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9

Industrial and homemade clothing production in the Netherlands

A neutral country during the First World War

Marta Kargól

The centennial of the First World War in 2014 attracted a fair amount of attention in the Netherlands, perhaps surprisingly so, given that the country remained neutral throughout the war. The commemorative events provided an opportunity for scholars to discuss the Netherlands' role within the larger international conflict, as well as the political, economic, and social repercussions within the country. However, until recently, Dutch historiography has primarily focused on the political and economic effects of the war, without taking into account daily life during the conflict.¹ The question of clothing production and consumption in the Netherlands has never previously been examined. This article will attempt to fill that gap.

This paper will first contextualize clothing production in the Netherlands within the context of international and national events in order to grasp the problems that the industry faced during the war. Then it will examine the concept of Dutch fashion during the era, looking at foreign influences. Was the country able to develop a distinct national identity? Finally, the importance of homemade clothing will be addressed. Did the war have a direct impact on women's production habits? What of their renewed interest in needlework? Ultimately, this paper argues that the Netherlands offers a useful case study on the First World War's impact on clothing production and consumption in a neutral nation.

Much of the present research on the Netherlands' involvement in the First World War centers either on the country's neutrality and the measures taken to preserve this neutral position or on the presence

of Belgian refugees in the country.² The state of daily life for Dutch women during the war has been less studied than other gender-related topics, such as women's voting rights or female espionage (as in the well-known case of Mata Hari).³ Yet the lives and roles of women in countries that did go to war has been well researched.⁴ Historians have broadly addressed women's dress and the difficulties in its production and distribution in England, for example, but the same attention has not been granted to the Netherlands.⁵

Dutch newspapers and women's magazines published during the war allow for a detailed study of women's daily dress. Newspapers such as *Algemeen Handelsblad of het Volk* (General Bulletin of the People) provide context on the political, economic, and social issues that affected manufacturing and framed daily life.⁶ The women's magazines can be subdivided into two types: those that are fashion specific, such as *De Gracieuse* (The Gracious) and *Onze Kleeding* (Our Clothing), and general women's magazines such as *Vrouw en haar Huis* (The Woman and Her Home), intended for women of the middle or upper classes. Of these magazines, *De Gracieuse* had the widest impact; in 1904, it had a circulation of 22,000 copies.⁷ In 1916, the magazine cost 30 cents for the standard issue and 45 cents for the luxury edition. *Onze Kleeding* was published by the Association of Trade Schools for the Betterment of Women and Children's Clothes (Vereeniging: Vakschool voor Verbeetering van Vrouwen—en Kinderkleding), which was founded in 1898.⁸ The women's magazine *Vrouw en haar Huis* had a wider range of content than *De Gracieuse* and *Onze Kleeding*, covering topics ranging from culture and home improvement to women's voting rights. Generally, all of the magazines offered patterns for home clothing production. In 1916, *De Gracieuse* sold patterns for 5 cents apiece.⁹ *De Vrouw en haar Huis'* prices varied depending on clothing type: a pattern for baby clothes costs 25 cents while one for one for a suit or coat cost 1 florin and 25 cents.¹⁰ *De Vereeniging* sold patterns to members of the association at various price points.¹¹

Daily life in the Netherlands during the war

Discussion of the war was at its most prevalent in these newspapers and women's magazines in 1914, 1917, and 1918. The war was mentioned less frequently between 1915 and 1917. After the first months, the panic surrounding the initial events wore off, and shortages and economic crisis didn't greatly affect the Netherlands until 1917.

