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Contents

Volkswagen and the *Volksprodukte*: The Failed Revolution in Production and Consumption in the Third Reich

Stuart Bailey

Only days after taking office, Adolf Hitler undertook a project, *Volksprodukte*, which sought to utilize consumption to transform the way in which the German public related to one another. Hitler believed that the German people were divided by fictitious labels of class, which ultimately caused infighting. This conflict, in conjunction with racial impurity, weakened the German people and accounted for the decay of German culture. Hitler believed that American models of egalitarian consumption provided a solution to this problem. For example, on Prince Louis Ferdinand's departure for America, Hitler instructed him to

> [...] tell Mr. Ford [...] I shall do my best to put his theories into practice in Germany [...] I have come to the conclusion that the motorcar, instead of being a class dividing element, can be the instrument for uniting the different classes, just as it has done in America [...][1]

Hitler's vision extended beyond the automobile, as he maintained that the same process that made Henry Ford's car a mechanism of social cohesion could be applied to other goods including radios, refrigerators, and sewing machines.[2]

1 James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 113.

2 Adam Tooze, *Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2006), 147.

The prospect of class harmony made the *Volksprodukte* so crucial to the cultural revolution of National Socialism that Hitler personally directed every stage of its development. National Socialists strove to create a new man, and indeed, a new businessman with the "capacity and readiness to sacrifice the individual to the common welfare."[3] Such an ambitious endeavor required fundamental transformations not only in the realm of production but also in Germany's entire business ethos. Germany's industries, especially industries which produced finished goods, still utilized expensive, skilled, and labor-intensive production processes that pushed most consumer goods out of the reach of the common German. Lower costs could only be achieved by retooling and reconfiguring German industry for modern rationalized processes, a necessary step for rearmament as well as the consumer revolution. Many explanations for the Nazis' heavy investment in the *Volksprodukte* have emphasized profit and propaganda subordinating the proposed cultural changes as window dressing for the regime's more nefarious programs. Likewise, historians have looked to the modernization of German industry as a function of the regime's militaristic ambitions. Yet, the program of factory modernization and improved consumer goods were linked together as Hitler saw them as crucial for the creation of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, or people's community. One reason for the emphasis on rearmament and propaganda was that the consumer revolution ultimately failed to transform the German public. Despite the Nazi's ambitions, the public was completely willing to accept the material benefits of these programs, including improved working conditions; however, the transcendental concept of the *Volk* failed to displace traditional divisive class categories.[4] This fault initially became visible in the realm of production and consumption as government mandates on production and competition, instead of bringing the various corporations together, increasingly drove businessmen to protect individual interests. In light of these faults, the regime began to de-emphasize the *Volksprodukte* programs around 1938 and viewed the program's failings as evidence of both a global Jewish conspiracy and inadequate *Lebensraum*, which validated their core ideology and justified war and extermination. Yet, all of these problems were unknown

[3] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boring, OR: CPA Book Publisher, 2000), 94.

[4] David Welch, "Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft: Constructing a People's Community," in "Understanding Nazi Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 2 (2004): 213–238.

to the new chancellor and thus the *Volksprodukte,* despite its failings, offers clues to understanding the ambitious cultural project the Nazis proposed. While optimism and enthusiasm characterized the cultural revolution of production and consumption in 1933, five years later at the ceremonial birth of the *Volkswagenwerk* (Factory) Hitler's frustrated attempts at transforming the German public into a single *Volk* through consumerism was showing visible signs of wear.

On May 26th 1938, the *Volkswagenwerk,* conceived to be the world's largest automotive factory, laid its cornerstone with the usual fanfare which one expected from a Nazi project.[5] This day loomed large in the regime's imagination, as it was the first tangible evidence that indicated the long promised affordable car would become a reality. This promise, made by Hitler himself five years earlier at the 1933 Berlin Auto Show only two weeks after assuming the chancellorship, was renewed by Hitler annually at that same venue. Cultural historian, Andrea Hiott characterizes the event as perfectly choreographed and rehearsed with the brick masons dressed in white coveralls and top hats and the carpenters dressed in black velvet.[6] Many prominent figures were in attendance, including Ferdinand Porsche, who had not only designed the car but also took the lead in researching the production methods necessary for the *Kraft-durch-Freude-Wagen* to have the intended impact of motorizing Germany. Robert Ley, head of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (DAF), was also in attendance. Ley's office took over the project after the private sector proved unwilling to collaborate with the Nazi government. With the backing of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* membership dues, the confiscated funds of Weimar labor organizations, as well as a creative financing plan to pre-sell tens of thousands of the small cars Ley ensured that money was no obstacle for Hitler's dream. Members of the boards of BMW, Opel, and Mercedes smiled and mingled among the crowd despite their opposition to the government-subsidized car and their fears of what it meant for their own concerns.[7]

Yet, even as the film crews and radio broadcasters took their places, Hitler remained "distant," "preoccupied," and "tense."[8] Hiott's de-

5 Andrea Hiott, *Thinking Small: The Long, Strange Trip of the Volkswagen Beetle* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2012), 9.

6 *ibid.*

7 *ibid.*, 10; Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 155; Neil Gregor, *Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 39–40, 50.

8 Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 10; Kurt B. Hopfinger, *The Volkswagen Story* (Cambridge MA: Robert Bentley, 1971), 121.

scription of the event reveals a remarkable contrast to an analogous celebration, the ground breaking ceremony of the *Autobahn*. On that occasion, Hitler broke with the traditional ceremonial shoveling of a single lump of earth to the applause and flash of cameras. Instead, Hitler turned the soil with fervor until he was covered with sweat. Thus, in an attempt to correct the "German attitude" toward manual labor, Hitler crafted a moment that visually connected ideology and action.[9] Hiott conjectures that Hitler's disposition during the *Volkswagen* celebration, rather than being governed by the events at hand, was an expression of his concern with the oncoming war. While Hiott's hypothesis can never be truly confirmed or refuted, there are other possible alternatives which may account for Hitler's somber reception of what would have been one of his greatest achievements since taking office. In light of Hitler's belief in a racial struggle among nations, Hitler had more reason to be jubilant at the prospect of war than hesitant. Indeed, as historian Adam Tooze indicates, the Nazis believed that the whole of the German economy hinged on the acquisition of new lands.[10] In 1938 war remained a positive as Germany lay half way through the Four Year Plan for rearmament, buttressed by the *Anschluß* (annexation) of Austria, the ease of which meant that the realities of war had not yet come into conflict with the romanticized concept of war.

While Hiott's account relies upon future events to describe Hitler's unease, there was as much for Hitler to be anxious about in the imaginary edifice that served as the main setting for that day's celebration, the *Volkswagenwerk*. First, it would be difficult for Hitler to reconcile building such a behemoth literal factory-city with his common example of a metaphorical factory, which featured as the *mise en scène* of desperation and meagerness. In *Mein Kampf*, when describing the need for expansion into France, Hitler characterizes his future Germany as "not packed together as the coolies in the factories of another Continent but as tillers of the soil and workers [...]"[11] Second, it would be difficult, even for Hitler, to conceive of the *Volkswagen* factory as a distinctly German endeavor. Foreign influence was evident everywhere. The factory design came from extensive research in American automotive firms. The industrial workshop was modeled on Henry Ford's River Rouge plant. Tools and heavy machinery that could not be built

9 Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 105–107.

10 Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 162–163.

11 Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 371.

in Germany were sourced from the United States.[12] Additionally, work flow plans were constructed from data obtained not only from Fiat in friendly Italy, but also from Renault in France.[13] By the autumn of 1938, given Germany's zero percent unemployment, the factory could only be completed when Mussolini sent thousands of unemployed Italian workers. Hopfinger remarked that the experience of these Italian construction workers foreshadowed the experience of the forced laborers co-opted to produce wartime armaments on the shop floor. As early as 1938 the Italian guest workers "lived in wooden huts surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers."[14] Third, the *Volkswagen* project directly placed corporate interests in conflict with the communal aspects of Nazi ideology. Hitler had initially entrusted the *Volkswagen* project with executives from BMW, Daimler-Benz, and Opel; yet, these groups failed to set aside their individual interests for the common weal. An outraged Hitler saw no other possibility but to source the project to DAF, a suggestion which came from the exhausted private sector.[15] And there, at the laying of the cornerstone ceremony, Hitler found himself again surrounded by these men who busied themselves with presenting a false unified front with the Nazi regime, a visual reminder of the failure to impose standardization and the disunity of the *Volk*.[16]

Given that the *Volkswagen* factory was intended to become a showpiece for the regime, historians have struggled with reconciling the pastoral aspects of Nazi ideology with the technological ambitions inherent in the *Volkswagen* project. The historical problem between the rhetoric and the social programs has led to a historiographical debate concerning the role of ideology in Nazi policy. While some policies showcase ideology more clearly than others, as Tooze demonstrates, ideology is never far removed from the action, even in the economic sphere. Some writers have suggested that these forms of rationalization ultimately led to the gas chambers.[17] Jeffery Herf argues that the real dangers of Nazi thought lay not in rationalization in general but rather in the Nazis reconciliation of "anti-modernist thought and modern technology" creating what Thomas Mann called "a highly technologi-

[12] *ibid.*

[13] Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 142–144.

[14] Hopfinger, *The Volkswagen Story*, 124–125.

[15] Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 12.

[16] Hopfinger, *The Volkswagen Story*, 121; Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 154.

[17] Ota Kraus and Erich Kulka, *Massenmord und Profit: die faschistische Ausrottungspolitik und ihre ökonomischen Hintergründe* (Berlin: Dietz, 1963).

cal romanticism."[18] For Herf, industrial rationalization fits within the larger framework of the Nazis' modernization efforts whereby rationalization was plucked from its natural home of liberal and enlightenment thought. Others have taken this to its natural conclusion, namely, that if the Nazis fully rationalized and incorporated capitalistic thinking, they would have used Jews for slave labor in the most desperate years of the war instead of killing them *en masse*. Adopting this position, Ulrich Herbert maintains that these economic explanations fall short of explaining the origins of the Holocaust which can only be explained by the regime's racist ideology.[19] By looking to the speeches, correspondence, and orders of the Nazi high command, Herbert posits that anti-Semitic prejudice present in the Nazi *Weltanschauung* was ultimately more influential in the creation of the Jewish policy than economic interests. However, he makes a vast distinction between his argument and those of Avraham Barkai and Arno J. Meyer, both of whom seem to conflate forced labor and Auschwitz through a chain of associations summarized as *Vernichtung durch Arbeit* (extermination through labor).[20] Herbert states that this interpretation has the effect of representing,

> diverse phenomena such as forced labour, concentration camps, mass extermination and the armament industry [...] as an integrated complex. The problem is that it suggests a capitalist rationality underpinning the policy of mass extermination.[21]

While these authors have taken different and sometimes contentious positions, they each place ideology as central to understanding Nazism while also limiting their scope to the years of Nazi rule and leaving out the long term sources of the creation of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*.

While the scholarship specific to rationalization has failed to create the larger narrative, some works have taken a more comprehensive view of Nazi ideology by using the theme of modernization. The space

[18] Jeffery Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1–2; Thomas Mann, "Deutschland und die Deutschen," in *Thomas Mann: Essays*, Politische Reden und Schriften, vol. 2 (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1977), 294, quoted in Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*, 2.

[19] Ulrich Herbert, "Labour and Extermination: Economic Interest and the Primacy of Weltanschauung in National Socialism," *Past and Present* 138 (1993): 138.

[20] *ibid.*, 147.

[21] *ibid.*, 145.

where rationalization, technology, and *völkische* ideology merge creates an enigmatic concept: Nazi modernity. Again, the *Volkswagen* project is emblematic of that debate. While Nazis were ambivalent toward modernity, there at Wolfsburg, they took a side on the modernization debate. In this respect, *Volkswagen* and the *Volkswagen* factory are very much representative of Nazi ideology. As Tooze reveals, the *Volkswagen* was one of a whole host of *Volksprodukte* through which the regime hoped to raise the standard of living of Germans. Everything from radios to housing was meant to come within reach of the average German for the first time.[22] Yet, these ambitions drew Nazi planners into a closer relationship with not only modernized and foreign production methods but also leery capitalists, who fared little better than the Bolsheviks and Jews in Hitler's books and speeches. At first glance this seems to reveal a gap between Nazi ideology as set forth in *Mein Kampf* and the creation of its utopian vision. However, many of the specific features of modernity which Hitler and his planners encountered in developing the *Volkswagen* were neither externalities nor auxiliaries; rather they were actively accommodated in Nazi ideology.

This relationship is best illustrated through Tooze's comprehensive book *Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. By connecting important themes in *Mein Kampf* and Hitler's unpublished manuscript, "Hitler's *Zweites Buch*",[23] that was intended to serve as a sequel to *Mein Kampf*, as well as internal memorandums from the Nazi leadership, Tooze demonstrates the continuity of motivation for Nazi economic policies. While the policies morphed in response to wartime conditions, for Tooze, the most dramatic change was the shifting emphasis which allowed Germany to ally with the Soviet Union and wage war on the West. Tooze reveals that these shifts were a reshuffling of Nazi priorities rather than an alteration to the deck. Although it is not Tooze's stated purpose, this revelation has the effect of reconciling multifaceted debates which arose during and after the *Historikerstreit* concerning rationalization, the relationship between German industry and the regime, and the thorny issue of Nazi modernization.[24]

[22] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 147.

[23] Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Second Book: The Unpublished Sequel to Mein Kampf*, ed. and comm. Gerhard L. Weinberg, trans. Krista Smith (New York, NY: Enigma, 2003); a translation of Adolf Hitler, *Hitlers zweites Buch; ein Dokument aus dem Jahr 1928*, ed. and comm. Gerhard L. Weinberg, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte 7 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1961).

[24] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 66-67.

At its core, the debate centered on the autonomy of big business in the Third Reich, with Marxist views constructing a "'power-cartel' interpretation", which saw power relations in Nazi Germany as a tripod of "Nazis [leadership], the military, and big business."[25] This is the position that German historian Karl Heinz Roth maintained in his work, *Die Daimler-Benz AG, 1916–1948*, and is highly visible in his article "Nazismus gleich Fordismus? Die deutsche Autoindustrie in den dreißiger Jahren."[26] Neil Gregor attacked Roth's point of departure in his own study, *Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich*, by showcasing how the company put up a limited resistance to government mandates concerning standardization.[27] Tooze is able to complicate this simplistic association by revealing both the conditions and stimuli that prompted businesses to support Hitler, during both Hitler's rise to power and rearmament, but he is unable to escape the reality that "in virtually every context, even settings in which one might have expected some resistance, the regime's political representatives found active collaborators in German business."[28] Yet this is a far cry from the Marxist position that questions the ultimate goals of the creation of state-sponsored products emphasizing profit and propaganda. An example of such a position, as Herbert identifies, is Ota Kraus and Erich Kulka's *Massenmord und Profit: Die faschistische Ausrottungspolitik und ihre ökonomischen Hintergründe*, which in Herbert's mind "went so far as to explain the entire process of the [Holocaust] in terms of the profit motive of German 'monopolies.'"[29]

By showing the company's early resistance, Gregor sidesteps an aspect inherent in the "power-cartel" interpretation: the role of profit. Gregor puts up a limited defense against this claim by attempting to show Daimler-Benz's lukewarm reception to rearmament contracts; however, he is only able to do this by remaining focused on the passenger car department of the company, and largely neglecting the more

[25] Kees Gispen, "Visions of Utopia: Social Emancipation, Technological Progress, and Anticapitalism in Nazi Inventor Policy, 1933–1945," *Central European History* 32, no. 1 (1999): 37.

[26] Karl H. Roth, "Nazismus geich Fordismus? Die deutsche Autoindustrie in den dreißiger Jahren," *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 5, no. 4 (1990).

[27] Gregor, *Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich*, 57–58.

[28] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 134.

[29] Herbert, "Labour and Extermination: Economic Interest and the Primacy of Weltanschauung in National Socialism," 145.

lucrative impact it had for the company's aircraft engine department. Nevertheless, Gregor is able to demonstrate that this particular corporation and the Nazis failed to cooperate at the level required for the "power-cartel" interpretation. Yet, Gregor treats this evidence only as a counterexample to Roth's claim, and does not attempt to interpret what the resistance meant for the Nazis and Daimler-Benz. Resistance to the new factory systems and management provides a point of analysis that not only informs the historiographical discussion, but also raises anew the historical question concerning the connection between Nazi ideology and rationalization. The ultimate aim is not only to discover the mechanisms which permit this connection, but to also set them into historical context. Tooze's conclusions and J. Ronald Shearer's work on the efficiency debates of Weimar (discussed below), indicates that Hitler adopted a position closely resembling the worker's position in Weimar concerning rationalization which meant the opposition to standardization functioned similarly under the two regimes. If continuity exists between the resistance in Weimar and Nazi Germany, the resistance was aimed at the most socialist aspect of Nazi ideology: the push to replace profit motives with a morality centered on raising the standard of living of the *Volk*.

Shearer, focusing on corporate interpretations of rationalization, suggests that it was not the case that executives rejected Taylorist and Fordist methods on account of a lack of capital, or as unnecessary due to meager markets, but rather as a means of controlling their shop floors from socialist policy. In the Weimar Republic, this concern was centered on government intervention of wage and working conditions, for which, increasingly in the 1920s, rationalization was viewed as a panacea promoting exuberance in politicians and workers alike.[30] Relying on German workers' accounts of their visits to American factories, Mary Nolan demonstrates in *Visions of Modernity*, that Fordism, especially Ford's introduction of the Five Dollar Day, was met with a cautious enthusiasm by German workers. Yet, corporations responded primarily to the other side of the coin, focusing on the improved control the factory provided over production. Thus, among the three significant actors, workers, employers, and politicians, each had a different interpretation of Ford's policy. Nolan explains that German workers who visited American factories "attributed favorable aspects to the farsight-

[30] Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994), 107.

edness of businessmen [...] The prevalence of good working conditions was assumed uncritically, and ambiguities were not explored."[31] Accepting this simplistic image of the American factory allowed German workers to use the American model as "a cudgel to beat German industry," pointing out all of the inadequacies of the German system.[32]

Yet, as much as the discussion of rationalization was a club for the workers, so too was it a weapon for industry to attack the state. Shearer notes that in the early 1920s, "industry tried to forestall socialization of major industrial sectors such as the coal mining industry with the argument that the private sector produced more efficiently than state-run mines."[33] By the late 1920's, industry leaders argued that it "had submitted itself to the painful process of streamlining and downsizing [and that] the private sector was rationalizing while the state was not."[34] This agrees with Nolan's assessment that the industrialists were most captivated by the American system of "welfare capitalism [...] the extensive system of company-based social programs."[35] Ford's Five Dollar Day, which paid eligible workers the unheard of wage provided they fulfilled requirements (such as attending classes on becoming good American citizens) is perhaps the best known of these programs.[36] According to Nolan, this was appealing to German industrialists because "the absence of state social policy freed American industry from burdensome taxes and 'schematic' labor regulations. The [American] firm was autonomous from the state – perhaps even more powerful."[37]

Amplifying and exacerbating the industrialists' fears were the differences between the two countries' labor organizations. German labor organizations were far larger and more efficient than American trade unions. Baffled commentators on both the left and right struggled to account for this lack of class consciousness by attributing it to America's unique historical experience which bypassed feudalism and the creation of an aristocracy which created a "fluid boundary

[31] Nolan, *Visions of Modernity*, 104–105.

