* 67:2 (March 1977), 76–90.

Strong, Roy. *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2003.

Tombs, Robert and Isabelle Tombs. *That Sweet Enemy. Britain and France: The History of a Love-Hate Relationship*. New York: Vintage, 2006.

Tyrell, Ian. 'Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice'. *Journal of Global History* 4: 3 (2009), 457–458.

Vardi, Liani. *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Wheaton, Barbara Ketcham. *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Wrigley, E. A. 'A Simple Model of London's importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750'. In *Towns in Societies*, eds. P. Abrams and E. A. Wrogley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 215–243.

Wrigley, E. A. 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period'. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15: 4 (Spring, 1985), pp. 683–728.

Yoshino, Kosaku. *Consuming Ethnicity and Nationalism: Asian Experiences.* Richmond: Curzon, 1999.