An attitude of heightened anxiety predominated in the press at the start of the war. Writers were principally worried about the unviability of neutrality and the potential for economic decline. Two defining events consumed the attentions of the entire population: the mobilization of the armed forces, carried out in early August 1914, and the subsequent influx of thousands of Belgian refugees into the Netherlands.¹² Government aid from the Netherlands was often insufficient in meeting the

needs of the displaced population and so civil society was asked to step in and help. Eventually, the feared economic crisis did arrive, reaching its peak in 1917 and 1918. Heightened submarine warfare in the North Sea had disrupted trade and Dutch neutrality had not eradicated commercial pressures from neighboring nations, notably England and Germany.¹³ Neutrality was not only a privilege, it also created obligations at the international level. As of 1915, the Netherlands was no longer allowed to resell to Germany products purchased in England, or those made from English raw materials. This ban included clothing, textiles, and any product necessary for clothing manufacture. Germany, in turn, limited the number of their products which could be sold to the Netherlands, and began exporting quantities which were inadequate for the Dutch domestic market. The Netherlands was known for its production of colored cotton fabric, but this industry was particularly affected as Germany had a monopoly on the dyestuffs.¹⁴

Understanding the Netherlands' pre-war garment industry allows one to better contextualize the effects of the war. After 1800, the Dutch clothing and textile sectors experienced rapid growth.¹⁵ Large factories proliferated in the eastern region of Twente and in the Brabant province, and the country became known for its high-quality cotton and wool textiles. The Netherlands maintained close trade relationships with multiple European countries as well as the United States. The Dutch imported hosiery and knitted goods from England, as well as fabric for the production of high-quality men's clothing. French imports included patterns for clothing production, fabric for women's clothing, furs, scarfs, shoes, and perfumes. From Germany, the Netherlands imported wool and cotton for the garment production, as well as stockings from Chemnitz and embroidery from Plauen. Belgium was a major provider of underclothes and lace. An article from *Algemeen Handelsblad* published in 1914 describes the nature of prewar clothing importation, but unfortunately does not provide quantities for the items mentioned.¹⁶

While the population was navigating the difficulties of the economic crisis and adjusting to the scarcity of products necessary for everyday life, Dutch society was experiencing another novel phenomenon: increasing calls for women's right to vote. The largest demonstration for voting rights took place in Amsterdam in 1916.¹⁷ In 1919, after two decades of campaigning, voting rights were finally granted.¹⁸ Demands for suffrage went hand in hand with the fight against poor living conditions. Women sought to ameliorate their personal circumstances, while concurrently addressing broader causes, such as international peace, for example.¹⁹ Multiple demonstrations for improved economic conditions occurred during the war. Women also created petitions and engaged with local authorities. Their primary demands involved access to necessary goods, especially food.²⁰ The political and social aspects of women's lives became increasingly interdependent, as the demand for the right to vote joined a broader struggle that included the fights for better housing, access to medical care, and improved working conditions.²¹ Women's movements drew from daily realities, and would continue to do so as they challenged the traditional domestic roles of the wife, mother, and housekeeper.

Many Dutch women began working during the war. Their situation was less fraught than that of women in neighboring countries at war. Since some Dutch men continued working as inactive reserves, women were not asked to work “masculine” jobs. Instead of working in factories, many women turned to help the needy—the poor, refugees, and soldiers.²² Some entered the medical sector. A training course for nurses was instituted in Amsterdam at the beginning of the war. According to an article in *Onze Kleeding*, hundreds of women took part.²³ According to the association “Onze Kleeding,” this course provided the occasion for women to point out the impracticality of the traditional nurse’s uniforms, whose long straight skirts impeded movement, and prevented one from kneeling next to the wounded.²⁴ The magazine *De Gracieuse* proposed their own set of uniforms, which were nevertheless still characterized by narrow skirts and shirts. Yet, period photographs of Dutch nurses in the Red Cross show that uniforms would differ from the ones described, with designs that were much more ample and comfortable.²⁵

Industrial clothing production

The press, and women’s magazines in particular, expressed fears about potential economic troubles that the Netherlands could face from the very beginning of the war. But the real troubles would not appear for several years. Initially, Dutch factories had recourse to sufficient reserves of materials and the employees who had been mobilized into the army were quickly replaced by Belgian refugees.²⁶ At the start of the war, the situation was indeed favorable for many clothing manufacturers, as orders from the military bolstered sales.²⁷ Women’s magazines encouraged women to dress themselves elegantly and to purchase new clothes, as this supported the national economy and employment numbers.²⁸ The national production of underclothes increased in 1916—what had previously been purchased from Germany was now produced in the Netherlands.²⁹ These early successes led the press to believe that Dutch production after the war’s end would remain strong, and that the country would have the additional benefit of being less dependent on the importation of foreign goods.