[32] *ibid.*

[33] J. Ronald Shearer, "Talking About Efficiency: Politics and the Industrial Rationalization Movement in the Weimar Republic," *Central European History* 28, no. 4 (1995): 486.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Nolan, *Visions of Modernity*, 105.

[36] Flink, *The Automobile Age*, 121–103.

[37] Nolan, *Visions of Modernity*, 105.

among the classes."[38] Industrialists maintained that the combination of American-style production methods and German labor organizations would be ruinous not only for their individual industries, but for the economy as a whole.[39] Thus, as Shearer notes, everyone in Germany was able to talk about industrial rationalization without it gaining much currency in practice.

These debates were still vigorously contested at the time that Hitler composed *Mein Kampf*. The *Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit* or RKW (Reich Board for Economic Efficiency), a cooperative effort essentially between Berlin big business led by Carl Friedrich von Siemens and the new Weimar government, claimed,

> Rationalization is the adoption and employment of all the means of increasing efficiency which are furnished by technical science and systematic organization. Its aim is to raise the general level of prosperity by cheaper, more plentiful and better quality goods.[40]

Herf notes how engineers opposed this development and "criticized what they called capitalism, which they feared would subordinate the interests of engineers as 'creative producers' or 'artists' to the requirements of profit and exchange."[41] Hitler's own thoughts on this reflect his broader experiences with these Weimar debates. This is perhaps most revealing in Hitler's assessment of the transformation of labor during the industrial revolution in *Mein Kampf*, which emphasized the exploitative nature of pairing old systems of working hours into the more labor intensive factory system, creating the divisions between worker and manger.[42] This characterization focuses on externalities that need not be inherent in the adoption of rationalized processes. In Hitler's mind, the negative aspects of the factory lay not with the basic system but rather with, "the division created between employer and employees."[43] Hitler's program of creating common and affordable commodities available for consumption, *Volksprodukte*, were meant to cut across class lines and create solidarity within the *Volksgemeinshaft*,

[38] *Ibid.*, 107.
[39] *ibid.*
[40] Shearer, "Talking About Efficiency," 489.
[41] Jeffery Herf, "The Engineer as Ideologue:" in "Reassessments of Fascism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 4 (1984): 635.
[42] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 180.
[43] *ibid.*

which would go a long way to bridging the gap between worker and manager. To that end, Hitler invoked a common theme in *Mein Kampf*, requiring private business to make the necessary sacrifices or be sacrificed itself. This is most evident in the 1936 memorandum Hitler created introducing the Four Year Plan. The memo targeted Hjalmar Schacht's frustrated attempts to structure big business to increase output and prepare for war. The memo is perhaps most infamous for its reference of finding a "final solution," which directly tied economic survival to state endorsed genocide. The memo begins by referencing the frustration that regime had endured in attempting to force standardization and rationalization in the industrial sector. Hitler exclaims:

> It is not a matter of discussing whether we are to wait any longer [...] it is not the job [...] of government to rack [...] [its] brains over methods of production [...] either we possess today a private industry, in which case its job is to rack its brains about methods of production; or we believe that it is the government's job to determine methods of production, and in that case we have no further need of private industry [...][44]

At this point in the memorandum Hitler turns his attention to what he perceived to be the cause of this particular failing, maintaining that industry was willfully resisting standardization in an attempt to "possess [...] certain reserves abroad, which are thus withheld from the grasp of the domestic economy," an action which prompted Hitler to propose "A law making the whole of Jewry liable for all damage inflicted upon the German economy by individual specimens of this community of criminals."[45]

When the memorandum and Hitler's view in *Mein Kampf* are taken in concert there are clear ties to the ideas and positions that workers maintained in Weimar Germany concerning the promise of rationalization. More than just improving working conditions, Hitler required highly efficient factories in order to improve the quality of life of Germans through consumption of the *Volksprodukte*. This places *Volkswagen,* as well as the other host of *Volksprodukte,* in a central role for Hitler and the Nazis and unravels the common perception that these products ultimately served the Nazi state as propaganda. It is true that the

[44] Hitler, "Four Year Plan Memorandum" in Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 221–223.
[45] *Ibid.*

Volksprodukte were widely popular, and undoubtedly generated good will towards the regime. The product which has the clearest political utility and lends itself most comfortably to propagandistic aims is the *Volksempfänger*, or the people's radio. By making the radio widely available to the public, and then through controlling the programming, the regime opened a new avenue of propaganda. However, as historian Claudia Koonz reveals, the listening public had more input into radio content than in traditional depictions of totalitarian regimes. Goebbels realized that "after several months of heavy-handed ideological radio programming," radio listeners had to be provided with diverse forms of entertainment in order to keep their attention.[46] Despite this concession, when viewed alone, it is difficult to deny the propagandistic possibilities of *Volksempfänger*; however, it is a mistake to project this intent onto all *Volksprodukte*, as the "people's radio" is more the exception than the rule. There are few overt political payoffs in the *Volkskühlschrank* (refrigerator) or the *Volksnähmaschinen* (sewing machines).[47]

Treating these products as mere propaganda limits our understanding of the larger ambitions of the project and how these projects were the embodiment of Nazi ideology. In the case of *Volkswagen*, if the regime was primarily concerned with currying favor by putting more cars on the road, it seems there were more immediate ways of achieving this aim. This suggests deeper goals which help to reveal the ultimate aim of the *Volksprodukte*. By the time Hitler took the platform in Wolfsburg for the *Volkswagenwerk*, 350 Million Reich Marks were raised and set aside for the building of the factory.[48] This imposing figure would be sufficient to completely subsidize 93,000 Mercedes 170s at their 1935 price of 3,750 RM, or to make 127,000 cars of the same model available at the same price as the *KdF Wagen* (Beetle). The results are even more staggering when applied to the more entry level offerings from Opel, the 1936 P4.[49] The Nazi start up money could have purchased three quarters of a million units, effectively doubling the number of drivers in Germany in a single stroke. While this would have had the immediate effect of putting hundreds of thousands of cars onto the road within

[46] Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 94.
[47] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 147.
[48] Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 10.
[49] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 152.

a year, it would not have handled the ambitious task of transforming Germany into a nation of drivers. Moreover, the *Volkswagen* was also a response to a number of technical and financial issues that plagued car owners in Germany, including fuel efficiency, reliability, and practicality. Specifically, the *Volkswagen* was meant to eliminate the necessity of garages.[50]

The second conjecture regarding the motivation behind the *Volksprodukte* that must be rejected deals with profit. The relationship between profit and policy confounded Arthur Scheweitzer in his 1946 article which evaluated the effects of the centralization of the economy after 1936.[51] This development in Scheweitzer's mind took economic decisions away from the competent businessmen acting rationally in compliance with the profit motive and placed it in the hands of ideologues resulting in an economy that proved untenable. Here, again, the *Volkswagen* project elucidates the contradictions between profit and program. The plan was to create the car for 900 RM and sell the car for 1,000 RM, only generating 100 RM per unit, provided that all expenses are accounted for and that the price of raw materials did not significantly change.[52] At that rate, 3.5 million units would have to be sold before the first Reich Mark of profit would be generated. The factory's expected output capacity in the first phase of development was 450,000 cars annually, necessitating nearly eight years of break-neck production just to recoup the initial investment.[53] Yet, even if this production miracle was achievable, it would also require a miracle in the realm of sales. It was on this point that the extant motorcar companies found the *Volkswagen* project unsuitable for their own endeavors.[54] The venture became all the more suspect when Hitler ruled out formal exportation of the car.[55] Hitler and his planners would not have been blind to these mathematical facts. Although the regime placed much positivist faith in future development of rationalization which would alleviate the cost of production, it would be difficult to conceive that the Nazis expected to make money on such razor thin margins. Moreover,

[50] Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 154.

[51] Arthur Scheweitzer, "Profits Under Nazi Planning," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 61, no. 1 (1946): 3–6.

[52] Hopfinger, *The Volkswagen Story*, 75.

[53] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 155.

[54] *ibid.*, 154.

[55] Hiott, *Thinking Small*, 146.

the first and ideal scenario left the *Volksprodukte* in the hands of private corporations, whereby any profits generated would have remained.

Hitler's own views concerning economics casts further doubts on the viability of the "power cartel" interpretation. For Hitler, economics remained a materialistic and poor substitution for the spiritual and transcendent values of the German *Volk*, which he repeatedly contrasted with economic concerns by characterizing them as foreign, Jewish, and dangerous. Hitler makes this a common theme in *Mein Kampf* and maintains that man "will die for an ideal" but "man does not sacrifice himself for material interests."[56] To consider economics first was, therefore, not only naive but also dangerous because it created competition turning the *Volk* on one another and the true strength of the state rested in its ability to cultivate, "the capacity and readiness to sacrifice the individual to the common welfare."[57] Hitler believed that economic interests must be subordinate to the cultural interests of the state. Historian Peter N. Stearns suggests that "Nazism [...] harbored a pronounced anti-consumerist element. Nazis wanted people to value the state, the race and the leader, not to be distracted by individual consumerist goals."[58] While Stearns is correct to suggest that the ultimate goals of the regime looked beyond consumerism, he does not consider how consumption could be employed for the larger goals of the Nazi state. In reviewing the evidence concerning the *Volksprodukte*, older explanations that emphasize profit, propaganda, and rearmament each fail to account for the Nazis' investment in extending access to consumer goods for Germans. More than simply raising the quality of life of the average German, the *Volksprodukte* represented a new ambition in the early days of the regime because they could be used as an instrument to bring social change through a cultural revolution.[59] Even though the *Volksprodukte* was a program of consumption, Stearns is correct to categorize this project as something outside consumerism. The ambitious goal of the Nazis was to end class conflict in the *Volk* by eliminating the outward signs of superiority that one could achieve in a consumerist society. If everyone drove a car to work, then it would be

[56] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 94.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] Peter N. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire* (London: Routledge, 2001), 64.

[59] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 162.

easier to treat everyone else as an equal, whether he or she worked on the factory floor or on the board of directors.

Both the debates on rationalization and the desire to improve the quality of life through consumption were in response to the rise of America. Tooze considers America's rise the principal insight for explaining the trajectory of the Nazi economy. He states plainly in his preface that "America should provide the pivot for our understanding of the Third Reich."[60] Roth suggests a strong link between the American production methods and the character of the "total society" of the Third Reich, and questions the Americanization of Germany during the Third Reich, the importance of the automotive industry, and the impact that it had on the worker.[61] Tooze helps not only answer Roth's questions but in explaining Hitler's American inspired vision of a consumer culture, he elaborates on this development in order to give real insights into the Nazi mentality. The failings of *Volksprodukte*, as evidenced in the Four Year Plan Memorandum, could be laid at the feet of the usual enemies of the Reich. Tooze states:

> Whilst Germans were constrained to inhabit an inadequate *Lebensraum* hedged around by hostile powers, egged on in their antagonism towards Germany by the global Jewish conspiracy, it was no surprise that Germans could not afford cars.[62]

Thus, the experiment with consumer culture further proved the Nazi intuition: America's star was on the rise in the 1920s because of its vastness, its diverse natural resources, and its class solidarity achieved through common consumption. Critically, for Germany to achieve the latter it would have to expand its own borders and find a "final solution" to the Jewish problem.

Yet in the changing contexts of the 1930s Hitler saw America's success was both an example and a threat. Tooze uses Gustav Stresemann as a foil to Hitler's economic policies, particularly in response to the question of the American system. Whereas "Stresemann saw the rise of the United States as a stabilizing factor in European affairs, for Hitler it merely raised the stakes in the struggle for racial survival."[63] According

[60] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 162.
[61] Roth, "Nazismus geich Fordismus?," 83–84.
[62] Tooze, *Wages of Destruction*, 162–163.
[63] *Ibid.*, 10.

to Tooze, the success of the German economy after 1945 was largely due to the Federal Republic's adoption of Stresemann's policies in the Adenauer administration. Whether one adopts the position of Nolan, Roth, or Tooze, it is clear that the particularities of Nazism were influenced by their external image of America. Yet, Hitler saw America through his preconceived ideology and constructed the image accordingly. While Nazi ideology often seems contradictory, it is often more consistent than it is given credit for, as their policy and rhetoric each fit within the inner logic of the *Weltanschauung*. While we come to expect a gap between ideology and practice, what is troubling is how inflexible and interconnected Nazi ideology was.

Tokugawa Nationalism: The Decline of *Chûgoku* and the Restoration of Traditional Identity

Chad Totty

Writing in early 1825 Japanese political philosopher Aizawa Seishisai 会沢正志斎 (1781–1863) lamented that the Japanese national character was under attack. He despaired at the "wicked" doctrines of Buddhism, shamanism, and heterodox Confucianism that had turned the heart of the people away from the traditional Japanese *Shintô* 神道 gods and warned of the impending peril posed by the advent of western culture. Recalling an earlier time he wrote that "all the people were of one heart and mind; they were so endeared of their rulers that separation was unbearable."[1] Yet that unified national ethos had been lost during the peace that had persisted throughout the Tokugawa 徳川 period (1600–1868). It was a concept that waxed heavy on the minds of many Edo 江戸 period[2] political thinkers. The future of Japanese national identity was very much in doubt. For over two hundred years the autocratic Tokugawa shogunate, the *Tokugawa bakufu* 徳川幕府, had ruled over Japan, sealing it off from any outside influence. Yet the arrival of Dutch studies (*rangaku* 蘭學) and new lines of political thought began

[1] Aizawa Seishisai 会沢正志斎, "Shinron 新論 (1825)," in *Anti-foreignism and Western Learning in Early-modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825*, by Bob T. Wakabayashi (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 152.

[2] I shall use Tokugawa and Edo period interchangeably; the first term refers to the ruling clan of the shogunate (*bakufu* 幕府), the second to Edo, the seat of power during that period. Edo was renamed in 1869 to the present-day Tôkyô "Eastern Capital" under the Meiji 明治天皇 emperor (1852–1912).

to weaken the shogunate's power leading for some to call not only for a new government system but also a new identity for the Japanese people. Based in the political thought of early Tokugawa thinkers and evolving over a period of two centuries, the creation of a new Japanese national identity would look to the past to attempt a nation-wide restoration of traditional Japanese culture while distancing itself from previous elements imported from China.

Nationalism is defined by a set of common characteristics, whether they be ethnic, political, or cultural, that are held in common across a community of individuals. These characteristic should define what it means to be a member of that community and should set it apart from other communities. As Benedict Anderson aptly noted in his ground breaking work on nationalism, the community must be both "sovereign", not overshadowed by any other overlapping identity, and it must be defined by "deep horizontal comradeship" to the extent that members of the community are willing to give their lives for those they have never had any contact with.[3] Nationalism, then, must be a powerful driving force in the lives of the community it entails.

It can easily be argued that Japan lacked this sense of nationalism prior to the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin* 明治維新, 1868). Early modern Japanese identity, rather, was rooted in the political system that dominated the day. While Japan was viewed as a homogenous nation whose national character ultimately derived itself from the seat of imperial power in Kyôto, Japanese identity was fractured by a feudal system which split loyalties between the individual feudal domains ruled by regional warlords (*daimyô* 大名) and the shogunate in Edo which presided over the realm of the entire nation.[4] The shogunate had drawn upon the legacy of two of the great unifiers, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) and Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), to create a system in which the *bakufu* acted as the national authority, representing Japan to the outside world while maintaining domestic unity. The regional warlords, consequently, were able to maintain control of their fiefs and act as the local authority in a semi-autonomous system re-

[3] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 7.

[4] Warren G. Beasley, "The Edo Experience and Japanese Nationalism," *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 4 (1984): 555.

ferred to as the *bakuhan* 幕藩 system (where *han* 藩 refers to the domain of a *daimyô*).[5]

The *bakuhan* system, while an effective means of control for the Tokugawa family, lacked the means to create a true national identity among the Japanese people. Samurai living within the individual domains were typically loyal only to the *han* in which they lived in. It was the *han* that supplied the samurai with their living arrangements and stipends of rice, not the *bakufu*. Thus, the top class of Tokugawa society owed no loyalty to the national government outside of what their daimyô masters required of them.[6] Meanwhile the intensely rigid social structure restricted the political activity of artists, peasants, and merchants, further limiting the ability of a national ethos to form.[7] Additionally, the various *han* that made up the country were stratified into a hierarchy wherein they were ranked based upon their historical loyalty to the Tokugawa regime. Those at the bottom, known as the *tozama han* 外様藩, were forbidden from taking part in matters of national government.[8] Thus, the shogunate, while technically the ultimate source of military and political power in the country, was not a powerful enough figurehead to create a national identity that extended beyond the boundaries of the individual domains. The competing and overlapping spheres of influence and authority exercised by the daimyô lords, the shogun, and the imperial court at Kyôto failed to make any of the three totally sovereign as is necessary for a true national sentiment to develop. It would have been difficult for the shoguns to create a unified national identity when the rigid system did not allow for it.

By the middle of the Tokugawa period it became apparent to many philosophers that the *bakuhan* system as well as Tokugawa rule was inherently flawed. At the heart of the issue was the shogunate's failure to live up to the standard of *chûgoku* 中國. While today *chûgoku*, or Middle Kingdom, is used to refer only to the political entity that is China, in the past its translation was taken more literally as that ideal nation that followed the principles of righteous rule as laid out in Confucianism. For centuries this had been taken to mean China exclusively, which had

5 John W. Hall and James L. McCain, eds., *The Cambridge History of Japan: Early Modern Japan*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 128–129.

6 Tetsuo Najita, *The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Japanese Politics* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 21.

7 Beasley, "The Edo Experience and Japanese Nationalism," 555.

8 Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009), 17–18.

set up a system based upon Confucian philosophy that had afforded it a sphere of cultural and political power encompassing all of East Asia, here on referred to as the sinocentric order.[9] While the system of tributes that dominated earlier times had collapsed by the Tokugawa Period, the sinocentric mindset still existed. Japan's writing system was based upon Chinese characters, its political treatises and documents written in classical Chinese and its class system, made up of officials (samurai), artisans, peasants and merchants, was based upon the classical Chinese political structure. In a very real sense, the national identity that the Tokugawa government sought to establish among its fractured polity, while infused with *Shintô* concepts, was based strongly upon Neo-Confucian ideals which strove for the level of *chûgoku* as set forth by China.

Thus, in 1759, when Yamagata Daini 山縣大貳 (1725–1767), a lower level samurai and political philosopher, argued that the Tokugawa shogunate was not a living up to the standards of *chûgoku* it came as a shock to the Japanese national character. In *Ryûshin Shinron* Yamagata observed that the Tokugawa government relied upon military threat and coercion in order to enforce its will. True righteous governance, he reminded, used ritual and custom as the means of enforcement and only resorted to militarism in the face of unexpected circumstances, such as revolts.[10] The Tokugawa system itself, he noted, was far from achieving the Confucian standard due to the rigid class system which limited the social mobility of the most talented and deserving as well as the tendency of Japanese samurai and artisans to strive for wealth instead of working to enrich the nation. In order to resolve the problem Yamagata lobbied for a series of reforms including a merit based system similar to that of China that would rely upon regular civil service examinations.[11] However, Yamagata was arrested and executed for treason in 1766, ironically proving his point regarding the Tokugawa government's reliance upon force.[12]

[9] John K. Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 2.

[10] Tetsuo Najita, "Restorationism in the Political Thought of Yamagata Daini (1725–1767)," *The Journal of Asian Studies* (1971): 20.

[11] Yamagata Daini 山縣大貳, "Ryûshin shinron 柳子新論 (1759)," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600–2000*, ed. and trans. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 587–590.

[12] Najita, "Restorationism in Yamagata Daini," 26–27.