Unfortunately, a production crisis emerged in the spring of 1916, with the press reporting that the price of fabric had increased to a significant degree.³⁰ Unemployment also began to rise sharply at this time. Throughout the course of the year, clothing of good quality became increasingly expensive, while affordable clothes became increasingly unattainable. The root cause was a shortage of fabric and other primary materials.³¹ In August 1916, the newspaper *Het Volk* (The People) wrote:

For some while now, a shortage of thread has become apparent. German factories send us nothing due to the ban on exports. Belgian factories are destroyed and otherwise non-operational, English factories produce very little. The clothing industry is constantly facing new difficulties. Companies and designers in need of thread know not where to turn.³²

The situation became even more difficult in 1917 and 1918. Ongoing submarine warfare prevented commerce with much of Europe, as well as the United States and Asia, an important market for the Netherlands. Wool and cotton were notably in short supply. England, for example, which had still exported 60,000 lbs of cotton yarn to the Netherlands in 1915, halted supplies almost completely in 1917.³³ The price of European imports tripled. As a result, domestic production was severely curtailed, and as textile factories closed down in the eastern regions. Many lost employment—12,000 people lost their positions in the town of Enschede, for example.³⁴ Clothing became more expensive, with the price of shoes jumping from 6 or 7 florins to 15 in 1917.³⁵ The price of a men's suit, in that same year, reached 50 or 60 florins, from the expected 20 or 25.³⁶ These examples show that the price of clothing doubled.³⁷

Poverty was becoming increasingly prevalent, and whilst food was the primary concern, the press also reported an enormous demand for clothing and shoes. The magazine *Het Volk* reported on the situation in Rotterdam: "The families of the unemployed are in dire need of clothing and shoes. Thousands of items are being delivered, but the situation is very urgent, as demand is still great."³⁸ In 1917 and 1918, charitable organizations in Utrecht delivered twice as many clothes to the needy as in the previous years.³⁹ The recipients lacked every kind of item, especially socks and shoes. To compensate, many turned to wearing military uniforms bought back from the soldiers.⁴⁰ The police also noted an uptick in clothing theft and confirmed that clothing had indeed become a highly sought-after commodity.⁴¹

Dutch fashion during the war

Dutch fashion was largely inspired by French fashion before the war, even though women's magazines occasionally criticized French couture for its lack of practicality. German fashion, itself influenced by Parisian couture, also played a part in inspiring Dutch fashion design.⁴² Many articles in Dutch women's magazines continued to be devoted to French and German couture, even during the war. Yet, in the fall of 1916, the Dutch press revealed that the so-called French patterns sold in Germany and Austria were not in fact of French origin, but counterfeits derived from French fashion journals. The Dutch fashion magazine *De Fransche Modejournalen* (The French Fashion Magazine), recommended three veritable French publications to its readers: *Les Élégances Parisiennes*, *Le Tailleur*, and *La Blouse*.⁴³

In the early days of the war, the women's journals frequently discussed the war's influence on fashion. Journalists—their names were often not attached to articles in this period—posed the question of whether it was still appropriate to be preoccupied with fashion during wartime. Many pointed to the new designs coming out of countries engaged in war, such as France, as proof that the matter remained important, despite the difficult circumstances.⁴⁴ In November 1914, *De Gracieuse* wrote:

The initial fear of the war has nevertheless subsided, and we can return to our daily lives with a measure of calm; we are once again able to appreciate simple domestic pleasures. For evening events with our soldiers, and for charity events, we feel the need for more sophisticated wardrobes.⁴⁵

In 1914, the newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* published an article attributed to A.K. stating: “All are still operating: Worth and Paquin, Drécolle and Callot, Doucet and Bernard, and Besschoff-David [*sic*]. The great Parisian fashion houses are still turning out, as if by magic, their dresses and coats; they are still sending their ethereal tulle to all corners of the world.”⁴⁶

Deliveries of women’s fashion in the Netherlands for the fall and winter seasons of 1914 arrived early, which spurred sales, and gave Dutch women reason to remain calm.⁴⁷ Many believed that fashion would become simpler in the following year, but this information came from England and not Paris, as the French designs had not yet arrived, and stores no longer imported from Germany.⁴⁸ Some of the silhouettes did change slightly—dresses, for example, became wider. Skirts gained in popularity, as they allowed one to mix and match with a variety of blouses and jackets (Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1 Fashion illustration. *Gracieuse*, no. 7: 16/5 (1916). Collection: Kunstmuseum, Den Haag.

In 1916, new, even larger skirts attracted much attention in the Dutch press. This fashion development appeared illogical to the Dutch: why design skirts requiring so much fabric when it was an expensive and scarce commodity?⁴⁹ The following year, skirts narrowed once again. Newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* confirmed that this was notably a Dutch phenomenon, seen as preferable for women in the Netherlands.⁵⁰ Simplicity became the standard, but international influences remained prominent (Figure 9.2).

Despite the crisis, new stores and fashion houses did emerge during the war. An English house designing men's clothing opened in The Hague in September 1915, and fashion house Peek & Cloppenburg followed suit in 1917.⁵¹ That same year, the Amsterdam-based fashion house Hirsch organized a fashion show of Parisian and Viennese couture.⁵² An author with the initials T.G.-B. wrote an article in *De Mode* on its subject: "Paris or Vienna!? . . . This show of Parisian and Viennese fashion forces us to compare the two, and it's no easy task to determine who comes out on top. We are currently quite dependent on foreign fashion."⁵³ This dependence was often mentioned in the context of the Netherlands' lack of a national fashion identity. In this same article, the author lamented the fact that

Figure 9.2 Fashion illustration. Gracieuse, no. 8: 16/3 (1915). Collection: Kunstmuseum, Den Haag.

no Dutch woman had attained success as a couturière. Dutch women were adept at creating clothes for themselves and their children, but none were able to carve out a professional career designing clothing.⁵⁴

Domestic couture

Studying the production of clothes in individual households is always difficult—few sources provide adequate information on the popularity of the phenomenon. We can base some of our hypotheses on the number of magazines containing sewing and knitting patterns: there was indeed a larger demand for all types of patterns during the war.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, these figures do not indicate the total number of magazines sold, and while we can read into how closely the patterns followed the popular fashions at the time, we should not ignore the fact that each woman would have put her own personal touches on the designs, replicating them to varying degrees of faithfulness. Homemade clothing could be the result of stylistic trends or individual passion, but more often than not it arose as a necessity in times of crisis or economic difficulty. Eventually, homemade clothing in the Netherlands became a public affair, as women were urged to clothe soldiers and the needy.

The call to mobilize provided the Dutch with the war's first major disruption to daily life. Although the army provided clothing to soldiers, the uniforms were often severely damaged or incomplete. Soldiers were advised to pack their own underclothes.⁵⁶ As a result, women's magazines urged their readers to sew and knit warm underclothes for the men (Figure 9.3):

As our soldiers stand watch out in the cold on the frontier, in order to preserve our neutrality, us women have a duty to make warm clothing for our husbands and our sons. Let us set to work, knitting assiduously, and appreciate this art which has somewhat fallen out of fashion.⁵⁷

It is interesting that knitting was deemed “out of fashion”. Knitting, it seems, had become seen as a slightly outdated practice at the dawn of the war, one that it was necessary to imbue with new value and purpose. After this call went out, thousands of socks were made and dispatched to the army. Dutch women made 35,000 balaclavas, called “bivakmutsen.”⁵⁸ These efforts welcomed by the soldiers, and in total 60,000 of these face masks were sent out in the early months of the war.⁵⁹ Women's magazines provided instructions and patterns for knitting caps, socks, gloves, and other clothing items (Figure 9.4).

Belgian refugees were also in need of warm clothing, as well as food and blankets. Many female Belgian refugees were employed in the fashion industry, and were recompensed with one item of clothing per week, as well as their salary.⁶⁰ A fashion school in Amsterdam organized a drive to help Belgian families; during their vacation, each student had to knit one sweater.⁶¹

Figure 9.3 *Knitting for soldiers*. Gracieuse, no. 19: 13 (1914). Collection: Kunstmuseum, Den Haag.