The writings of Yamagata Daini were one of the first cracks in the armor of the Tokugawa regime. While the source of Tokugawa legitimacy was ultimately the imperial throne in Kyôto, the shogunate relied upon Neo-Confucian concepts in order to solidify its rule. Confucianism, with its emphasis on obedience to the ruler, was essential to Tokugawa political life and helped maintain shogunal power. As more writers such as Yamagata began to question the *bakufu*'s commitment to *chûgoku* standards of government, the very nature of what it meant to be Japanese came into question. Was Japan a nation reliant upon Chinese institutions and political methods or could traditional Japanese culture be sufficient to qualify Japan as a civilized nation? Did to be *chûgoku* necessarily mean to be Chinese?

To many Japanese philosophers the answer was no. Thinkers such as Itô Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1625–1705) became convinced that the *Confucian Analects* allowed for nations other than China to achieve the status of a Middle-Kingdom-like civilization. In this line of thought the traditional culture of Japan could be as righteous in ritual and custom as any other. New interpretations of the *Confucian Analects* destroyed the notion in the mind of many thinkers that *chûgoku* was based upon ethnic lines. As Bob Wakabayashi noted these "interpretation(s) allowed Tokugawa thinkers leeway to claim quasi-Middle Kingdom status for themselves and their nation. They could acknowledge Japan as ethnically barbarian but still declare it superior to Ming or Ch'ing China based on other criteria within the general framework of Confucian values."[13] More important than being ethnically Chinese became the drive to cleanse the nation of barbarian practices (*jôi* 攘夷). A barbarian practice to a philosopher in this line of thinking would not necessarily be that which was non-Chinese but a ritual or custom that was not endemic to the nation. Thus, by this new line of thinking, Chinese culture was not the pinnacle of civilization but Japanese culture could be considered civilized as well if it stayed true to the customs of its ancestors.[14]

Despite these advances in thinking, the sinocentric monopoly on civilization trickled on throughout the Tokugawa period. It would take cultural input from outside of East Asia in order to break its spell on the political philosophy of the day and that input was provided in the form of western learning. The first western visitors to Japanese had

[13] Bob T. Wakabayashi, *Anti-foreignism and Western Learning in Early-modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 22–23.

[14] *ibid.*, 27–28.

come very early, the first among them being Catholic monks such as Francis Xavier (1506–1552)[15] who sought to spread the gospel to the Japanese. Although Christianity was eventually banned in Japan and the missionaries expelled, the dissemination of western information continued at a steady trickle through places such as the Dutch trading outpost on the artificial island of Dejima 出島, Nagasaki, and western books which became more common within the country after 1720. The information contained in these sources would have a profound impact on the way the Japanese viewed not only the world but also themselves and it would further erode the idea that Japan had to be subservient to China in matters of cultural status.[16]

This is due to the fact that the concept of Middle Kingdom ideology and the Japanese identity that was linked to it were dependent upon core values of Confucianism. The Confucian world view prior to the arrival of the west pictured China as a large land mass surrounded by smaller island-like states such as Japan. It was considered axiomatic that because China was the largest state in the world and the Confucian ideology dominated such a large portion of the earth's land mass that it must be the right and true ideology.[17] As western maps began to gain entry into Japan, however, it became clear to mid-Tokugawa thinkers that previous notions of Confucianism's wide geographic range were grossly overstated. China was not the center of the world as the name Middle Kingdom would imply, nor was it the biggest, and neither did Confucianism hold a near monopoly on religion or philosophy.[18] Rather, careful observers quickly became aware that Confucianism controlled a relatively small area of influence in comparison to other religions. While the influence of Confucianism was limited to China, Japan, Korea and perhaps a select few other Asian nations, larger religions such as Christianity were much more widespread, spanning virtually every continent on the globe. This presented a challenge to Middle Kingdom thinking. If Confucianism and *chûgoku* had previously based part of its legitimacy upon its wide geographical distribution then did not Christianity's greater area of influence make it even more legitimate? If Christianity was a legitimate practice then did that not

[15] The co-founder of the *Societas Jesu* worked in Japan between 1549 and 1551.

[16] Lu Wan-he, "Western Learning and the Meiji Ishin," in *Meiji Ishin: Restoration and Revolution* (Tôkyô: United Nations University Press, 1985), 155–156.

[17] Wakabayashi, *Anti-foreignism and Western Learning in Early-modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825*, 28–32.

[18] *ibid.*, 30.

also mean that nations other than China could be the standard bearers of Middle Kingdom civilization?[19]

This revelation was severely crippling to *chûgoku* ideology but was a boon to those who wanted to see Japan assert its own national identity based upon traditional, non-Chinese culture. Many thinkers ultimately decided that sinocentric Middle Kingdom philosophy lacked merit and thus that Japanese identity did not need to be subservient to that of China. Writing in the early 18th century, Asami Keisai 淺見烱齋 (1652–1711) noted:

> Heaven envelops the earth, and there is no place in earth not covered by Heaven. Accordingly each country's territory and customs constitute a realm-under-Heaven in its own right, with no distinction of noble and base in comparison with other countries [...] Accordingly, for a person in this country to refer to our country by the contemptuous name "barbarian" feeling that because our country is somehow lacking in virtue it must be ranked below China, forgetting that Heaven also exists above our own country, [and] failing to see that the Way also is flourishing in our own country and that our country can also serve as the standard for other countries is to turn one's back on the supreme duty, as would a person who scorned his own father.[20]

The key term in this passage is the term "realm-under-Heaven" which is similar to the Chinese term all-under-Heaven, a term commonly used to refer to the extent of Chinese political power in the sinocentric order. In using this term Keisai makes the argument that the nations are self contained realms wherein their customs and rituals are not inferior to any other.

The advent of Christianity affected Japan in other ways as well. The Japanese had always had a suspicion of Christian intentions. Toyotomi Hideyoshi described Christianity as a "pernicious doctrine"[21]

[19] *ibid.*, 51.

[20] Asami Keisai 淺見烱齋, "Chûgoku ben 中國辯 (1789)," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600–2000*, ed. and trans. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 93–94.

[21] Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, "Toyotomi Hideyoshi to the Viceroy of India (September 12, 1591)," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600–2000*, ed. and trans. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 171.

and Ishin Sûden 以心崇伝 (1569–1633), writing on behalf of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616), accused the Christians of intending to "traduce the Way of the Gods, calumniate the True Law, derange righteousness, and debase goodness."[22] However, despite their misgivings what the Japanese could not deny was the power that Christianity held. Christianity had managed to inspire within the western nations what Confucianism had sought to do in Asia: a set of rituals through which a people could be ruled. While many Japanese feared that the power of Christianity would be too much to overcome and would allow the westerners to overrun Japan, the power of its beliefs and customs was evident.[23] For many Japanese the answer to the Christian threat was not resistance but emulation. Since new interpretations of the *Confucian Analects* allowed for the Japanese to be a standard bearer of civilization there was no reason that they could not create a strong nationalist character based upon their own traditional myths. Japanese thinkers began to realize that the past identity had to be replaced with a new one that used powerful symbols and called upon Japan's storied past.[24]

Stepping in to provide just such a nationalist ethos was *kokugaku* 國學, national learning. Most famously espoused by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), *kokugaku* not only taught that Japan could be equal to other nations but also that it could be and was superior. Norinaga's philosophy was highly critical of anyone who looked to China for moral guidance or who viewed Japan as inferior. Norinaga did not see the Chinese as moral examples after which the rest of East Asia should model themselves. Rather, he saw Chinese Confucians as hypocrites who did not practice the Way as they actually taught it. Norinaga taught instead that it was the Japanese who were the true standard bearers of civilization. This was based upon what he saw as the "innate goodness" of the Japanese people in light of the past.[25]

However, *kokugaku*'s main focus was not on the relationship between Japan and China but on Japan's history and its place in the world outside of any sinocentric influence. Rather than rely on philosophical ideas grounded in Confucianism, Norinaga drew upon the myths

[22] Ishin Sûden 以心崇伝, "Statement on the Expulsion of the Bateren (January 31, 1614)," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600–2000*, ed. and trans. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 171–174.

[23] Aizawa Seishisai, "Shinron," 168, 180.

[24] Najita, *The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Japanese Politics*, 47.

[25] Wakabayashi, *Anti-foreignism and Western Learning in Early-modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825*, 37.

of Japan's origins as transmitted within the eighth-century book *Kojiki* 古事記 "Record of Ancient Matters", in order to resurrect an old Japanese identity and reframe it for his time. In ancient Japanese myths recorded in the *Kojiki*, the islands of Japan were created by two gods who later gave birth to the sun goddess, *Amaterasu* 天照. This goddess, referred to by Norinaga as the Heaven-Shining Goddess, was said to have been the ancestor of all the emperors of Japan. *Kokugaku* teachings would have people believe that Japanese emperors had a direct, unbroken line of ancestry going directly back to the gods that created the world. "Our country's imperial line, which casts its light over this world, represents the descendents of the Heaven-Shining Goddess," Norinaga wrote in 1786. "And in accordance with that goddess's mandate of reigning 'forever and ever, coeval with Heaven-and-earth,' the imperial line is destined to rule the nation for eons until the end of time and as long as the universe exists."[26] Thus, by Norinaga's estimation Japan was not merely a nation comprised of men and human institutions but the realm of the gods. It was a nation ruled by a semi-divine, god-like being in the form of the Japanese emperor. Norinaga believed that due to Japan's divine origins there could be no greater perfection than traditional Japanese culture.

Taking these ideas to heart, proponents of *kokugaku* taught that Japan was not inferior to China or even its equal. Japan, they claimed, was superior in both Confucian practice and historical merit to any nation on earth. It was Japan, Norinaga and others pointed out, that had stayed true to the essential Confucian relationship of lord to subject. The Chinese had overthrown countless numbers of dynasties while the Japanese had remained loyal to a single, unbroken imperial line. In the estimation of many this rendered Japan as the standard bearer of Confucian Middle Kingdom civilization, not China.[27] In Norinaga's opinion this was also testimony that the doctrine of the sun goddess was true and that Japan could not be equaled by any on earth. Expanding on this idea Norinaga wrote:

> That our history has not deviated from the instructions of the divine mandate testifies to the infallibility of our

[26] Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長, "Tamakushige 玉くしげ (1789)," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600–2000*, ed. and trans. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), 498.

[27] Wakabayashi, *Anti-foreignism and Western Learning in Early-modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825*, 37.

> ancient tradition. It is also why foreign countries cannot match ours and what is meant by the special dispensation of our country. Foreign countries expound their own Ways, each as if its Way alone were true. But their dynastic lines, basic to their existence, do not continue; they change frequently and are quite corrupt. Thus, one can surmise that in everything they say are falsehoods and that there is no basis in fact for them.[28]

From these saying it can be seen that *kokugaku* was highly nativist and nationalistic. In comparison to the previous characterization of Japanese identity which was both fractured and subservient to that of China, it can be seen that Norinaga's teachings saw Japan not as a feudal, politically fractured nation but as a single divine realm, the ways of which were pure and historically perfect. It was the perfect ideology from which a new national identity could form.

The teachings of *kokugaku* along with other internal political issues within the Tokugawa regime lead to a rise in a nationalist sentiment surrounding the emperor. More and more calls came for a restoration of imperial rule and the expulsion of western culture under the term *sonnô jôi* 尊皇攘夷: Revere the Emperor, Repel the Barbarians.[29] At first the *bakufu* complied with the rising nationalist sentiment. Seeing an opportunity to use public opinion to oust the westerners, the *bakufu* instructed all daimyô and members of the samurai class to carefully inspect all aspects of life within their *han*. Those areas that were not traditionally Japanese should be swept away in keeping with the concept of *jôi*. Unfortunately for the *bakufu*, its emphasis on traditional Japanese character and history worked to its own detriment. By pointing to those things that were traditionally Japanese in an attempt to sweep away barbarian influence it unwittingly pointed the political trajectory toward the imperial court in Kyôto and served as a reminder that the *bakufu* itself was not traditionally Japanese.[30] This only played into the intellectual changes that were going on in the country at the time. In 1868 restorationism reached its pinnacle when the Tokugawa government fell after 250 years of rule and the emperor was restored to political prominence. The new Meiji government would seek to pro-

[28] Motoori Norinaga, "Tamakushige," 498.
[29] Hane, *Modern Japan*, 65.
[30] Marius B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1994), 53.

mote a modernized Japan that was still in touch with its traditional roots and identity.

It is perhaps the tragedy of the creation of a new Japanese nationalism that the ideologies espoused during the Tokugawa Period were used in later times for the promotion of ultra nationalist groups such as that which existed in Japan in the 1930s and 40s. Norinaga's *kokugaku* teachings, especially, were ripe for abuse given their highly nativist nature. For example, beginning in the Meiji Period and not ending until the American occupation following World War Two, *kokugaku* became the primary curriculum in public schools across Japan, indoctrinating thousands of children and future generations in the cult of emperor worship.[31] There is a fine line between nationalism and fascism and the extreme ideologies that resulted from these lines of thought are a testimony to the power of the national ideology that was created in the early modern period.

It can be seen that Tokugawa nationalism underwent many changes over the course of two centuries. The Confucian world view which placed a sinocentric emphasis on civilization began to fall out of favor as thinkers such as Yamagata Daini began to question that philosophy. Western knowledge and thinking accelerated this process further by proving to many Japanese that the world was bigger than the Confucian model taught and China's monopoly on civilization need not be interpreted as absolute. This was taken a step further by Mootori Norinaga who embraced Japanese traditional culture and historical myth. Drawing upon the ideas of all of these thinkers, Meiji political leaders were able to construct a national identity for the Japanese people that was firmly rooted in their traditional past while seeking a modern nation that would be equipped to succeed in the future.

[31] Hane, *Modern Japan*, 103.

Retelling a Tale in Pictures: A Fusion of the Arts in a Medieval *Emaki* of the Japanese Court Romance *Genji no monogatari* "Tale of Genji"

Sheena Woods

The *Genji no monogatari* 源氏の物語, the *Tale of Genji*, by the Japanese court lady Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (c. 973 – c. 1014), thought to have been completed around the year 1008, is one literary masterpiece of the Heian 平安 period (794–1185) that has been adapted for retelling many times and for many different media since its creation. A little over one hundred years after its conception it had been adapted and lavishly illustrated as an *emaki* 絵 or "picture scroll", as the specific genre this paper addresses is popularly known. Sometimes called more fully *emakimono* 絵巻物, however, where "mono" is taken over from *monogatari* 物語, literally "a telling of things" (and hence "Tale" in *Tale of Genji*, for instance), such illustrated prose works of fiction might be better thought of as "picture-scroll narratives". This definition, placing pictures and narrative on an equal footing, is that followed here. The early *emaki* version of the *Tale of Genji*, the *Genji monogatari emaki* 源氏物語絵巻, "Picture-scroll Narrative of the Tale of Genji" is judged to have been started around 1120, with dates for its completion ranging until the late Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333), that is, until about 1300.

While the *Tale of Genji*, written just at the turn of the second millennium CE, is frequently cast as the world's oldest novel, it is also well known to scholars as a reliable document of courtly life and practices of its time.[1] Indeed, it is often drawn upon for insights into the psychologies of Heian nobles. The *emaki* version, begun as it was only a hundred years on from completion of Lady Murasaki's novel, is equally invaluable as a document for its illustrations, even though it has only survived in part. The pictures give essential clues to our understanding of the "informal" functioning of the life at the Heian court, where the negotiating of an amorous affair, the arts of poetry and music, the performing and material arts of dance, costume, and personal attire were all intricately tied to the "marriage" politics that underpinned the taking and keeping of power. As passed down in the Owari 尾張 branch of the Tokugawa 徳川 family, the single most complete existing volume of the scroll, along with some fragments,[2] handed down through the Hachisuka 蜂須賀 family,[3] represent only a mere twenty chapters of the original fifty-four chapter novel. Over the centuries, pieces were lost, and now the extant portion includes only nineteen paintings and sixty-five sheets of text (or 20 chapters), which is thought to be only fifteen percent of the original *emaki*. The *Genji monogatari emaki* integrates the arts of painting, calligraphy, and decorated-paper making with the "story-telling" and poetic literary traditions of the *monogatari* itself[4] to create, I shall argue, a most "pleasing thing"[5] and a foundation for mixed media literature in Japan that would endure throughout the centuries.

[1] There have been five major translations of the *Genji Monogatari* into English: by Suematsu Kenchô 末松謙澄, *Genji Monogatari: The Most Celebrated of the Classical Japanese Romances* (London: Trübner, 1882), Arthur Waley, *The Tale of Genji: A Novel in Six Parts* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), Edward G. Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1976), Helen McCullough, *The Tale of Genji* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990) and Royall Tyler, *The Tale of Genji* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 2001). Ivan Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll* (Tôkyô: Kodansha International, 1971) does not contain the entire *Tale of Genji*; Morris worked with the *emaki* and translated the extant pieces of the scroll. I will be using Ivan Morris' *The Tale of Genji Scroll*; Edward G. Seidensticker's *The Tale of Genji*; and Royall Tyler's *The Tale of Genji*.

[2] In all, nine fragments of text and a fragment of a painting from the *Wakana* 若菜 "New Herbs" chapter.

[3] *Genji Monogatari Emaki* 源氏物語絵巻. 2014. http://www.gotoh-museum.or.jp/collection/genji.html [accessed: 2/10/2014].

[4] Yoshinobu Tokugawa, "Introduction," in *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, by Ivan Morris (Tôkyô: Kodansha International, 1971), 14.

[5] In reference to Sei Shonagon's lists of things, some of which will be discussed later. Sei Shônagon 清少納言, *The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon*, trans. Ivan Morris (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991), 216.

In the *Hotaru* 螢 "Fireflies" chapter, Lady Murasaki states her own well known defense of the tale genre itself and of women's seminal contribution to it. By first having Genji teasing the ladies at the Rokujô 六條 mansion about amusing themselves on a rainy day with "pictures and stories", she guides her text into a serious discussion of the genre's value both for the study of human psychology and for its preservation and transmission of cultural history.

> Genji could not help noticing the clutter of pictures and manuscripts. "What a nuisance this all is," he said one day. "Women seem to have been born to be cheerfully deceived. They know perfectly well that in all these old stories there is scarcely a shred of truth, and yet they are captured and made sport of by the whole range of trivialities and go on scribbling them down, quite unaware that in these warm rains their hair is all dank and knotted."
>
> He smiled. "What would we do if there were not these old romances to relieve our boredom? But amid all the fabrication I must admit that I do find real emotions and plausible chains of events. We can be quite aware of the frivolity and the idleness and still be moved."
>
> [...]
>
> He laughed. "I have been rude and unfair to your romances, haven't I. They set down and preserve happenings from the age of the gods to our own. The *Chronicles of Japan*[6] and the rest are a mere fragment of the whole truth. It is your romances that fill in the details."[7]

Reading, listening, and looking at pictures

In Heian Japan, there was a comfortable feeling of cooperation among "poetic composition, a painted image, and the calligraphy that binds them together."[8] In other words, the fusion of the literary and graphic arts in an *emaki* was not a stretch for those in Heian Japan; it was a natural progression in a world that delighted in multi-sensory, inter-arts,

6 *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀. 720. The second of the *Six Histories of Japan*.

7 Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 437.

8 Joseph Sorensen, *Optical Allusions: Screens, Paintings, and Poetry in Classical Japan (ca. 800-1200)*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1.