These efforts were an undeniable boon to the popularity of needlework, and were accompanied by renewed interest from women in making their own clothes, in order to compensate for the rising cost of living.⁶² Homemade clothing existed in the Netherlands prior to the war, and multiple magazines for patterns had been published since the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁶³ However, the homemade had become less popular at the end of the century, as industrial production was often cheaper and of higher quality, as evidenced by the following statement issued in the early months of the war:

Knitting stockings! Who did not learn that at school? Then, they invented a machine that could do the work more quickly. When factories began producing knitted goods that were shinier and straighter than the ones made by hand—when manufacturers were capable of producing an inexhaustible supply of cheap socks and stockings—we packed up the knitting needles that had been in our hands all day long. Schools stopped teaching the practice.⁶⁴

The war brought the practice back in full. The resultant handmade clothes were simple and practical, and while they began as a product of necessity, they soon became fashionable, and even a

Figure 9.4 Knitting for soldiers. *Gracieuse*, no. 20: 9 (1917). Collection: Kunstmuseum, Den Haag.

symbol of elegance at times. As one journalist wrote in *De Gracieuze*, “In this time of war, knitting has once again become appreciated, not only for making clothes for soldiers, but also, in service of fashion. We now wear dresses that are shorter and wider, with white stockings that we make ourselves.”⁶⁵ Women organized informal groups to knit together and to teach the practice to young girls. In an article published in 1915 in *Vrouw en haar Huis*, the journalist Geertruida Carelsen argued that hand-sewing was superior to machine work in certain instances, and called on women to repair their used and damaged clothing: “The needle is very useful for small reparations. Here and there, you can re sew a small tear to prevent the hole from widening, disguise worn fabric with a small pleat, or connect two pieces that are too delicate for the machine.”⁶⁶

Generally, women’s magazines devoted an increasing amount of space to the reparation and reuse of old clothing, as well as to advice on transforming cheap dresses into fashionable ones. The magazines also advised, especially after 1917, that due to a shortage of soap, women should avoid wearing light clothing in favor of darker fabric. They suggested that readers make their own fabric and clothing from the cotton that was available in stores, a method that was particularly popular with women in the countryside.⁶⁷ For work clothing, women’s magazines presented a number of replicable designs which

used embroidery and other forms of ornamentation: “These are hard times! Prices are high in every sector, we’re continuously confronted with harsh realities, and it has become more practical to create all of the decorations for our clothes at home.”⁶⁸ While embroidery was already popular in major magazines such as *Le Gracieuse* and *Vrouw en haar Huis* before the war, it soon gained even greater prominence as a practical solution for making simple clothes chic and elegant. It also happened to be in line with the fashions coming out of Paris, as houses such as Chanel, Doucet, and Premet, for instance, began featuring embroidery in their designs as well.

During this era, Dutch women, notably in the northern province of Friesland, still wore regional costumes with white lace Dutch bonnets. Due to supply problems, women began to knit their caps themselves—several examples are today conserved at the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden.⁶⁹ At the beginning of the war, *Onze Kleding* wrote that one had to dress in a manner that was practical, simple, and sound.⁷⁰ In 1914, the association organized a number of exhibitions in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen, and Den Bosch to showcase and promote such simple designs. Women’s interest in these exhibitions was substantial, confirming that the seeming fascination with home clothing production was not simply propaganda released through women’s magazines, but a real response to the problems caused by the war.⁷¹

Conclusion

The state of industrial and home clothing production in the Netherlands during the First World War can only be understood in relation to the complex political, economic, and social phenomena that were reshaping the country. The war had a considerable effect on factory production and served as a test to the nation’s self-sufficiency. From 1914 until 1916, the situation appeared advantageous for the Dutch economy, as trade with the neighboring British and German empires continued. After submarine warfare between these two parties heightened in the North Sea in 1917, trade became difficult and economic prospects dimmed. Poverty increased substantially, affecting factory workers, who were already economically vulnerable before the war.

While the country did not develop a veritable national identity in terms of its wardrobe, it did seek to emancipate itself from Parisian influences, as foreign fashion revealed itself to be poorly suited towards the country’s new ways of life. Thus, clothing that was simple, practical, and easy to make by hand became recognized as typically Dutch. Nevertheless, after the war’s end, Paris continued to dominate the Dutch market and sense of style.

The war caused an increase in homemade clothing production. Needlework was practiced before the war, but the conflict engendered it with new meaning; it was not only a practical response to shortages and economic difficulties, but soon became fashionable in its own right. It served as a social,

communal practice, and as a sign of one's personal contribution to the war effort. While Dutch women were fighting for their voting rights and for improved living conditions, they were concurrently demonstrating that they were good mothers, wives, and citizens.

The situation in the Netherlands during the war was undoubtedly preferable to that in neighboring countries engaged in warfare. It might appear less exciting to study clothing production and living conditions in a country that remained neutral throughout the conflict, but as we delve deeper, we find nuances in the country's approach towards production that reveal much about its overall response to wartime.

Notes

- 1 The following works address the history of the Netherlands during the war: Paul Moeyes, Buitenschot: Nederland tijdens *de Eerste Wereldoorlog 1914–1918* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, 2014); Eddy Schaafsma, ed., *Onze Eerste Wereldoorlog: Van Aardappeloproer tot Mata Hari: Hoe Neutraal Nederland diep werd Geraakt door de Oorlog van 1914–1918* (Amsterdam: Reed Business Media, 2014); Wim Klinkert, ed., *Nederland Neutraal: De Eerste Wereldoorlog 1914–1918* (Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Boom, 2014); Samuel Kruizinga, *Overlegeconomie in Oorlogstijd: de Nederlandsche Overzee Trustmaatschappij en de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2012); Wim Klinkert, *Defending Neutrality: The Netherlands Prepares for War, 1900–1925* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Martin Kraaijestein and Paul Schulten, eds., *Wankel Evenwicht: Neutraal Nederland en de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Soesterberg: Aspekt, 2007); and Maartje Abbenhuis-Ash, *The Art of Staying Neutral: The Netherlands in the First World War, 1914–1918* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).
- 2 Ismee Tames, “*Oorlog voor onze Gedachten.*” *Oorlog, Neutraliteit en Identiteit in het Nederlandse Publieke Debat, 1914–1918* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006); Martin Philip Bossenbroek, Geert Laporte, J. B. C. Kruishoop, Romain Van Eenoo, M. De Waele, and H. W. Von der Dunk, *Vluchten voor de Groote Oorlog: Belgen in Nederland 1914–1918* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988); and Michael Amara, *Vluchten voor de Oorlog: Belgische vluchtelingen 1914–1918* (Gent: Davidsfonds, 2004).
- 3 Hanneke Hoekstra, *Het Hart van de Hatie: Morele Verontwaardiging en Politieke Verandering in Nederland 1870–1919* (Deventer: Kluwer, 2006).
- 4 Among others: Margaret Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000); Claire A. Culleton, *Working-Class Culture, Women and Britain, 1914–1921* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Erika A. Kuhlman, *Petticoats and White Feathers: Gender Conformity, Race, the Progressive Peace Movement, and the Debate over War 1895–1919* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1997); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2002); Arthur Marwick, *Women at War, 1914–1918* (London: Fontana for the Imperial War Museum, 1977).
- 5 Lucy Adlington, *Great War Fashion: Tales from the History Wardrobe* (Stroud: History Press, 2014); *ibid.*, *Fashion: Women in World War One* (Stroud: History Press, 2014); Barton Hacker and Margaret Vining, “Cutting a new pattern: Uniforms and women's mobilization for war 1854–1919,” *Textile History* 41 (2010): 108–43.
- 6 The political and religious affiliations of each newspaper must be taken into account. Their biases force us to use prudence, but also allow us to observe reality reflected through various perspectives.