"bilingual" (Sino-Japanese and vernacular) communication and play.[9] *Emaki* are read horizontally from right to left, with the calligraphic text, written in columns, read from top to bottom. The scroll, or *maki* 巻, is usually created by pasting several sheets on a scroll backing, with a cover on one end (at the opening to the far right) and a roller on the other (at the far left). An *emaki* is read by unrolling a small section at a time, while rerolling what one has read, and so continuously framing and reframing portions of the scroll as one goes along. The layout of the text in columns allows quite narrow bands, if desired; and the wide spread of the illustrations (just on 40cm wide and 21.5cm tall) also invites portion-wise looking. A central perspective is impossible in the scroll form, so that many of the paintings have multiple (changing) perspectives, because the visual point is constantly changing as the scroll is unrolled.[10] When *emaki*-scrolls are taken apart, usually to help preserve them, the pictures are taken out of the context they were created to be in, and given a prescribed fixed "frame", with the result that the original perspective is lost. This is what has happened with the *Genji monogatari emaki*. Though the *Genji monogatari emaki* has been separated into panels, rather than continuing to exist in the original scroll format, the remaining portions are still labeled as a "scroll" or "*emaki*." The current portions of the scroll are housed in museums: the Owari scroll is in the Tokugawa Museum in Nagoya, while the Hachisuka scroll is in the Gotoh Museum in Tokyo. The scrolls are in delicate condition and are not displayed very often. The Gototh Museum displays its pages of the scroll during Golden Week.[11] The Tokugawa scroll is very rarely on display, though the museum uses "later versions, photographs, modern reproductions, and a video program" to allow the museum patrons to have access to a version of the scroll.[12] Reproductions in print form, such as Ivan Morris' *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, offer one the ability to view the pieces of the "scroll" at one's own convenience.

9 Wiebke Denecke, "Bilingual Landscapes: Divided Pleasures at Yoshino Palace in Early Japanese and Sino-Japanese Poetry," in *Minds of the Past: Representations of Mentality in Literary and Historical Documents of Japan and Europe* (Tôkyô: Keiô University Press, 2005), 156–98.

10 Ivan Morris, "Some Aspects of the Tale of Genji Scroll," in *The Tale of Genji Scroll* (Tôkyô: Kodansha International, 1971), 153.

11 A week-long holiday in Japan lasting from April 29 to May 5.

12 Exhibition Room 6: The Flowering of Courtly Traditions. http://www.tokugawa-art-museum.jp/english/parmanent/room6.html [accessed: 2/10/2014].

Figure 1: *Azumaya* I painting of the *Genji monogatari emaki*
©The Tokugawa Art Museum Image Archives / DNPartcom

In Figure 1, a scene from the first of two of the *Genji monogatari emaki* illustrations of the *Azumaya* 東屋 "The Eastern Cottage" chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, on the left side of the scene, ladies are shown while they are engaged in various activities, such as looking at pictures and listening while being read aloud to from an actual narrative. In the scene on the right, the ladies-in-waiting are gossiping together: "Meanwhile, others who knew something of what had happened were also talking", Murasaki tells us.[13] The painting involves two distinct perspectives, using the angled lines of the walls and the veranda to separate the two activities, looking-reading-and-listening and talking-and-gossiping. The *Azumaya* chapter is named after a courtly *saibara* 催馬樂 song,[14] so popular at the time of Murasaki's writing that during reading the chapter in the *monogatari* or viewing it in the *emaki*, one would probably be thinking of or humming the tune, adding a sonic aspect to what (with the *emaki*) is already a multi-sensory experience.[15]

[13] Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 959.

[14] Elizabeth J. Markham, *Saibara: Japanese Court Songs of the Heian Period*, 2 vols. (1983; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2: 35–40.

[15] The saibara *Azumaya* reads: "He: I am wet from the rain from the eaves of your eastern cottage. Will you not open the door and let me in? / She: I would lock it if I had a bolt and lock. Open my door and come in. I am your wife." Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 145.

The ladies, in the scene to the left of the picture, are looking at "illustrations of old romances, while an attendant, Ukon, reads aloud from the script."[16]

Unrolling the scroll, from right to left of course, the viewer would first encounter the text which accompanies the painting, quite likely already knowing Murasaki's version in the *Tale* itself:

> The princess took out illustrations to old romances, which they examined while Ukon read from the texts. Absorbed now in the pictures and facing her sister in the lamplight, Ukifune had a delicate, girlish beauty that was perfection of its kind. The quiet elegance of the face, with a slight glow about the eyes and at the forehead, was so like Oigimi [Naka no Kimi's older sister] that Naka no Kimi herself was paying little attention to the pictures. A longing for the past flooded over her [...] Naka no Kimi was beginning to behave like an elder sister [...] Meanwhile others who knew something of what had happened were also talking.[17]

Or perhaps some viewers would first meet it as presented in the scroll:[18]

> Naka no Kimi's hair was remarkably thick, and she was exhausted from having sat up so long waiting for it to dry [...] Naka no Kimi now sent for some illustrated tales and, when they came, she told Ukon to read the text while she and her sister looked at the pictures. As Ukifune became absorbed in the book, she gradually lost some of her shyness. Naka no Kimi looked up at her as she sat there in the reflected light of the lamp. What a beauty she really was! Down to the very tips of her fingers one could not detect a single flaw [...] Naka no Kimi was deeply moved as she observed the girls, and no longer paid much attention to the pictures.[19]

[16] Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 958–59.

[17] *Ibid.*, 959.

[18] The text which accompanies the scroll is not as detailed as the manuscript and leaves out many of the details which serve to make the original text so rich, but it may also be noted that the translator of the manuscript took some different creative liberties with the text than that of the translator of the scroll.

[19] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 128-9.

After reading the text, one would continue unrolling the scroll, while rerolling the parts previously viewed (that is, the text), and, coming from the right, would first reveal the ladies-in-waiting, perched on one side of a screen. These ladies could be the "others who knew something of what had happened [and] were also talking."[20] Or they could just be some of the handmaidens present.[21] They are split from the main scene by a partition, creating a sense of their being outside of the action, something with which the viewer could identify: "they would be those ladies-in-waiting who play an important role in the fictional world as representatives of a class of courtly ladies that includes the reader/viewer [...] [who] could become involved in the fictional world through these ladies-in-waiting", as Masako Watanabe has stated in her article on the compartmentalization of interior space in the *Genji monogatari emaki* illustrations, an article on which I lean for a number of my own observations.[22]

Once again unrolling the scroll and yet again rerolling the parts already viewed, the viewer would then conceal the ladies-in-waiting, on the right, while unrolling the main scene, containing the princess, Naka no Kimi 中の君, her sister Ukifune 浮舟, and Ukon 右近, the maidservant, along with another handmaiden, to the left. Ukon is reading aloud from the text, as I have noted, while Naka no Kimi and Ukifune are viewing the illustrations. Naka no Kimi is having her hair brushed by an unnamed lady-in-waiting. In fullsize on the scroll the writing can plainly be seen on Ukon's text (for a detail see Figure 4a, p. 48), while the illustrations which the others are viewing have been faded through time. Naka no Kimi's back is turned to the viewer, inviting that viewer, Watanabe suggests, to follow her gaze to Ukifune: the viewer is invited to place herself in Naka no Kimi's position and "to share her thoughts about Ukifune."[23]

The audience (or viewer) is constantly invited into the space in the *emaki* picture through the shared knowledge of the original text (even without it being explicitly mentioned within the scroll), through the sound world that the chapter title carries into the material world of the *emaki* scroll, and through the point of view of the characters contained

[20] Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 959.

[21] Masako Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in the 'Tale of Genji Scroll': Interior Space in the Compartmentalized Emaki," *Artibus Asiae* 58, nos. 1–2 (1998): 115–45.

[22] *ibid.*, 120.

[23] *Ibid.*, 119.

within the paintings of the *emaki*, enabling a multi-sensory experience for the viewer.

Later on in the same chapter (*Azumaya*), Ukifune has been moved to a different residence (a small, unkempt cottage), and Kaoru visits her unexpectedly. While Kaoru is waiting on Ukifune to admit him into her rustic home, he creates a poem which draws upon the original *Azumaya*, the *saibara* song.[24] The section reads:

> The cottage was a poor one and he had caught them unprepared. What could it possibly mean? they asked one another, bustling about to receive him.
>
> "May I perhaps speak to the lady in private?" he sent in. "I should like to tell her of certain feelings I have scarcely been able to keep to myself these last months."
>
> The girl was perplexed for an answer.
>
> "He's here, and there's nothing you can do about it," said her nurse impatiently. "You can at least ask him to sit down [...]"
>
> It was raining harder. The watchmen on their rounds called out in strange East Country accents [...] It was all very strange and rather forbidding. Seated at the edge of a veranda as of a rustic cottage, he whispered to himself:
>
> > And there is no shelter at Sano.[25]
> > Are there tangles of grass to hold me back, that
> > I wait
> > So long in the rain at the eaves of your eastern
> > cottage?[26]

This scene is also present in the scroll (as *Azumaya* II "The Eastern Cottage II"). There the text reads:

> What answer could she possibly give him, Ukifune wondered. Her nurse also was much concerned. 'Now that His

[24] see footnote 15, page 35.

[25] A reference to a poem from the *Manyôshû* 万葉集 "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves", compiled in the Nara period (710–794). Full reference in Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 966.

[26] *ibid.*

> Lordship has come here to visit you like this, you can't very well send him away without even seeing him [...]'
>
> Meanwhile it had begun to rain, and the sky was getting very dark. The watchmen were making their rounds, and Kaoru heard them speak to each other in their uncouth accents [...] The snatches of unfamiliar conversation made Kaoru feel thoroughly uncomfortable.
>
> > Nor by the ferry of Sano
> > Is there a cottage in sight.
>
> Such were the lines he murmured to himself as he sat on the edge of the rickety veranda. Then he added the poem:
>
> > What clumps of goose-grass block the gate
> > And keep me waiting in the heavy rain
> > Outside this eastern house?[27]

After the text, a viewer would then encounter the painting. In the *Azumaya* II painting, a bit over half of the picture is outdoors. Unrolling the scroll (from right to left), the viewer would first come upon some tall grass in the bottom right corner of the painting. Then, Kaoru (Genji's son) is seen sitting on a porch outside. Kaoru has his back turned to the viewer and is gazing off (into the empty top right corner of the painting). Here the viewer is invited to share in Kaoru's musings, to consider the images that he speaks of in his poem: the tall grass (in the bottom corner of the painting), the rain (not represented in the painting, but surely 'heard'), and the eastern cottage (which he is sitting outside of). The exterior space is clearly separated from the interior space. By continuing into the painting, and into the residence in the painting, the viewer finds five figures. The exterior space, holding only one character (Kaoru) is much larger than the interior space, holding the five figures. These five figures seem to be squeezed into the smallest section of the painting (the interior section). Kaoru is visiting Ukifune, but he is an unexpected visitor. While he waits "patiently" to be invited inside, "Ukifune and her ladies are in a state of panic".[28] The difference in the exterior and interior of the painting refer to the

[27] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 132–134.
[28] Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in the 'Tale of Genji Scroll'," 134.

emotional state of the character(s) depicted in that portion of the scene. According to Watanabe, "It also accords with the allegorical usage of the azumaya, the eastern cottage, a small shabby thatched lodge drenched in evening rains, surrounded by weeds in a deserted countryside".[29]

The viewer is once again invited into the world of the *emaki*; directly into the sound world through the sound of the rain and through Kaoru's poem, which could draw up the tune of the *saibara* in one who is familiar with it.[30]

Brush-writing on paper

The art of *emaki* combines three different art forms, as we have seen: the prose and poetry that "tell" the story, the calligraphy that writes it, and the painting that illustrates it. In an *emakimono*, these three art forms are combined on paper, but not just on any paper. The very foundation for good calligraphy is the choice of paper, and this was produced through a further art, the art of *ryôshi* 料紙, of making papers that were lined, dyed, painted, or embedded with flecks of silver or gold. The actual choice of paper then depended upon the requirements of the calligrapher for the piece that was to be written on it. The *ryôshi* artist would use several types of fibers to create various styles of paper. The different fibers used would determine the absorbency of the paper, which in turn would "affect the style and allure of the brushwork."[31] The art of *ryôshi*, "decorating paper" as it is often referred to, was already highly developed in the Heian period, and while much of the paper used in scrolls and notes at the time was created using *ryôshi*, that used for the *Genji monogatari emaki* is of unequaled quality – handmade *torinoko* 鳥の子 – a thicker, eggshell textured version of *gampishi* 雁皮紙, paper made from the bark of a shrub called *gampi* 雁皮 [32] and especially suitable for fine writing and drawing – every sheet toned in complementary shades from rusty brown to creamy yellow, each embellished with gold and silver leaf in a myriad of shapes and sizes dappled with gold and silver

[29] Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in the 'Tale of Genji Scroll'," 134.

[30] For two late Heian versions of the melody for *Azumaya*, see Markham, *Saibara*, 36–40.

[31] Thomas Lamarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 93.

[32] Botanical name *Wickstroemia canescens*.

dust.[33] Varying patterns and motifs of grasses, flowers, and bamboo were faintly painted on the paper in ink as eventual background for the the calligraphy (Figure 2).

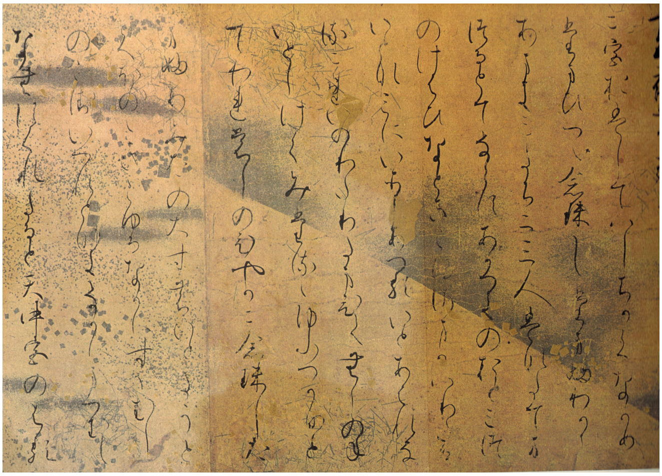


Figure 2: An example of calligraphy and *ryôshi* from the *Suzumushi* 清虫 "The Bell Cricket" chapter of the *Genji monogatari* (reproduced with kind permission of *The Gotoh Museum*, Tôkyô)

The importance of the choice of paper can be seen in many a chapter in the *Genji monogatari*, where Murasaki describes in detail the paper on which poems and letters were written. In one instance in the *Miotsukushi* "Channel Buoys" 澪標 chapter, Akikonomu 秋好, Genji's adopted daughter, is returning a letter to Genji; "she wrote back on richly perfumed gray paper, relying on the somber texture to modulate the shadings of her ink."[34] In the *Akashi* 明石 chapter, Genji is writing to the Akashi lady who lives with her father on the Akashi coast; he "took a great deal of trouble with his note, which was on a fine saffron-colored Korean paper."[35] Murasaki never explicitly uses words to describe the importance of choosing the paper, but rather explains it through the emotion and the contents of the letter. In Genji's letter to Akikonomu (to which she was responding above), he chose paper that matched the weather, the mood, and his poem. Both Genji and Akikonomu were upset and in mourning over the death of the Rokujô lady, on "a day of

[33] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 152.
[34] Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 287.
[35] *ibid.*, 258.

high winds and driving snow and sleet."[36] Genji "had chosen paper of a cloudy azure, and taken pains with all the details [...]" for his poem:

> From skies of wild, unceasing snow and sleet
> Her spirit watches over a house of sorrow.[37]

The snow and sleet, somber mood, and poem about both the weather and their sadness are all reflected in the appropriate choice of the cloudy blue paper. The potential assortments of paper provided infinite possibilities for creativity, and so too did styles of script, as we shall see; indeed, the combination of the paper and the style of calligraphy were used to complement each other and to further integrate with the psychology of the prose and poetry.

Poetry (as calligraphy) had long been combined with paintings for religious scrolls in China. In Tang China (618–906), the arts of poetry, painting, and calligraphy were even referred to as the 'three perfections'.[38] The *Genji monogatari emaki* also exemplifies an "intricate interaction between the art of words and pictorial images", and several of the artistic techniques employed can be seen used in previous works of both China and Japan.[39] Nevertheless, the painting and calligraphy of the *Genji monogatari emaki* comprise an original work of Japan with no known direct predecessors to have influenced the piece. There are mentions of other *emaki* in several Heian period works, but none of them are known to still exist. While the *Genji monogatari* picture-scroll narrative is the only substantial *emaki* currently known to have survived, then, there are, of course, still other paintings with writings dated to long precede the Genji. Some of these paintings with writings are dated to Han China (206BCE – 220 CE).[40] As the *Tale of Genji* picture-scroll narrative is substantial, even if far from complete in itself, it serves well to examine the synthesis of the art forms of painting, calligraphy (and poetry), and *ryôshi*.

When *kanji* 漢字, the Japanese term for the individual characters of Chinese script, were first introduced to Japan from China in (among

36 Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 287.

37 *ibid.*

38 Michael Sullivan, *The Three Perfections: Chinese Painting, Poetry, and Calligraphy* (New York: Georges Braziller, 1999), 7.

39 Yoshiaki Shimizu, "The Rite of Writing: Thoughts on the Oldest Genji Text," RES: *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 16 (1988): 55.

40 Sullivan, *The Three Perfections*, 15.

other places) Buddhist sutra texts, the Japanese had to come to terms with reading a language they didn't know. The Japanese had no written script, but highly sophisticated verbal communication. Rather than developing a Japanese writing system, they created a technique of reading the Chinese writing in a way that would make sense to themselves as Japanese.[41] Chinese is a subject-verb-object language (like English), while Japanese is a subject-object-verb language; so, in order to make grammatical sense in Japanese, the syntax of the written Chinese passages would need to be rearranged. Rather than doing this, the Japanese kept the Chinese in original word order and began thinking in more dimensions: while reading a passage, in their minds they had to simultaneously rearrange the grammar and translate it to the Japanese, without the aid of a separate writing system. Furthermore, to fit the Japanese language, the tones were dropped from the Chinese character readings, now called the *on-yomi* 音読み readings or "Chinese" pronunciation of the *kanji* characters. The *kun-yomi* 訓読み readings, or Japanese readings of the *kanji*, are taken from the Japanese spoken language that was already developed at the time. By using a reading of the Chinese characters without tones, the Japanese effectively took away the meaningful sound of the character, in Chinese, while retaining the semantic content.[42] It was but a short hop to be able to substitute Japanese readings for Chinese characters while likewise keeping meaning intact.

However, one could go in the other direction, too, and use Chinese characters just for their sound, stripping them of their meaning, to represent the Japanese language. *Sôgana* 草仮名 "grass script" is the calligraphy style used in the *Genji monogatari emaki*, and involves just such a use of Chinese characters to represent the set of syllabic sounds of the Japanese language. But the style could, in fact, choose from more than one Chinese character to represent a single Japanese syllable, providing yet more options for artistic effect, as well shall see. *Sôgana* derived from *man'yôgana* 万葉仮名 "ten-thousand leaves script", an older script using Chinese characters for their sound to represent the corresponding Japanese syllabary sounds (known as *kana* かな).[43] *Sôgana* is

[41] Eubanks, Charlotte. 2013. "Cultures of Sound: Lineages of Sutra Recitation in Medieval Japan". Guest lecture in the *Asian Studies Lecture Series*, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. March, 26, 2013.

[42] *ibid.*

[43] The name *man'yôgana* comes from the Japanese poetry anthology of the Nara period (710–794), the *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 "Collection of ten-thousand leaves", which was written in this script.

a simplified cursive version of the *man'yôgana* script, and although it is considered simplified in this sense, it was anything but simple to use. The Chinese characters were not inserted based on their meaning, as we have seen, but solely on the "translation" of the sound. The transition from the full Chinese characters to Japanese *kana* came as a natural shift as the Japanese wrote in more and more relaxed styles of calligraphy, simplifying the Chinese characters into Japanese *kana*. Modern *hiragana* ひらがな and *katakana* カタカナ both ultimately derive from *man'yôgana* (Figure 3). The creation of the *kana* did not replace the *kanji* as a writing system. The Japanese continued to use both systems, interchangeably, as deemed necessary. The intermediary forms of the characters can be used to aid in dating texts from this period. The differing styles of calligraphy were also used in the estimated dating of the *Genji monogatari emaki*.

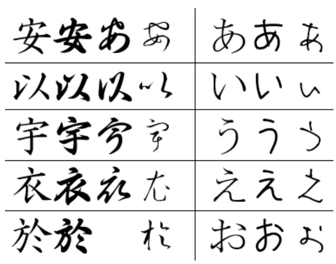


Figure 3: Stages of transition from *kanji* to *hiragana*, printed and handwritten forms.[44] (Courtesy of Michiel "Pomax" Kamermans, Vancouver)

In Heian Japan, there were two main styles of calligraphy: *onna-de* 女手 "women's hand" and *otoko-de* 男手 "men's hand", with *sôgana* "grass script" considered a form of *onna-de*.[45] *Onna-de* was more for "sensitivity of expression and beauty of abstract design rather than intelligibility."[46] In the *Umegae* 梅枝 "Branch of Plum" chapter of the *Genji monogatari*, Genji himself praises the *onna-de style*, saying that "almost nothing but the 'ladies' hand' seems really good. In that we do excel."[47]

[44] For the cursive *hakushû sôsho* 白舟草書 font, see http://www.hakusyu.com/font/s1.htm.
[45] Shimizu, "The Rite of Writing," 61.
[46] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 148.
[47] Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 317.

As it survived, the *Genji monogatari emaki* is thought to have at least four different calligraphers, although some say five calligraphy styles can be distinguished. Style I calligraphy is similar to the stylized classical period of Heian calligraphy (often equated with the "feminine hand"), styles II and III are of the twelfth-century style, and style IV is comparable to the calligraphy of the Kamakura period.[48] The choice to use a form of *onna-de* calligraphy, rather than *otoko-de,* in the *Genji* had to do with the genre of the piece. Differing styles of *onna-de* are used in the *emaki* for various reasons. For example, in the emotionally heightened *Minori* 御法 "The Rites" chapter of the *emaki*, the calligraphy used is in a style known as *midare-gaki* 乱れ書き "disarrayed or tangled writing."[49] The calligrapher placed 27 columns of calligraphy onto one sheet, rather than the usual 11 to 13 columns of previous sheets. The calligrapher's hand is hastened "creating extensive overlapping and indentations of columns."[50] Such manipulation of space and the writing style are intrinsic elements of the "scene-painting", outside of the illustration, using the text itself to add emotion and guide the viewer's feelings in its accelerated nature, preparing them for further depiction in poignant painting. Of course, the inherent audible nature of what the characters represent – syllables of language – gives the text another dimension. With *sôgana*, several different Chinese characters could be used for one Japanese sound. For instance, the Japanese syllable *ni* に (in Japanese *hiragana*) was written with either of two separate characters in *sôgana*, 尓 or 仁, making the text harder to read, but also allowing the calligrapher more freedom of expression.[51]

Painting with the brush

The graphic aspects of the writing were paired with the calligraphic nature of the paintings to make the *emaki* in Heian Japan a unique experience. Both used the brush: as the basis for painting in Heian Japan was brush calligraphy, many Heian aristocrats and scholars were skillful artists as well as calligraphers. The ability to "read" or "view" both the calligraphy and paintings in an *emaki* created a continuous connection between the writing and the image. The creators of the *Genji monogatari emaki* employed many different techniques to complete the

[48] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 151–52.
[49] Shimizu, "The Rite of Writing," 58.
[50] *ibid.*
[51] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 149.

work. Written in *onna-de* style of calligraphy, it was drawn in a complementary *onna-e* 女絵 "women's picture" style of art, a type of painting used to illustrate *monogatari*, *nikki* 日記 "diary" (literally, "notes of the day"), and sutras:[52] *onna-e* depicted the court life and decorated sutra scrolls (illustrating the Pure Land, for instance). Just as *onna-e* painting was used in conjunction with *onna-de* calligraphy styles, so-called *otoko-e* 男絵 "men's picture" painting was used with *otoko-de* calligraphy styles, in this case mainly for narratives and *engi* 縁起 "religious legends" frequently portraying the plebeian life style.[53]

The *emaki* were sketched using a *tsukuri-e* 作り絵 "manufactured painting" pictorial technique. This technique is accomplished by applying paint to a black and white drawing. First the scenes from the *monogatari* to be depicted were chosen based on the visuals offered in the text. Next, the composition was laid out, using calligraphic lines to compose a black and white sketch of the scene.[54] Then details and layers of opaque pigment were added to the scene. Finally, the black lines of the original sketch, buried under the pigment and detail, were redrawn to outline the objects and characters portrayed in the painting. The calligraphic text was led directly into the paintings by the original calligraphic lines used in the sketching and in the re-inking of the piece.[55]

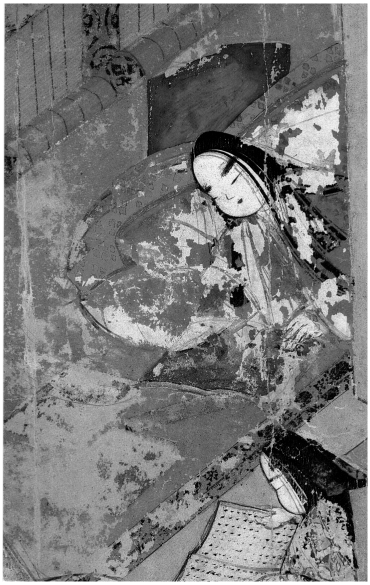
Tsukuri-e can be further distinguished by two pictorial methods utilized during the scene and character creation: *fukinuki yatai* 吹抜屋台 "blown-away roof" technique, a method of perspective, and the *hikime kagihana* 引目鉤鼻 "line-eye, hook-nose" portrait technique.[56] The *fukinuki yatai* technique employs an upper-diagonal view of the scene with the roof, ceiling, and inner walls removed (see Figure 1). This method of perspective is used to manipulate two narrative spaces in order to reveal two narrative moments (see above, pages 35–37).[57] In the *Genji monogatari emaki*, the artists would entirely remove the blinds, beams, and sliding doors which might block the central scene. The use of this technique, along with the perspectives used in the paintings, allowed the artists to twist the interior to their needs in order to

[52] Tokugawa, "Introduction," 9.
[53] *ibid.*
[54] Morris, *The Tale of Genji Scroll*, 144.
[55] *ibid.*, 153.
[56] Tokugawa, "Introduction," 10.
[57] Watanabe, "Narrative Framing in the 'Tale of Genji Scroll'," 116.

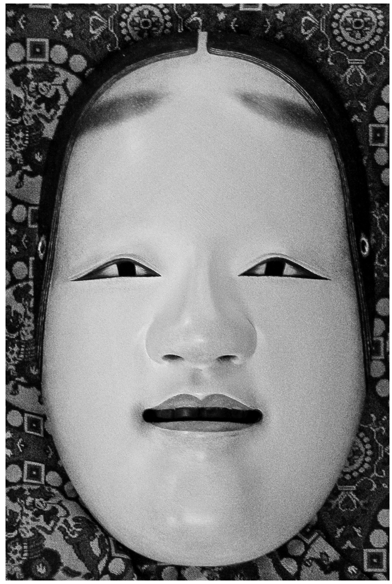
guide the viewer's eye. In the *Makura no sôshi* 枕草子 "Pillow Book", the court lady Sei Shônagon 清少納言 (c. 966–1017/1025) lists "men or women who are praised in romances as being beautiful" among her "Things that Lose by Being Painted".[58] The majority of the characters in the *Genji* were extremely idolized in the contemporary society and the artists were aware of the reader's preconceived notions of the characters' attributes. The artists used the *hikime kagihana* technique to create an idealized general beauty for each character. This "line-eye, hook-nose" technique is used for the faces of nobility.[59] By avoiding individuality, this method allowed the artists to still draw the characters, but also encouraged the reader to use envisioned images of the characters. The images of the characters in the reader's mind did not conflict with their portrayal in the *emaki* because the portrayal was unrealistic and abstract, allowing the reader to view an own image of the fictitious character over the artist's stylistic rendering.[60]

The faces created through this technique look similar to the later *ko-omote* 小面 "little mask" in *Noh* 能, the mask for a character of a young girl not yet twenty, on the verge of womanhood.[61] The similarities between the *hikime kagihana* faces and the *Noh* masks are in fact very striking. In the following pictures (Figure 4a and Figure 4b), similarities are shown. Both have similar facial shapes (gourd faces), with high, thick eyebrows, and small noses. In Figure 4a, Ukifune even has a hairstyle similar to that of the *Noh* mask (Figure 4b). The masks in *Noh* are considered expressionless in themselves; the expressions of the characters are to come from the actors motions. The characters in the *Genji monogatari emaki* also seem emotionless if one just looks at the faces. As in *Noh*, however, to show the disposition of the characters in the *emaki* the artists used the body language and slight tilts of the head. Also, slight differences in the thickness and height of the eyebrows or the lowering of the eyes could be used to express emotions. These two techniques "blown-away roof" and "line-eye, hook-nose" are used in all extant pictures from the *emaki*, except in the *Sekiya* I 関屋 "Gatehouse I" painting illustrating the chapter of the same name, because it is the only one in existence that is set completely outside, and from such a high perspective, it makes *hikime kagihana* impossible.

58 Sei Shônagon, *The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon*, 138.
59 Tokugawa, "Introduction," 11.
60 *ibid.*, 13.
61 *Noh* is a stylized form of classical Japanese musical theatre.



(a) Detail of *Azumaya* I in the *Genji Monogatari Emaki* (Figure 1) – close up of the *hikime-kagihana* style. (©The Tokugawa Art Museum Image Archives / DNPartcom)



(b) *Ko'omote* 小面 *noh* mask. From the private collection of Akira Matsui. ©2008 David A. Surtasky

Figure 4: Comparison of *Hikime-Kagihana* seen in *Emaki* to a *Noh* mask

In Heian Japan, romances and other stories were told or read aloud in a group setting. Accessibility was a problem for many people, as evidenced in the *Sarashina Nikki* 更級日記 "Diary of Lady Sarashina," written by Sugawara no Takasue no musume 菅原孝標女 or the "daughter of Sugawara no Takasue" (c. 1008–1059?).[62] She is most well-known as Lady Sarashina. Lady Sarashina was the daughter of a noble stationed in the provinces when she is a young child, and later returns to the capital. Her memoir begins when she is young and her only wish is to read the *Genji monogatari* from beginning to end. She spent the days of her youth listening to the old romances. Being able to obtain just a single copy was hard, especially for those in the provinces. Another prob-

[62] *Sarashina Nikki* is considered one of the main Japanese court diaries, along with the *Kagero Nikki* 蜻蛉日記 "The Mayfly Diary", the *Makura no Sôshi* 枕草子 "The Pillow Book", and the "The Diary of Lady Murasaki".

lem besides access was literacy. Group-reading and discussion were a way for the upper-class women to spend their time (see Figure 1).[63] In fact, in the *Makura no sôshi*, Sei Shônagon lists "a well-executed picture done in the female style,[64] with lots of beautifully written accompanying text around it," on her list of "Things that make you feel cheerful".[65] Not only did many women in Heian Japan use group-reading and the discussion of literature as a way to pass the time, but they also spent time illustrating stories themselves. There are several instances in the *Genji monogatari* where members of the court ordered copies and illustrations, but there are also examples where the aristocracy illustrated the tales personally. It is noted that the Akashi Lady, for instance, was "a talented painter", according to Seidensticker,[66] although more pointedly for Ivan Morris, she was "proficient in this art [of illustrating romances]."[67]

The *emaki* genre in Heian Japan is a fusion of various art styles learned from China and combined into an art form distinctly Japanese in nature. The *Genji monogatari emaki*, as an exquisite example of the picture-scroll narrative, is clearly a continuous piece of art, connected by the underlying design of the piece, using calligraphic lines in the text and in the artwork, enabling a flowing reader-viewer experience with the change from text to picture and back creating no interruption, indeed even using the text itself calligraphically as a form of art. The different types of art in this *emaki* are combined into something that is entirely new, but something so perfect, such a "pleasing thing"[68] that it would generate and support countless "re-tellings", "re-writings", "re-paintings", and "re-readings" over hundreds of years until today.

[63] Akiko Hirota, "The Tale of Genji: From Heian Classic to Heisei Comic," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 31, no. 2 (1997): 31.

[64] Referring to the *onna-e* style of painting.

[65] This passage is not contained in Ivan Morris' translation of the *Pillow Book*, which is mainly based on the Nôinbon 能因本 text of the diary; it is taken here from Sei Shônagon 清少納言, *The Pillow Book*, trans. Meredith McKinney (London: Penguin, 2006), 30, a translation relying mostly on the *Sankanbon* 三巻本 text.

[66] Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji*, 436.

[67] Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (Tôkyô: Kodansha International, 1994), 308

[68] See above, page 32, footnote 5.

Luxury: The Shifting Moral Perspective in Eighteenth-Century Netherlands

Meaghan Morelock

The idea of luxury goods has always been a prominent and often controversial one over the centuries, yet no more so than in the eighteenth century. At this time the prevailing attitude towards luxury was shifting from that of a Christian, moral-central view that luxury was a sin, to that of a capitalist view that luxury was available to everyone of any class, at any time. The eighteenth century was replete with outcries at this new attitude, mostly by those of noble or privileged birth, who felt that luxury was the cause of many terrible happenings in the world – both morally and economically. The history of luxury and the attitude towards it throughout the early modern period, as well as what items, foods, and drinks were considered luxury goods at the time are all important to understand before the debate can be fully explored, hence an overview of that will be covered first. Specific religious views on the concept of luxury also offer valuable insight into why the debate was so powerful. Using as a case study an analysis of the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, this study explores a country whose decisions provide a fascinating glimpse into a country that mostly eschewed the idea of luxury, and yet they were surrounded by it on a daily basis. This study's second part will deal with a foundational eighteenth century debate by exploring what contemporary authors and politicians wrote and said about the subject of luxury. The intense debate over luxury of that period stemmed from the fact that the nobles, who were considered lawmakers and a part of the government, felt that power and control were slipping away from them and that the world was "going to hell" as a result of "lesser" classes obtaining luxury goods.

It is important to differentiate and define what a luxury item or food type is. The overall idea is something that one does not need; it is a food, drink or item that is not necessary for survival and is only useful in increasing your status and the pleasure and contentment you gain from life. Yet to many people, previous to the nineteenth century, luxury was also closely related to morality. Interestingly enough, some dictionaries also include the archaic definition of luxury, or rather its synonyms: lechery and lust,[1] which will be explored further. Social scientist Dimitri Mortelmans, in his article "Sign values in processes of distinction: The concept of luxury,"[2] explores the historical concepts of luxury and what defines luxury across multiple eras. His ultimate argument was that every social group and culture has a different kind of luxury, yet he explains that in the past "luxury has been viewed as useless and superfluous because it belongs to the realm of desires instead of elementary needs."[3] He also points out that the social sciences have not explored the debate on luxury very much since the debate in the eighteenth century. In 1899, Thorstein Veblen stated that the "[…] industrious class should consume only what may be necessary to their subsistence. In the nature of things, luxuries and the comforts of life belong to the leisure class."[4] There were a few studies in the 1980s on luxury, but it wasn't until the 1990s that it gained a true resurgence. The needs-want system was still the predominant view of luxury.

Yet the actual, historical concept of luxury remains exceedingly vague and elusive, in that it can encompass a wide variety of things. Even the authors and politicians of the eighteenth century agreed upon the ambiguity of the term. As Waburton says in *The Divine Legislation* (1737) "[…] his ambiguous term, Luxury. There is no word more inconstantly used and capriciously applied to particular actions."[5] Hume says that "Luxury is a word of uncertain signification, and may be taken in a good as well as a bad sense." (In *Political Discourses*, 1752)[6] And

1 John Sekora, *The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet* (London: The John Hopkins University Pres, 1977), 21.

2 Dimitri Mortelmans, "Sign Values in Processes of Distinction: The Concept of Luxury," *Semiotica* 157 (2005): 497–520.

3 *ibid.*, 497.

4 *ibid.*, 497–498.

5 Sekora, *The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*, 21.

6 *ibid.*

finally, the *Critical Review* of 1765 says that "few writers, when they treat of luxury, ascertain the idea of it in a proper manner." Thus one can see that even in this period of great debate over the concept of luxury and its place in the world, the debaters themselves could not easily define what it was.

To understand the evolution of the upper classes' controversial view of luxury in the early modern period, one must first understand the concept of luxury through the eras; concepts in different cultures such as the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. The concept of luxury has been present and discussed throughout history, although under a variety of different names. The Bible references the concept of luxury from the beginning. The story of Adam and Eve is a common one, yet many do not think of the story from the book of Genesis as equating to luxury. God told Adam and Eve that they could have anything they wanted in the garden, except for the fruit from one tree: the Tree of Knowledge. This fruit was not something that they needed. Yet they desired it, and were tempted by the serpent to eat from it. Because God was angered by their desire for something that they did not need, he cast them out from the garden for this, the first sin, and they were cursed with mortality from that point forward. Since then, in Christian doctrine, the fall from grace was caused by a desire for something beyond a basic subsistence, and thus it has been taught by many that greed and luxury are sins. This teaching was especially prevalent in Britain before and during the early modern period; they did not want to repeat the same mistakes as their progenitors. Luxury was believed to lead to moral decay and its indulgence would mean the loss of one's opportunity to enter Heaven. Much of this stems from the Bible's teachings on it, especially the very simple, stated facts that Adam and Eve were cast out due to their sins for coveting a luxury they did not need. For Christians it was the idea that God must be feared; that he is the only thing that man must fear. Not man, not the world, not death, but what happens after death when man meets God. To the Hebrews, central to this whole concept is the idea of imperfect human nature. For Christians, the lesson of luxury ended with Genesis,[7] but for the Hebrews the lessons on the sins of luxury continued further. In the Old Testament books of Samuel and Kings, the next lesson on luxury is imparted. The teachings in these books are twofold: that the meaning of luxury is 'anything to which

[7] *ibid.*, 24.

one has no right or title,'[8] and that God renews his blessing upon the Hebrews only when the sinful thing has been expelled from their lives.[9] This teaching for the Hebrews carried over into the teachings of the Christians in later centuries, and carried important ramifications for their livelihoods.

The ancient Greeks also saw that luxury could have powerful repercussions on their culture and society. Whereas the Hebrew view was religious in nature, and thus moral from that end, the Greeks viewed luxury through the lens of secularism and rationality. This can be said no better than Sekora does in his book on luxury:

> The Apollonian tradition exhorted men to recall that necessity and mortality set strict limits upon individuality and that pleasure and happiness were subject to the constraints of rationality. Luxury was therefore regarded as a retreat from order, a violation of harmony, and the introduction of chaos into the cosmos, preventing the individual and the community from realizing their natural ends.[10]

As can be seen by the preceding excerpt, ancient Greeks put great stock in necessity alone. To obtain happiness as a community, the individual Greek must place more importance on rationality than on the happiness of one's self. Luxury was seen to bring chaos into Greek community life, and would prevent all Greeks from realizing their full potential. It was hard to control. On the face of it, this, compared to the Hebrew view, is definitely a more secular reason for the repudiation of luxury yet they seem to be quite similar. Both views expressed the view that if luxury was introduced into the system, then bad things would happen. For the Hebrews, sin would enter the equation, and for the Greeks, chaos.