- 7 Christine Delhay, *Door Consumptie tot Individu: Modebladen in Nederland 1880–1914* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 14.
- 8 This organization also led courses in fashion design and production, and organized exhibitions to promote clothing that was practical and comfortable.
- 9 This cost only included mailing and administration. *De Gracieuse*, January 1, 1916, 1.
- 10 “Prijzen der Knippatronen,” *De Vrouw en haar Huis*, 11, March, 1915, 372.
- 11 “Knippatronen,” *Onze Kleeding*, 10, October 1, 1918, 67.
- 12 Dirk Starink, *De Jonge Jaren van de Luchtmacht: Het Luchtwapen in het Nederlandse Leger 1913–1939* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom, 2013), 90–1. It has been estimated that 1 million Belgian refugees arrived in the Netherlands at the start of the war: 500,000 in Brabant, 400,000–500,000 in Zeeland, and the rest in Limburg, see Amara, *Vluchten voor de Oorlog*, 13.
- 13 The organization *De Nederlandsche Overzee Trust Maatschappij* (The Dutch Overseas Trust Company, or NOT) was created in November 1914. This organization regulated commerce with neighboring countries and responded to their demands. It served as a means to ensure the Netherlands’ political neutrality during the war.
- 14 “Een Gevaar voor de Textielindustrie,” *Het Volk: Dagblad voor de arbeiderspartij*, November 13, 1914, 5.
- 15 Marjolein Morée and Marjan Schwegman, *Vrouwenarbeid in Nederland* (Rijswijk: Elmar 1981), 105.
- 16 “De Vrouw: De Mode in Oorlogstijd,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 28, 1914.
- 17 Hoekstra, *Het hart van de natie*, 168–77.
- 18 Remieg Aerts, Herman De Liagre Böhl, Piet De Rooy, and Henk Te Velde, *Land van Kleine Gebaren: Een Politieke Geschiedenis van Nederland 1780–1990* (Nijmegen: Sun 1999), 161–75.
- 19 The International Congress of Women organized a conference in The Hague on the subject of pacifism in 1915, which proved to be one of the most important events for the women’s movement during the war. A report on the Congress was published in the magazine: “Indrukken van het Internationaal Congress van Vrouwen,” *De Vrouw en haar Huis*, 2, June 1915, 52–7.
- 20 “De Vrouwen tegen de Duurte,” *Het Volk: Dagblad voor de Arbeiderspartij*, September 17, 1915, 5 (a petition signed in Dordrecht); “De Vrouwen in Actie,” *Algemene Nieuwsblad*, February 2, 1917, s. 9. (a delegation of women who met with the mayor of Leiden); “De Straat Betogingen,” *Het Volk: Dagblad voor de Arbeiderspartij*, February 6, 1917, 5 (a demonstration of women in Rotterdam).
- 21 Hoekstra, *Het hart van de natie*, 177.
- 22 “Het Werk onzer Nederlandsche Vrouwen,” *De Vrouw en haar huis*, 9, January, 1915, 294–6.
- 23 J. Stärcke, “Van Oorlog en Vrede en van Onpraktische Kleding,” *Onze Kleeding*, 9, September 1, 1914, 135–6.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 “Geheugen van Nederland,” at: <http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/nl/items/SFA03:SFA022804910/&p=1&i=19&t=52&st=rode%20kruis%20eerste%20wereldoorlog&sc=%28cql.serverChoice%20all%20rode%20%20AND%20kruis%20%20AND%20eerste%20%20AND%20wereldoorlog%29/&wst=rode%20kruis%20eerste%20wereldoorlog> (accessed June 26, 2020).
- 26 A. van Schelven, *Vereniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief. Textiel, Kleding-, Leder-, Schoen-e.a. Lederwaren Industrie: Een Geschiedenis en Bronnenoverzicht* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1993), 26.