The Romans placed much political importance on the idea of luxury because they believed that it "signified the presence of the potentially disruptive power of human desire,"[11] according to historian Christopher Berry. This power of human desire had to be policed. The Ro-

[8] Sekora, *The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*, 25.

[9] *ibid.*

[10] *ibid.*, 29.

[11] Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 63.

man state placed goods in the context of need, rationality and purpose. Epictetus and Roman Stoicism depicted the simple life of freedom where the body's few needs are easily met, and subordinate to the will of man. Plato also contrasted an idyllic city with the "inflamed luxurious city".[12] Cicero stated that 'decorum' required that a person not be over-elaborate in appearance and dress. Life must be controlled, but to place a value on life for its own sake is to lose that control, Seneca believed.[13] This last point could certainly be expounded on in detail, but for the purpose of this essay, a brief demonstration of Roman belief is all that is required.

The most commonly cited concept on second millennia Christian belief about luxury is that it was closely related to sin and vice. Most specifically it was related to lechery, but it had ties to almost every single sin and vice that the Christians knew about. This was very true of the Catholic Church, but it also continued past the Reformation and into the many different Protestant denominations that existed during the latter part of the period in question: Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Anglican, to name just a few.

Christians believed that there was a thin line between luxury and vice. The word luxury, itself, actually comes from the word lechery – it was that closely tied. The Seven Deadly Sins, and other vices (gluttony, lust, avarice, malice, anger, greed, vanity, sloth, pride) all had ties to lechery/luxury. Gluttony was tied to eating large quantities of (luxurious) food; lust was tied to coveting of luxury goods; malice and anger when you could not get the luxury items you wished; greed and avarice for wanting more than you already had; vanity and pride for being too concerned with how you appeared when dressing and eating these luxury items; and sloth when you no longer morally cared about moral things and others, due to spending all your time paying attention to the acquisition of material wealth. All of these ties and connections are based on this writer's observations and readings, and while not fully inclusive, they give a good basis for understanding the context of Christian viewpoints on the concept at this time.

Historian Jan de Vries discusses the idea of "Confessionalization", or the Confessional Era, which occurred during the Dutch Golden Age. Confessionalization occurred with all Christian denominations at the time, and these Churches were concerned with religious revitalization

[12] *ibid.*, 64.
[13] *ibid.*, 65.

and having an effect on the broader society. This included programs of education, institutionalization, and, invariably, greater social control. All of this left a deep mark on society, according to de Vries, including the design of everyday articles, accessible luxuries, interior decoration, and clothing.[14]

Jan de Vries talks specifically about one denomination's – Calvinism's – impact on luxury goods, and even more specifically about its impact on luxury goods in the Netherlands. Simply put, Calvinism is a series of theological beliefs that were first introduced by John Calvin, who was one of the leaders of the Protestant Reformation. He lived from 1509 to 1564. It was affirmed by the Synod of Dordt around 1618 as the doctrine of salvation as explained in the Bible.[15] It is explained (simply, but not easily) by The Five Points of Calvinism. These include:

1. After the Fall, sin extended to all parts of every person's being and existence, including his thinking, emotions and will. This means God must intervene for the salvation of the human being through the form of the Holy Spirit.

2. Humans are divided into two groups: those who will know God and will attain salvation, and those who will forever remain ignorant and will spend eternity in hell.

3. Jesus did not die to save all humans; he in fact died for the redemption of specific sins for those who are saved.

4. Those who are in the former half of the human race (those who will know God) cannot resist the call to knowledge about God.

5. Once saved, you will remain saved; it is impossible to lose salvation.[16]

The most important of these Points in relation to luxury is the first one. It states that sin is a part of every aspect of a person's life; their emotion, will, and thoughts, as well as what they do and say. Since luxury was so closely tied to sin and vice, it was inevitable that Calvinism

[14] Jan de Vries, "Luxury and Calvinism/Luxury and Capitalism: Supply and Demand for Luxury Goods in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 57 (1999): 84.

[15] Bruce A. Robinson, "Calvinism," ReligiousTolerance.org, 2004, accessed March 18, 2012, http://www.religioustolerance.org/calvinism.htm.

[16] *ibid.*

would take the form of protesting all or many forms of luxury. This was because it was viewed as a form of moral decay, and thus a departure from God and into sin. This is most apparent in the Netherlands during the Dutch Golden Age. In the late seventeenth century there were discussions in England as to why the English were losing ground to the Dutch in trade and economy. The common explanation was that the Dutch had a more favourable sense of virtue and morality, especially where it regarded luxury consumption. The Dutch had a 'favourable balance of trade', according to William Temple (1668) and they 'furnish infinite luxury which they themselves never practise, and traffic in pleasures which they never taste.'[17] The Dutch were considered valorous, industrious, parsimonious and, most importantly, moral, whereas the English had gone too far past the Dutch in morality – even too far that they could not revert back to the moral level of the Dutch. Instead, the English incited talks and arguments about economic protection such as tariffs, freight charges, interest rates, and more.[18]

In the Netherlands,

> the basic forms of expressing status and achieving comfort were remarkably similar between city and country, and between rich and poor. It was the cost and specific quality, rather than the types of objects and their general form, which differed.[19]

The Dutch were heavily influenced by Calvinism, even if indirectly,[20] and their livelihoods reflected this. Calvin wrote in his discourse on Christian Liberty: "let all men live in their respective stations, whether slenderly, or moderately, or plentifully, so that all may remember that God confers his blessings on them for the support of life, not for luxury.[21]" The Dutch lived very simply, yet they had luxury in their own right. They furnished their homes, furniture and gardens with great richness – as well as clocks and instruments – yet did not eat or dress luxuriously. However, much of their economic power came from ex-

[17] William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, ed. George Clark (1673; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 86

[18] de Vries, "Luxury and Calvinism," 78–79.

[19] *ibid.*, 84.

[20] *ibid.*

[21] Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. Benjamin B. Warfield and Thomas Clinton Pears, trans. John Allen (1559; Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1936), Book 3, chapter 19: 81.

porting many goods (made in the Netherlands or bought elsewhere through their trade companies) and importing very few. This is why it was called the Dutch Golden Age.[22] William Temple describes the Netherlands very well in the following quote:

> By this we find out the foundation of the Riches of Holland [...] For never any Country traded so much and consumed so little. They buy infinitely, but this to sell again··· They are the great masters of the Indian spices, and of the Persian silks; but wear plain woollens and feed upon their own fish and roots. Nay, they sell the finest of their own cloath to France, and buy coarse out of England for their own wear. They send abroad the best of their butter [...] and buy the cheapest of Ireland [...] for their own use. In short, they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practice, and traffique in Pleasure which they never taste.[23]

Thus we can see that the economy relied heavily on luxuries, for they produced many luxuries to sell to other people in other countries.

The Dutch also had many great artists, and they excelled at the still life style. Still life can offer the study of luxury many tidbits of information, as many still life paintings include luxury goods, foods and drinks. It was a popular style to showcase luxury goods.[24] Art gives us some of the best examples of what were considered to be luxury goods, foods, and drinks during these periods. Art from the Netherlands – such as *Banquet Still Life* (1667) and *Still Life with a Lobster and Turkey* (1653) by Abraham van Beyeren, and *Room Corner with Curiosities* (1712) by Jan van der Heyden – depict the period especially well as they were completed during the beginning of the great debate on luxury and morality. Art, especially still life, gives us a good sample of luxury consumed by the upper classes – although those were the only classes that could afford luxuries until around the eighteenth century. Art gives us a good sample because it was what was readily at hand, what was common in the uncommon household, and most artists would not want to paint something that was too common. Thus they could settle on painting the luxury goods that were common in the upper class, providing a snapshot of these households. In both of Beyeren's paintings, a lobster is

[22] de Vries, "Luxury and Calvinism."

[23] Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, 87.

[24] de Vries, "Luxury and Calvinism," 74.

featured prominently, as well as other food items on silver platters and goblets. There are fruits, such as grapes, melons and peaches, which are not all native to the region. A key part of what makes a good a luxury good is that it is harder to obtain than other goods. This includes goods that cannot be obtained within the country and goods that cost a lot more to produce.

There were numerous types of goods that were considered luxury goods, whether old or new. At this period in time they both intersected and mingled; both existed concurrently. In Paris the writing desk for ladies was a predominant feature of luxury. In the streets, peddlers sold snuff boxes, books, watches, and jewellery, all to be purchased for many different variances in prices. Laurence Fontaine observes that these goods were valuable "not only because they marked status and provided pleasure but also because they could easily be turned into cash."[25] Cash value helped to change how the lower classes viewed these goods, and made them more justifiable as a purchase. English luxury goods at this time included a wide variety of clothing in particular. Hats and handkerchiefs,[26] ribbons and lace,[27] and especially dresses, were part of fashion. How you were seen at this time greatly affected how you were treated, and it was a large reflection of your class and status. The English placed great stock in this concept, and thus they placed great power in their fashion devices such as cloth and accessories. Later in the eighteenth century, to a greater degree than previously existed, landscape and architecture gained importance in England and in America as well.[28] Vases in the classical style also gained admiration in the eighteenth century.[29] General European luxuries included silks and porcelains, and many of the same foods across different countries.[30]

In *How the Scots Invented the Modern World,* Arthur Herman describes the state of literacy in Scotland, and England, during the 1700s. This book encompasses the change in the period in this one example; the change in the different classes that included the change in views

[25] Michael Kwass, "Review of 'Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.). Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods'. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave 2003," *Reviews in History* (September 1, 2003), http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/357.

[26] *ibid.*

[27] *ibid.*

[28] *ibid.*

[29] *ibid.*

[30] *ibid.*

about luxury. Due to the influence of the Kirk (the Presbyterian Church in Scotland) Scotland had full access to the Bible, no matter what class the person was. If they could read, they could have access. This led to the Kirk introducing one of John Knox's (the founder) ideals of national education. Schools were introduced in each parish, and soon they became known as the most literate Protestant nation. Books and publishing became a part of the Scottish life and tradition; soon almost every single household would have somebody who was literate, and books within it.[31] This was a mark of the changing times. Soon more students than ever before were attending local universities and colleges, and many regular townspeople were even auditing classes as well. This reflects the different attitude that was coming about in the world, and it is this writer's belief that this is on par with the attitude about luxury items and reading, books, and literacy should even be considered a luxury. This is especially true of the upper class's perspective with regards to the lower classes. This will be expounded upon later. Herman also explains what food stuffs were common to eat for the common classes in Scotland at the time when compared to the Scottish and English nobility, in the following passage. Scotland and England were geographically linked, and often politically linked as well. Thus they were comparable on certain levels (yet their cultures were quite distinct). The following excerpt details these differences in food choices at the end of the seventeenth century. Here we see a description of a common diet, and that of a luxury-rich diet.

> Ordinary Scots relied heavily on whole grains such as oatmeal and barley, with very little meat beyond the occasional piece of fish or a bit of lean pork. Probably nutritionists today would consider it a healthier diet than the typical fat-laden, sugar-sweetened, alcohol- and tobacco-ridden meals of the English and Scottish ruling classes.[32]

Food became a mark of distinction between the classes for the English at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The English added food to the category of luxury goods at this time, changing their dining time to later in the day so as not to eat at the same time as their ser-

[31] Arthur Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World & Everything In It* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 2001), 26–27.

[32] *ibid.*, 31.

vants, and even began to reclassify food groups.[33] Distinctions such as "sweet" and "savory" began to be used and the organization of the meal centred upon this.[34] Fruits, sugars, spices, tea and coffee were the mainstays of luxury food goods at this time, as well as exotic fruits (oranges, pomegranates, melons, tomatoes, lemons, and others) from southern Europe. The apple was imported from Mexico, and was considered an aphrodisiac.[35] Chocolate, as well, was definitely considered a luxury at this time. The most important of all these in England at the time, however, was most assuredly sugar. It was used in many different ways, for many different things, and trade soon grew to rely on it, especially in France.[36] Hannah Hinkson had this to say of England prior to the eighteenth century:

> Again, the poor only had access to the remains of the wealthy. So, prior to the eighteenth century, the control over available resources resulted in covetousness and starvation for the poor and gluttony and excess for the wealthy. In the middle, the working class waffled between the desire for goods and the reality of financial limitations. The imbalance—spiritual and social—brought about by the spice trade was most evident at the dinner table.[37]

In essence, food maintained the power of demarcating social boundaries before the seventeenth century, but slowly this changed. Food consumption, as well as the view on luxury in general, moved away from the Christian ideals that had previously encapsulated the livelihoods of English men and women. "Moderation and the neoclassical aesthetics of balance and moderation"[38] were replaced by the concept of gluttony. It was no longer about God fulfilling one's life, but rather the material world and its goods. Moral behaviour changed with this new worldview, and so too did consumption practices.[39]

[33] Hannah Hinkson, "Redeeming Proper Taste: Food as an Emblem of Luxury in Eighteenth Century England" (M.A., Liberty University, 2011), 6, http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1176&context=masters.

[34] *ibid.*, 7.

[35] *ibid.*, 8–9.

[36] *ibid.*, 12.

[37] *ibid.*, 14.

[38] *ibid.*, 15.

[39] *ibid.*

A new type of luxury began to develop over these centuries in question, along with the shifting worldview from spiritual fulfillment to self-fulfillment. It simply became termed as "new luxury", which naturally created the term "old luxury". These types of luxury were completely different concepts, and even defined by different goods. The old concept of luxury was "a type of consumption that thrived at court and served mainly to demarcate social status."[40] This type of luxury consumption included specialized goods that were extremely hard to duplicate. The goods were not mass-produced, and their luxuriousness relied on their rarity. The new type of luxury was "a sociable and inclusive urban form of luxury."[41] The new style focused more on the types of goods and their luxuriousness; it did not rely on their rarity. In fact, new luxury was much more mass-produced and readily accessible – to any class, upper, middle or lower. Goods became the occasion for the 'refinement of the senses' and the 'increase in delight' with new luxury.[42] There was a new perspective that 'the satisfaction of material needs and the promotion of material well-being are important',[43] and the 'affirmation of ordinary life'.[44] With all these new ideals, there was a decline of the Christian idea of salvation and morality, and the Classical view of virtue. Material value and comfort started to come to the forefront, and this is where much of the debate about luxury was centred on.

As the eras unfolded, capitalism was realized and there were different explanations for the 'creation' of capitalism during the eighteenth century. Max Weber believed that capitalism evolved from frugality, investments and savings over the years, this practice being spread over large populations of people. Weber believed that this created a more affluent populace base, which had more to spend on many different things.[45] Yet Werner Sombart had a different reason for the creation of capitalism: luxury spending -

> [...] incited by the example of the court and by the 'rule of women' in such environments, which led men into

[40] Kwass, "Review of Berg & Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*."

[41] *ibid.*

[42] Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 125.

[43] *ibid.*

[44] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 209, as cited in Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 125.

[45] de Vries, "Luxury and Calvinism," 73–74.

> the reckless pursuit of sensuous pleasure, all those things which 'charm the eye, the ear, the nose, the palate, or the touch.'[46]

To ascribe such a giant concept as capitalism to luxury spending demonstrates how important luxury was in the minds of politicians and theorists at the time. With the preceding quote we also see that Sombart is describing a bit of the history of luxury as he sees it. He expresses that luxury began in the royal and religious courts, incited by women demanding sensuous pleasures of their men – and their men aiming to please them.

Certainly one of the reasons for the spread of luxury goods was the spread of the Atlantic trade, and the entrenching of the Indian, African and Oriental trades. Many different companies sprang up to support trade in luxury goods such as the British East India Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company in what is now Canada.[47] These trade routes and companies expanded trade (both exports and imports) and made things accessible that no one in Europe could have dreamed of. Sugars, spices, silks, furs, slaves, different alcoholic spirits, new grains, fruits and vegetables [...] all were more readily available at varying degrees of price.

In the meantime (and as was posited earlier) the concept of luxury caused much debate in eighteenth-century England. There are a number of reasons for the eighteenth-century debate in England. Much of it can be boiled down to the country's inherited lawmakers – its nobility and privileged classes – feeling that the world was 'going to hell' because of luxury spending. They felt control being pulled and ripped away from them by these new upstarts; classes that had previously not been affluent and had been considered part of the lower classes of the country.[48] The upper classes believed that only they had the moral strength and character to withstand the wiles of luxury, and that only they had the strength to deny it to a safe degree. They saw that the lower classes were being pulled down by the evils of luxury, and that they were dragging the rest of the country down with them. If the lower classes were becoming lazy and demanding higher wages, the upper classes felt that the entire system would collapse. It was no longer simply a religious and moral reason against luxury for the upper

46 *ibid.*, 73.

47 Herman, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World*, 32.

48 Sekora, *The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*, 69.

classes. It became about economics and power as well, even more so than the previous reasons.[49] Yet there were some truths to these fears about the lower class and luxuries; there was a movement of the lower class people away from the rural areas and to the urban centres, creating an imbalance in the economy and agricultural practices.

Different theorists and politicians encompassed the myriad views of the debate through their works and essays. They were around to experience the debate, and so offer very valuable insight into the society of this era. First of all is Thomas Mun. He was not a writer of the eighteenth century, yet his ideas formed the basis for the debate of those later years. He wrote his book – *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* – in 1634, yet it wasn't published until 1664.[50] He believed in a balanced view on luxury: there was a middle ground between vice, and consumption and trade.

> We may likewise diminish our importations, if we would soberly refrain from excessive consumption of forraign wares in our diet and rayment, with such often change of fashions as is used, so much the more to encrease the waste and charge; which vices at this present are more notorious amongst us than in former ages.[51]

Thus the shift from viewing luxury as sin and vice, to a capitalist view, was already occurring in the early seventeenth century. Nicholas Barbon's *Discourse of Trade* of 1690 represented another view on the shift from moral to capitalist luxury. Specifically, there was a shift in the context in which luxury is viewed: luxury can become socially useful and not a mode of corruption through the expenditure on clothing and lodging, which promotes trade, thus creating a more affluent and safe life for more people.[52] He believed that "it is the wants of the mind, fashion and desire of Novelties and Things scarce that causeth Trade."[53] Trade would then create and be responsible for the provision of employment, improving the stock of the country, raising of rent, improving of

[49] Sekora, *The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*, 69.

[50] Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade, or, The Ballance of Our Forraign Trade is the Rule or Our Treasure* (London: Printed by J.G. for T. Clark, and are to be sold at his shop, 1664).

[51] Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (1664; New York, NY: MacMillan & Co., 1895), 9-10.

[52] Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 124–125.