- 27 Friso Wielenga, *Nederland in de Twintigste Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom, 2009), 74.
- 28 “De Oorlog en de Vrouwenkleding,” *De Gracieuse*, 19, October 1, 1914–November 1, 1914, 4.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 “De Huidige Toestand van Textiel-branche,” *Middelburgsche Courant*, April 8, 1916, 3.
- 31 “Uit de Textiel-industrie,” *Tilburgsche Courant*, February 6, 1917, 2.
- 32 “Het Oorlogsgevaar: Gebrek aan Naai-garen,” *Het Volk: Dagblad voor de Arbeiderspartij*, August 22, 1916, 3.
- 33 “Nederland en de Oorlog: Export-Centrale,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, May 23, 1917, 5.
- 34 “Werkloosheid te Enschede,” *Nieuwsblad van Friesland: Hepkema’s Courant*, May 27, 1917, 1.
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- 42 In the 1910s, the association Onze Kleding collaborated with the German Movement for the Betterment of Women’s Clothing (Deutscher Verband für Neue Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur). “Het Herstellen van Waschbare Stoffen,” *De Gracieuse*, 24, December 15, 1915, 1.
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- 44 “Onze Kleding,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 13, 1914, 5.
- 45 “Nieuwe, Eenvoudige Wintermodes,” *De Gracieuse*, 23, December 1, 1914, 1.
- 46 “De Vrouw: De Mode in Oorlogstijd,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 28, 1914, 3.
- 47 *Onze Kleding*, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 13, 1914, p. 5.
- 48 Ibid. “De Vrouw: De Mode in Oorlogstijd,” p. 3.
- 49 “Tegen de Wijde Rokken,” *De Tijd: Godsdienstig-Staatskundig Dagblad*, March 23, 1916, 5; “De Vrouw: Tirannie van de Mode,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, May 13, 1916, 9.
- 50 “De Vrouw CXCVIII: De Mode,” *ibid.*, March 18, 1917, 18.
- 51 “Brieven uit de Hoofdstad,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, April 7, 1917, 9.
- 52 On the subject of Hirsch & Cie: Femke Knoop, *Hirsch & Cie: Amsterdam (1882–1976): Haute Couture op het Leidseplein* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2018).
- 53 “De Vrouw CXCVIII: De Mode,” *Algemeen Handelsblad*, March 18, 1917, 18.

54 Ibid.

55 Frieda Sorber, "Homemade fashions: Fact or fiction?," *Living Fashion: Women's Daily Wear 1750–1950: From the Jacoba de Jonge Collection* (Tielt: Uitgeverij Lannoo, 2012), 123–35.

56 Moeyes, *Buitenschot*. s. 68–9.

57 "Brei- en Haakwerken voor onze Militairen," *De Gracieuse*, 19, October 1, 1914, 13.

58 "Bivakmutsen," *Algemeen Nieuwsblad*, December 4, 1914, 6.

59 The president of the commission organizing this effort was the Baron van Voorst tot Voorst-Cremes, a resident of Arnhem. "Voor de Militairen," *De Tijd: Godsdienstig-staatkundig Dagblad*, March 29, 1915, 1.

60 Bossenbroek, *Vluchten voor de Grote Oorlog*, 40.

61 Tweer-Westerman, J., "De Vakschool Commissie," *Onze Kleding*, 4, April 1, 1915, 38.

62 Notably in short supply were energy, fuel, leather, fabric, thread, soap, and foodstuffs such as potatoes, flour, and meat. These products were very expensive, and either of poor quality or entirely unavailable.

63 Tweer-Westerman, "De Vakschool Commissie," 38.

64 E. M. Rogge, "Een Oud Handwerk in Eere Hersteld," *Vrouw en haar Huis*, 6, October 1914, 193.

65 "Met de Hand Gebreide Dames- en Kinder—Kousen met Open Patronen," *De Gracieuse*, 13, July 1, 1915, 3.

66 G. Carelsen, "De Naald," *Vrouw en haar Huis*, 11, March, 1915, 363.

67 "Zeepratsoen," *Onze Kleding*, 4, April 1 1917, 45.

68 "De Vrouw CCXXIV: Borduursel," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, September 16, 1917, 5.

69 The author would like to thank Gienke Arnolli, a restorer in the Fabric and Costumes Department of the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden, who generously shared her knowledge of Friesian dress and other important pieces in the museum.

70 "Onze Taak in de Naaste Toekomst," *Onze Kleding*, 9, November 1, 1914, 1–2.

71 Tweer-Westerman, "De Vakschool Commissie," s. 38.

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