[53] Sekora, *The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*, 35.

yields [...] it would occasion peace, increase revenue, enlarge defensive capabilities and help with imperial expansion.[54] Essentially Barbon's argument is that fashion and luxury goods are useful for their benefits to the promotion of economic trade, and which in turn benefit individual and social (status) well-being.[55] Yet this well-being is by nature individual, and does not encompass the well-being of society at large. Barbon's arguments would later be continued by Hume and Smith in the eighteenth century. These arguments are the modern perspective on the value of material needs, goods and wealth as being important. Essentially it is a 'de-moralisation' of luxury.[56]

In the early 1700s a famous poem by Mandeville was published about luxury. It compared human civilization to that of a bee hive. It was fairly scandalous, and much more explicit than Barbon's demoralization of luxury. Whereas Barbon only mentioned the word luxury once in his discourse, Mandeville makes sure his readers know what he is writing about.[57] The following is the stanza in Mandeville's poem which is most often cited about luxury:

> The Root of evil Avarice,
> That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful Vice,
> Was Slave to Prodigality
> That Noble Sin; whilst Luxury
> Employ'd a Million of the Poor,
> And odious Pride a Million more
> Envy it self, and Vanity
> Were Ministers of Industry;
> Their darling Folly, Fickleness
> In Diet, Furniture, and Dress,
> That strange, ridic'lous Vice, was made
> The very Wheel, that turn'd the Trade.
> Their Laws and Cloaths were equally
> Objects of Mutability;
> For, what was well done for a Time,
> In half a Year became a Crime;
> Yet whilst they alter'd thus their Laws,
> Still finding and correcting Flaws,

54 Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 125.
55 *ibid.*
56 *ibid.*
57 *ibid.*, 127.

They mended by Inconstancy
Faults, which no Prudence could foresee.[58]

Mandeville's prose, which was published along with the poem, explains in some great detail his thoughts about luxury. In short, he states that everything or nothing should be called luxury, as everything man has done since they were created has improved his lot in life. What should be called a need, and what extra, in this circumstance?[59] The poetry itself is simple, even if dressed up as poetry is wont to do. Mandeville is explaining that luxury has created a million jobs, and that pride has created another million alongside them. Continuing with the sin and vice dig, Mandeville says that envy and vanity were the ministers of industry, which means that industry only progressed when people (or bees) wanted what other people had and wanted to gain a higher status than their peers. Diet, furniture and dress were what made trade move, and this was extremely important to the economic well-being of the hive in Mandeville's poem. At the end of the stanza he says that items kept changing, that fashion moved on, and that the laws kept trying to keep up with the changing modes of what was considered "in" at the time.

Mandeville even stated that the main reason he wrote the poem was because he wanted to prove/demonstrate that it is impossible to enjoy all the comforts and elegance of life in an industrious, powerful and wealthy nation, at the same time as enjoying virtue and innocence which is experienced in the 'Golden Age'.[60] Mandeville's notoriety comes from his explicit linking of luxury to numerous vices, but also links it directly to public benefits.[61] This was scandalous as the previous line of reasoning showed that any negative thinking or thing would produce negative results, and the converse for moral thinking and things. Mandeville disrupted this concept by linking what was considered a vice to positive effects.[62] It was hard for many to accept, thus the backlash against him, and luxury itself.

[58] Bernard Mandeville, *The fable of the bees or, private vices, publick benefits. With an essay on charity and charity-schools. And a search into the nature of society. The sixth edition. To which is added, a vindication of the book* (1732; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 182 (25), http://lf-oll.s3.amazonaws.com/titles/846/0014-01_Bk.pdf.

[59] Maarten Maartensz, "Mandeville Pages of Maarten Maartensz," 2010, http://www.maartensz.org/philosophy/mandeville/L-RemarksMandeville.html.

[60] Berry, *The Idea of Luxury*, 127.

[61] *ibid.*

[62] *ibid.*

The views were changing steadily over the eighteenth century, and by 1767 the views on luxury were nearing the end of their heavy debate. No one could hope to claim for a reversion to the previous levels of luxury consumption, and thus the arguments gained a different tone. In James Steuart's *Principles of Political Oeconomy* (1767) he is able to defend luxury without defending the concept of excess: "Luxury consists in providing the objects of sensuality, so far as they are superfluous. Sensuality consists in the actual enjoyment of them and excess implies an abuse of enjoyment."[63] Going further, Steuart again states the good and benefits that comes from luxury, such as industry and agriculture.[64] J. Harris further expounds on this changing attitude, although it was before Steuart:

> The word luxury hath usually annexed to it a kind of opprobrious idea; but so far as it encourages the arts, whets the inventions of men and finds employments for more of our own people, its influence is benign and beneficial to the whole society.[65]

In essence, the defenders of luxury were the defenders of what Christopher Berry terms 'mobility', both financial and social. This defense of mobility is what leads us towards our modern middle class, which began to emerge around this time in Europe. The creation of the bourgeoisie necessitated backlash against the power of the feudal, landed aristocracy. The bourgeoisie were the ones who benefited the most from mobility. The aristocracy would have wanted to keep the status quo of power and hierarchy in their hands, and used many different means to try and retain this power where it dealt with luxury: primogeniture, entailment and sumptuary laws (restriction of buying goods) were a few tactics. Yet the bourgeoisie were also interested in keeping this grasped power (political and economic) from the lower classes. Much of the defense for luxury came from this middle class; the bourgeoisie.[66]

Luxury has figured prominently in great cultures from time immemorial, more so than I had thought previous to researching for this essay. The concept of luxury, and defense against it, have figured in the

[63] *Ibid.*, 138.
[64] *ibid.*, 138–139.
[65] *ibid.*, 138, citing Joseph Harris' *Essay on Money and Coins*, London 1757.
[66] *ibid.*, 140.

rhetoric and laws of the Hebrews, Greeks and Roman ancient societies, as well as more recently in Christian religion, culture and the societies that were founded on Christian theology. Luxury was closely tied, in Christian ideology, to sin and vice; a lack of virtue and morals were implicated in anyone who took part in luxurious excess. A specific denomination of Christianity, Calvinism, brought its adherents through the Dutch Golden Age in the Netherlands through its indirect teachings against luxury. The Netherlands also produced many fine works of art during this period, many of which depicted luxury goods, foods and drinks. These luxury goods were many, and they only diversified as the economic order evolved from a top-down hierarchy to one more conducive to the bourgeoisie. As these goods diversified, a new type of luxury goods emerged, separate from the "old" luxury. Consequently, with the changing economy and way of viewing luxury, a great debate on the idea and concept erupted. Yet no matter what anyone had to say on the topic, the new order had emerged, and luxury was there to stay. Luxury became highly accessible to almost anyone and everyone, and it would only continue even further.

> Thus every part was full of Vice,
> Yet the whole Mass a Paradise.
>
> (Mandeville)

The Prophet's Medicine: How Mormon Doctrine and Medical Practices Evolved Along the American Frontier

Drew Robinson

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints stemmed from the visions of the young Joseph Smith (1805–1844), who first published his revelations in the *Book of Mormon* in 1830. Brigham Young's gifts of organization, discipline, and sacrifice helped eventually establish a Mormon community in Utah in the mid nineteenth century in support of Smith's revelations. The history of early Mormons is characterized by frontier lifestyle – that is, surviving off the land, with few resources or technological advancement. The experience of early Mormons was unique not only for their endurance on the frontier, but also because their new religion was conceived in the century that produced the most dramatic and progressive medical advancements in world history. Before the mid-nineteenth century, many groups and factions of physicians practiced diverse types of medicine, each seeking to establish the legitimacy of their own methods of diagnoses and treatments while distrusting and rejecting the professional practice of medicine known as "regular" medicine, an early predecessor to modern medicine. In this environment of often-brutal frontier conditions and distrust toward regular medicine, the Mormon religion matured, and with it developed unique religious and medical policies. With inconsistent teachings among Protestant churches in the American Northeast as well as the region's scarcity of medical resources, Joseph Smith rejected both the religious and medical orthodoxies of his day, and developed his own theological systems while learning to rely solely on herbs for his medical care. His medical convictions regarding herbal medicine were as authoritative and binding for Mormons to practice as his religious revelations. However, by the time Brigham Young had become leader of the Mormons, regular medicine had become both modern and superior to other medical practices, including the Mormons' herbal medicine. Though the use of herbal medicine had been codified into religious law by Smith, the benefits and availability of modern medicine earned the preference of his later followers. Therefore, frontier shortages of resources instigated the Mormons' need for herbal medicine in the early nineteenth century, while the later progress of modern medicine mitigated the Mormons' commitment to use herbal medicine and led to its ultimate decline in popularity among Mormons.

Born in 1805, Joseph Smith, Jr. matured in difficult, pioneer circumstances on the frontier of early Vermont.[1] Far from the luxuries and medical progress of urban America, rural Vermont was known early as a land of alternative folk medicine.[2] Though regular medicine became the professional practice for medical physicians in the eighteenth century, its practitioners were still vying for legitimacy within their field through the early nineteenth century. Many groups met them with skepticism as they knew regular doctors could do little about disease and premature death.[3] The people's skepticism was not misplaced. The methods of treatment used by regular doctors dated back to Hippocrates (460–370 BCE), the ancient Greek physician whose followers learned to rely on bloodletting to treat the sick. By opening certain veins of their patients, they believed balance could be restored to the sick – that is, that they could bleed their patients to health.[4] More than two thousand years later, regular doctors had done little to improve this method, and had actually expanded their primitive treatments to include blistering, intestinal purging, inducing sweat, and inducing

[1] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. 2 (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1975), 1233.

[2] John Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine* (Springville, UT: Booneville, 2001), 3.

[3] Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1998), 396.

[4] *ibid.*, 56–62.

vomiting.[5] The fear of these doctors' treatments is understandable, as they often inadvertently killed their patients with mortality rates of as much as sixty-six percent.[6] Therefore, at the time of Smith's upbringing, alternative medicines, including herbal medicine, were commonly relied on to avoid the medicine and potential death given by regular doctors.

The regular medical practice, attempting to bolster its repute, sparked counter-trends in medicine – populist and anti-elitist groups who sought a new medical practice. These groups who rebelled against the orthodox medicine of the day included the Thomsonians, Eclectics, homeopaths, and hydropaths.[7] However, families along the frontier, such as the Smiths, simply used whatever medicine was most available to them. Many poor country folk could not afford the diagnoses, prescriptions, and advice of regular doctors. Furthermore, even the ones who could afford such medical attention would not have been able to simply call upon a doctor, for doctors were scarce in those regions. Even more, the knowledge of the modern medical sciences was limited in the mid nineteenth century, especially in the Vermont countryside. Therefore, coming from such a place rich in useful lore of the botanical sciences, Smith naturally implemented many of the old home remedies that focused on plants and herbs.[8]

When Smith was only seven years old he became ill with typhoid, a bacteria that infected his bones.[9] Between his upper arm and chest, a large fever sore swelled and clotted his blood, changing his skin tone to a dark purple around the affected area. Joseph's mother Lucy chronicled her son's battle with typhoid, detailing his agony and "extreme suffering" as a "severe pain had seized him all at once."[10] The Smith parents feared the worst for their son, believing his ailment would lead to his death. Doubting the efficacy of herbal medicine to cure Joseph's typhoid, his parents desperately implored doctors to come to their son's aid. Fortunately for them, Dartmouth Medical College had already sent eleven of its regular doctors to the Connecticut Valley in order to treat

[5] David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors Doing Harm since Hippocrates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 56.

[6] *ibid.*, 8.

[7] Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 392–393.

[8] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 8.

[9] Lucy [Mack] Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (1853; New York, NY: Arno Press, 1969), chapter 16.

[10] *ibid.*, 64.

victims of the outbreak of typhoid.[11] Another regular doctor, Dr. Parker, arrived at the Smith's house before the eleven, examined the typhoid fever sore, and determined it was only a sprained shoulder.[12] He located the most discolored portion of the sore and promptly "lanced it, upon which it discharged fully a quart of purulent matter."[13] Dr. Parker was wrong in his diagnosis of Joseph, and his typhoid soon became much worse, spreading down his torso and leg, ultimately harboring in his shinbone. Upon arrival, the Dartmouth doctors diagnosed Joseph again, and determined to carve out the infected parts of his bone, which had spread to fourteen locations in his left leg.[14] Joseph's mother remembered Joseph's fear of the knife and explained in her diary the unremitting agony that the doctors brought upon him in their efforts to cure him, since no surgical anesthesia or antiseptics were yet available:[15]

> The surgeon commenced operating by boring into the bone of his leg, first on one side of the bone, where it was affected, then on the other side, after which they broke it off with a pair of forceps or pincers. They then took away the large pieces of the bone. When they broke off the first piece, Joseph screamed out so loudly that I could not forbear running to him [...] the wound torn open, the blood still gushing from it, and the bed literally covered with blood. Joseph was as pale as a corpse, and large drops of sweat were rolling down his face, whilst upon every feature was depicted the utmost agony.[16]

Joseph Smith came away from the surgery with a limp and disdain for regular medicine, both of which stayed with him throughout his life.

In the midst of hopelessness and fearing for his family's well-being, the senior Smith took his family westward in 1816 with droves of other New Englanders looking for opportunity, settling in the quaint town of

[11] Reed Durham, *Brigham Young University Studies* (Provo, UT, 1971), 481.

[12] *ibid.*

[13] Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 64.

[14] Durham, *Brigham Young University Studies*, 481.

[15] Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration: A History of the Church to 1846* (Provo, UT: Young House, Brigham Young University Press, 1973), 35.

[16] *ibid.*, 65–67.

Palmyra, New York.[17] Near Lake Ontario on the outskirts of the populous cities, lack of money and resources still marked their lives. In New York the senior Smith and all his sons worked at a variety of jobs, but the Smith family would never enjoy economic security. It is in this environment of making ends meet that Smith practiced using the natural world to his benefit – how to use herbs and other flora as a cheap and reliable source of non-invasive medicine.[18]

Smith's teenage years were certainly difficult. In their travels, the Smith family became well acquainted with the differences and angst among the many Christian denominations of the Northeast. As passersby, the Smith family did not commit themselves to any particular denomination; rather, they grew distrustful of Christianity amid the lack of unity among churches. The refusal of Joseph's parents to ever stand alongside a particular Christian denomination encouraged his own uncertainty about his religious convictions. While the senior Smith dismissed religion almost in its entirety, Joseph's mother, Lucy, had been raised Presbyterian, though she had no serious commitment to this denomination during Joseph's life. For Lucy, too many different groups asserted themselves as having a monopoly on truth, as they rivaled against their sister denominations for credibility and authority in the region.[19] In the context of his parents' uncertainty and perhaps disgust towards the Christian factions of his day, Smith resolved to discover truth for himself in his teenage years, after his battle with typhoid and his newfound allegiance to herbal medicine.[20] Therefore, Smith's medical commitments to the botanic arts preceded the religious, meaning that as Smith sought a religious system to which to commit himself, the strength of his previous commitment to herbal medicine would prove to be of enough importance to him that his future religious decisions would have to accommodate the medical. Later, Joseph Smith's Mormonism would intertwine his religion and medicine into a cohesive whole.

After many years of intellectual wandering, interrupted by long bouts of work to support his family, Smith began telling a new religious narrative – a narrative that soon won hundreds, and eventually mil-

[17] *ibid.*, 39–40.

[18] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 22.

[19] Claudia L. Bushman and Richard L. Bushman, *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3.

[20] *ibid.*, 3–4.

lions of followers. Economic and religious unrest were tied together in Smith's life from the very beginning. In this way, his unique religious and medical views matured alongside each other. Smith recounted this experience, and his contempt towards the infighting among the Christian denominations of his day as follows:

> In the midst of this war of words and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself, what is to be done? Who of all these parties are right; or, are they all wrong together? If any one of them be right, which is it, and how shall I know it? While I was laboring under the extreme difficulties caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading the Epistle of James, first chapter and fifth verse, which reads: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him."[21]

To Smith, the Christians appeared divided among themselves – either unwilling or unable to work together. It seemed to Smith that God's real church would be unified; since the churches in America had clearly split into denominations with different styles – sometimes even different theologies – Smith began to doubt the authority of the churches altogether.

The nature of Smith's young life is exceptional. His first major encounter with doctors is extraordinary, first on account that he survived his typhoid, and second – and even more importantly – on account of how this encounter affected his psyche. Though he had not yet formally detailed his dedication to herbal medicine, his later writings indicate that he set himself squarely against the modern forms of medicine after his traumatic surgeries. Parallel to this experience, Smith's disillusionment with the modern churches led him to his so-called "First Vision," in which he describes the scene of God's appearance to him. From his followers' perspectives, Smith had access to the divine source, that is, God Himself. This access, they believed, was limited to Smith, who provided revelations concerning life and religion (and finally, medicine). In his diary, Smith recounts himself kneeling in a secluded, wooded area, and "exerting all my powers to call upon God [...] I saw a pillar

[21] Edwin S. Gaustad, "Latter-Day Saints and New Revelation," in *A Documentary History of Religion in America, To the Civil War*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 350.

of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me."[22]

Over the next seven years, Smith experienced additional visions (between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one). During the fall of 1823, an angel who identified himself as Moroni is said to have come to Smith, and revealed to him the secret location of a set of golden tablets hidden beneath a stone on a nearby hillside, which the angel promised contained the truth that Smith had been seeking. Years later in 1827, Smith was instructed by Moroni to recover the tablets and to translate their inscriptions, which Smith believed to be written in a lost language called Reformed Egyptian, into English.[23] Once Smith's translation was complete, he declared that Moroni forbade him to reveal the tablets to the others, and promptly concealed them. It was in these revelations that

> the first real intimation the Prophet Joseph Smith had of herbal medicine and the fact that it was Divinely approved, came about while he was engaged in the translation of that sacred record, the Golden Plates received from Moroni, into the present form of the Book of Mormon.[24]

As a religious and medical authority, Smith prescribed the following as his medical advisement and as a binding law to which his followers were to adhere regarding the use of natural, herbal medicines:

> And there were some who died with fevers, but which at some seasons of the year was very frequent in the land; but not so much so with fevers, because of the excellent qualities of the many plants and roots which God prepared to remove the cause of diseases, to which men were subject by the nature of the climate.[25]

Later on February 27, 1833,[26] Smith declared he had received another revelation from God concerning the medicines, saying,

> And again, verily I say unto you, all wholesome herbs God hath ordained for the constitution, nature, and use of man

[22] *Ibid.*, 351–352.

[23] Jon Butler, Grant Wacker, and Randall H. Balmer, *Religion in American Life: A Short History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 218.

[24] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 21.

[25] Joseph Smith, *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2004), Alma 46:40.

[26] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 23.

> – every herb in the season thereof, and every fruit in the season thereof; all these to be used with prudence and thanksgiving.[27]

At this time, the practice of herbal medicine – including the use of all plants and fruits – was becoming fully a divine command for Mormons, rather than simply Smith's opinion.

As soon as the translation was complete in March 1830, Smith located a printing factory and published his work as the *Book of Mormon*.[28] His new religion instigated immediate and sharp criticism in America. Louder voices, such as Mark Twain, condemned the *Book of Mormon* wholesale, publically calling it "chloroform in print" in 1871. Smith crafted the *Book of Mormon* such that it bore many resemblances in theme and style to the King James Authorized Version of the Bible, the standard Bible of the day.[29] Smith had formed a story much akin to those told in the Old Testament, with epic heroes and treacherous villains. This new story from Smith promised to offer the true answers to questions that he himself had long-pondered, concerning the nature of God, and the origins of sin, which he believed was the direct influence on his poor financial fortunes – the reason that his frontier life was riddled with hard work and futility. It further promised accessible medical treatments to the poor, who had only to rely on Smith's herbal medicine with full trust in God.

The *Book of Mormon* gained ever-increasing popularity and, conversely, disdain from mainstream Christians in Northeast America. Even more, it drew immediate criticism from the greater American populace, to whom this new following sprang out of nowhere. Not having a detailed knowledge of the origins of this new religion, religious and secular Americans alike grew in their skepticism of Mormonism as well as its followers. For the Protestants, this mythology was unpalatable – since Smith was only partially educated by his parents, it was hard for anyone to comprehend how he could have been so prolific.[30] To them, the book represented the fraudulent imagination of

[27] Joseph Smith, *Book of Doctrine and Covenants: Carefulle Seleceted from the Revelations of God, and Given in the Order of Their Dates* (Independence, MO: Herald Pub. House, 1970), Sec. 89: 10–11.

[28] Joseph Smith Jr., *The Book of Mormon* (Palmyra, NY: E. B. Grandin, 1830), https://archive.org/stream/bookofmormonacco1830smit#page/n3/mode/2up.

[29] Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York, NY: Harper, 1871), 58–59.

[30] Bushman and Bushman, *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America*, 2.

a young man at best, and a concerted effort to establish a community of dissenters at worst. For the Mormons, the origins of this book were miraculous, thus lending credibility to their cause. They believed the book contained a direct revelation from God. Most importantly, to his followers Smith was not only an authority; instead, he was the authority – the Prophet. New converts flocked to Smith, ready to seek God afresh with the Mormons as well as be healed by herbal means. Therefore, this power provided Smith the grounds on which to further co-opt his conviction of herbal medicine into his religious doctrine.

People from all over the Northeastern frontier soon gathered around Joseph Smith, and he organized them into a church, calling it the Church of Jesus of Latter-Day Saints. Opposition mounted against Smith and his followers from the Protestants, who decried what they believed to be extra-biblical revelation, and strongly resented him for gathering such a following despite his very unaccomplished background. To escape their persecutors, Smith, his wife, and his small band of his followers left New York for Kirkland, Ohio, in 1831. There they built a temple, and Smith began having more revelations on all matters of doctrine and lifestyle, including herbal medicine.

Smith began teaching formal lectures above the kitchen in his home to his closest followers concerning the fundamental beliefs and practices of their new religion in which Smith's doctrines on physical health and herbal healing became ultimately solidified as divine laws – there would be no exceptions for disobedience to the practice of herbal medicine.[31] These lectures covered a whole spectrum of pertinent topics, as lofty as the nature of God, as well as the very mundane, including more directions on Mormons' physical practices. Apparently, attendees of these house meetings gathered early in Smith's living room before his teachings. As they socialized, they lit their pipes and discussed the doctrines, and as they smoked and chewed tobacco, Smith often arrived to a house filled with a cloud of tobacco smoke. This quickly became unpleasant for him.[32] Soon after, Smith delivered a message that he ascribed as from God, prohibiting the use of all tobacco and alcoholic beverages. He then furthered his directions for the limitation of meat, while he promoted grains and fruits for his followers. Therefore, fruits and vegetables were not only to be used in extraction to treat the sick – they were to be the Mormons' main

[31] Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration*, 219.
[32] *ibid.*

foods. These teachings were compiled into what has become known as the *Word of Wisdom*. Though many followers may have bemoaned abstinence from their favorite foods and beverages, they took Smith's direction as from God, and therefore with utmost seriousness. After Smith's death, his followers voted to excommunicate any professing Mormon who did not practice this *Word of Wisdom*.[33] As the Mormons set up their headquarters in Ohio, their number grew to about two thousand, and for a short time the Mormons also tried to abolish the ownership of private property, and worked towards the total sharing of all assets of material and economic value.[34] This was truly becoming a frontier community, in which everyone would benefit from the few resources available.

Pressures increased on the Mormons in Ohio from Christians unwilling to humor this new sect, and full-on opposition ensued. On one occasion, Smith was dragged from his home by a small mob, and tarred and feathered. The Ohioans were sending a clear message to the Mormons – namely, either move out of our lands, or suffer endless humiliation and antagonism. Being pushed west in 1838, many members of the sect moved on to Missouri, where they occupied a number of different locations, but primarily in the northwestern part of the state near present-day Kansas City. The Mormons were unable to avoid the conflict and violence that met them in Missouri. The Missourians also proved to be intolerant of the Mormons, who opposed slavery in the slave-owning Missouri.[35] In an 1840 address to the Missouri legislature, Governor Boggs defended his strong-handed actions to expel the Mormons, who were nearing small-scale war with the Missourians. He recounted that the Mormons instituted among themselves a government of their own, headed by the Prophet, "independent of and in opposition to the government of this state." Ultimately, he labeled them an "infatuated and deluded sect," before issuing an executive order to expel Mormons from Missouri.[36]

The Mormons, like many small religious sects, were acutely aware of the opposition that faced them, and had begun fighting back in order

33 Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration*, 220.

34 David Christie-Murray, *A History of Heresy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 202.

35 William C. Placher, *A History of Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1983), 264.

36 Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 9.

to assert their right to be in Missouri. Moreover, this opposition helped sift out the nominal Mormons who had joined the cause simply to garner a sense of belonging to a group, and what was left was a community of hardened, dedicated followers. These were the loyal following willing to entrust their lives to Smith's God, and their bodies to Smith's medicine. They could not, however, withstand the pressure from their neighbors and the Missouri government, and were again forced from the state. Ten months after Boggs' address, Smith and most of his followers packed up and moved northeastward to Nauvoo, Illinois, a small village on the Mississippi.

Upon the Mormon's arrival in Nauvoo, the city flourished economically, but only for a short time. The town population boosted to about ten thousand by 1840 as thousands of Mormon followers flooded into the region.[37] The Mormons' businesses prospered, and Smith received additional revelations, which took the Mormons farther and farther from evangelical Protestantism in both belief and lifestyle practices. For instance, Smith told his followers that he had received a revelation from God, which told him that the Mormons were to baptize their ancestors in order to secure their places in heaven – a doctrine that was not well-received by Protestants, who heard rumors of the developing Mormon teachings. As the Mormon community was moving along various towns across the frontier, they were adding numerous people to their ranks. Some of the first teachings these early Latter-day Saints would teach new converts were that of already well-known Bible passages, such as,

> And I, God, said unto man, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth; and every tree in the which shall be the fruit of a tree, yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat [...] and thou shalt eat the herb of the field.[38]

The consumption of proper foods, as well as a reliance on herbs for healing, was an immediate expectation for new converts. They were developing a greater understanding for which plants were legitimate for healing. The Mormons defined "herb" broadly, as both "plant and

[37] Christie-Murray, *A History of Heresy*, 202.

[38] American Bible Society, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments* (New York, NY: American Bible Society, 1962), Genesis 1:29.

tree, as containing medicinal properties for the use and good of man."[39] This total reliance on herbs became a sort of rite of passage for the Mormons, separating the weak from the strong – those who fell to the temptations of prohibited physical practices, and those who had the spiritual grit to rely wholly on the herbs, as instructed by the Prophet. A Missouri minister on visit to Nauvoo wrote of his travels among this Mormon community, and noted "he could find no trace whatsoever of any medical doctors in Nauvoo, as the Mormon leader wouldn't allow them there."[40]

In Joseph Smith's economy in Nauvoo, he instituted other means than regular medicine by which people where to be healed. The early Mormon medical beliefs were strongly influenced by Dr. Samuel A. Thomson (1769–1843), who was not a Mormon, but a free thinker from New England dedicated to challenging the clergy and doctors alike, who he believed forced themselves on the people. Rebelling against the orthodox medicine of his day, Thomson was an early developer of herbal medicines. Enlisting the help of many Thomsonians, Smith organized a Board of Health in Nauvoo in the early 1840s.[41] Of course, this board as well as the Mormon leaders under Smith promoted the use and free practice of herbal and botanical medicine to their entire following. Conversely, they greatly restricted, discouraged, and otherwise persecuted those attempting to practice the administration of regular medicines. The Board of Health set up a special healing ministry – a sort of special task force comprised of women to lay hands on the sick, anoint them with waters and oils, and administer herbs for healing. They called themselves the Relief Society, and they accompanied Smith on his rounds to the sick while they administered pills filled with roots and herbs that had been compounded.[42] With the help of the Thomsonians, the Mormons learned herbal medicine more completely, and developed a system of the most reliable herbs. The Mormon's did not bind themselves totally to the limitations of the Thomsonians. Thomsonian medicine developed as an alternative form of medicine, distrusting and hostile towards orthodox medical practices.[43] As explained in his *New Guide to Health*, the Thomsonians believed that all ills were the

[39] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 35.
[40] *ibid.*, 37.
[41] *ibid.*, 38.
[42] *ibid.*, 39.
[43] Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 393.

product of cold; therefore, the Thomsonians relied on vegetable-based therapies, making use of *Lobelia inflata* – an herb whose seeds caused vomiting after heavy sweating.[44] The Mormons heavily adopted this plant, along with cayenne pepper, as they were viewed as natural alternative medicines. Even more, they used many of the seventy other plants that comprised the Thomsonians' *materia medica*. The herbs in which they placed the most trust were

> primarily in lobelia and cayenne pepper, and such herbs as goldenseal, balmony, raspberry leaves, and sage twigs. Phineas Richards, a brother of Willard, and also a Thomsonian doctor, had a mold, which turned out pills as large as horse chestnuts. These he expected people to swallow.[45]

Wherever the Mormons went, they became a self-sufficient community unto themselves in which Joseph Smith always had ultimate authority, drawing even greater outrage from local authorities and neighbors. From the Protestants' perspectives, more and more odd things were happening in the Mormon community. News spread that Smith had created a militia – a private army – for the protection of Mormons, declared himself king of the kingdom of God, and vocalized his intention to run for President in the next United States election. After a local newspaper criticized Smith for his seemingly dangerous and erratic choices, he sent a small group of Mormon militiamen to forcefully shut down printing operations at the newspaper's headquarters in the spring of 1844. However, rumors spread throughout the Northeast of Smith's attack on the newspaper factory, and knowing that law enforcement would soon arrest him, he turned himself over to the sheriff. He, his brother Hyrum, and fifteen of Smith's most trusted councilmen were taken to a nearby jail in Carthage, Illinois as prisoners on charges of riot. Before a trial could be held, a two hundred man anti-Mormon militia broke into the jail and assassinated both Smith and his brother at point blank range, on June 27, 1844.[46] Smith's mother, Lucy, gathered the "murdered and mangled" bodies of her sons.[47]

Another power struggle erupted – this time the Mormons began warring against the Illinoisans. The Mormons were persecuted, and

[44] *ibid.*

[45] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 43.

[46] Butler, Wacker, and Balmer, *Religion in American Life*, 221.

[47] Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, 278–79.

they soon chose Brigham Young as president of the church, the person to whom they looked to lead them out of injustice and into a Mormon utopia.[48] The Young family had moved in the early nineteenth century to upper New York in an attempt to escape their poverty in Vermont, much like the Smiths. Early in his life, Young was baptized into the Methodist church, yet remained ultimately uncommitted to it, or any other denomination, because he despised the factious condition of Christianity. He decided to become a follower of Joseph Smith and Mormonism in 1832. Like Smith, Young's views concerning medicine developed in frontier conditions, in which scarcity of resources and distrust towards regular medicine led him to rely on herbs as an alternative medicine.[49] His skepticism towards regular medicine parallels his reasons for rejecting Christianity – that is, just as he turned away from Christianity for its divided churches, he rejected regular medicine because of the sectarianism of the doctors who practiced different treatments and had little consensus with one another. Young was not as charismatic as Smith, but his strong skills in leadership and organization emerged when the Mormons' needed them the most.

Along with New York, Missouri, and Ohio, Illinois was now firmly rejecting the Mormons; ultimately, they became entirely hostile against them. The Illinoisans' statement was clear – that is, move westward and leave this state, or be exterminated. Knowing that the Protestant culture of Illinois would never truly accept this unique Mormon group in their region, Young led the Mormon body – now numbering upwards of fifteen thousand strong – westward, through an uncharted wilderness to the Great Salt Lake in Utah.[50] Before the departure, Young set forth a list of resources and materials that each Mormon family needed to bring for the long journey, which included rifles, tools for farming, goods to trade with the Indians, and alcohol.[51] Interestingly, Young did not command his followers to bring any medical provisions. Like Smith, he believed that the land would provide the necessary plants and resources to cure the ailments his people may face along their journey. Moreover, he enlisted a skilled herbalist, Dr. McIntyre, to heal sick Mormons as they went west.Following the path of the Missouri River in the winter of 1846, it took nearly seventeen months for the first

[48] Gaustad, "Latter-Day Saints and New Revelation," 359.
[49] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 75.
[50] Christie-Murray, *A History of Heresy*, 202.
[51] Gaustad, "Latter-Day Saints and New Revelation," 361.

Mormons to arrive in Utah. When Young and his band of followers finally mounted the top of a large hill looking down into a luscious valley of vegetation and a spring of water, the Mormons soon adopted the place as their new home, and began calling it Deseret, a word that they believed meant "honeybee."[52]

There, beyond what was at that time the frontier, Brigham Young led them in forming an idealistic community, a theocracy in which the people obeyed God absolutely and expected his blessings in return.[53] In 1850 Utah had enough United States citizens to be formally organized and recognized as a territory. This Mormon community – an economic-social-ecclesiastical community – grew up; moreover, it increased rapidly, partly through a high birth rate to polygamous marriages, and partly through converts who were won from the underprivileged people of the United States' frontier and from Europe.[54] In Archer Butler Hulbert's *Forty-niners: the Chronicle of the California Trail*, Hulbert recounted his travels as he headed westward for the gold rush and detailed his first-hand experience with the Mormon community in Salt Lake City, only a short handful of years after the Mormons had hunkered down in Utah. After meeting Young, Hulbert reflected in his diary on the authority Young wielded over the Mormons, saying, "Every word that fell from his lips was law and gospel to his followers. He ruled with an iron hand and there were perfect law and order in his domain."[55]

One of the first actions Young took in Great Salt Lake City was to establish the Council of Health, which existed to provide Mormons with herbal medicine and to ensure the people's commitment to this medicine, having no tolerance for any deviations – especially towards regular medicine. Like the Council of Health that Joseph Smith set up in Nauvoo, it was founded and organized around Thomsonian principles of herbal medicine.[56] The Council was designed to devise ways and means to prevent disease, and for preparing and administering herbs and mild foods to the sick, according to the *Word of Wisdom*. Earlier in 1846, Young's positive position towards herbal medicine was explicitly clear, which is evident from his letter to Captain Jefferson

[52] Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, 1233.

[53] *ibid.*

[54] *ibid.*, 1234.

[55] Archer B. Hulbert, *Forty-Niners: The Chronicle of the California Trail* (Boston, MA: Little, 1931), 193.

[56] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 82.

Hunt of the Mormon Battalion (Mormons charged with the duty of protecting Great Salt Lake City). He ordered the whole Mormon Battalion, saying, "If you are sick, live by faith, and let surgeon's medicine alone. If you want to live, using only such herbs and mild food as are at your disposal.[57]" He was strongly influenced against regular medicine during the early portion of his leadership over the Mormons, as his predecessor had been.

Unbeknownst to Young, a doctor of regular medicine, Dr. George B. Sanderson had traveled with the Mormons to Great Salt Lake City as a true convert, worshipping, working, and living alongside the Mormons – yet, he performed his regular medicine secretly for nine years to Mormons whose ailments were not being successfully treated by the herbalists. After spending years covertly treating Mormons, the Mormon leadership, including Young, discovered he had been using regular medical practices. The majority of Mormons then despised Dr. Sanderson for practicing medicine that was outlawed by the *Word of Wisdom*. A Captain of the Mormon Battalion, T.S. Williams, wrote disdainfully of Dr. Sanderson, saying, "Here's hoping old Dr. Sanderson's profession in the future state may be giving calomel to our enemies in hell. Amen!"[58] The Mormons remained squarely against the use of regular medicine. Likewise, Brigham Young deplored the use of regular medicine in the early years of settlement in Utah. The Mormon leader answered a doctor from Illinois, who requested that Young allow him to join to the Mormon settlement as a convert, in strict terms. Young welcomed him, so long as the doctor earned his wages through honorable work, not practicing medicine as a regular doctor. He ended his letter warning that there was very little need for doctors in Utah.[59]

Unlike Joseph Smith, Young seems to have suddenly inclined away from the practice of herbal medicine later in his life.[60] In 1858, the first indications of Brigham Young's vacillation between herbal medicine and regular medicine became evident. Instead of condemning the use of mainstream medicine, as had been a Mormon policy since the creation of the *Word of Wisdom* by Smith, Young advocates maintaining a balance between both practices of medicine. Young wrote in a statement to the Mormons, "It appears consistent to me to apply every remedy

[57] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 75.
[58] *ibid.*, 77.
[59] *ibid.*
[60] *ibid.*, 75.

that comes within the range of my knowledge [...] to the healing of my body."[61]

Young was clearly referring to new, modern medical practices of which he had recently learned. Young's inclination toward regular doctors and the medical profession was intensifying with his age. His change of opinion toward the practice of medicine was not by chance; instead, it was underpinned by his growing awareness of the scientific developments in the mid-nineteenth century. Young was interested in several scientific advancements, which he believed could be used practically alongside herbal medicine. These advancements include the introduction of anesthesia in 1846, and the introduction of antiseptic surgery by Dr. Joseph Lister in 1865, which allowed surgeons to perform operations that were previously impossible.[62] The mortality rates of patients who underwent invasive surgeries fell from forty-six percent to just fifteen percent after Lister and his colleagues began applying proper antiseptic techniques.[63] The introduction of antiseptic techniques by Lister has been argued as the birth of modern medicine.[64] Joseph Smith, however, lived in an era before the advent of modern medicine, never knowing how dramatically antiseptics would decrease the mortality rate of patients.

The advancements in scientific knowledge and technology were enough to warrant both the attention and respect of Brigham Young by the 1870s as he believed that Mormons would benefit from implementing this developed science in their herbal medicinal practice. In fact, he was evidently so compelled that this new era of modern medicine should be included in Mormon society that he sent his nephew, Seymour B. Young, to study to become a doctor in 1872 in New York City at the College of Physicians and Surgeons.[65] Moreover, Young began sending other members of his family back to Eastern America to attend colleges such as Bellevue Hospital Medical College. He intended them to return to Great Salt Lake City to practice their newfound medical knowledge. Not only did he insist that men learn medicine, he called for the wives and daughters of his friends to learn modern medicine.[66]

[61] *ibid.*, 79.
[62] Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind*, 370–372.
[63] *ibid.*
[64] Wootton, *Bad Medicine*, 4–5.
[65] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 90.
[66] *ibid.*

Although Mormons still believed in divine healing and the use of herbal remedies, Brigham Young was ushering in a new era of Mormon policy towards medicine. He suggested that the Mormon men and women dedicated to medical careers should be trained in anatomy, surgery, chemistry, physiology, and midwifery.[67]

Young began placing a higher premium on Mormon women learning modern medicine, rather than the men, whom he wanted to remain in Utah for farming. Largely because of Young's insistence that the Mormons be trained in the modern sciences, a higher percentage of women from Utah studied medicine than from any other state or territory toward the end of the century.[68] Mormon women increasingly attended the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in the 1870s,[69] where after their education they were expected to return home as full-fledged doctors to serve the growing Mormon community by providing both medical services and classes to teach every person the new medical practices. In the 1880s, inspired by Brigham Young, the women created a hospital for medical treatment, maternity care, and training in Great Salt Lake City.[70] Therefore, Brigham Young greatly believed in the use of modern medicine – a brand that was not available during the life of Joseph Smith. Young considered it to provide the best cures for fractures, broken bones, sprains, pulled ligaments, and amputations.

Along with these non-Mormons came increased news of modern medicine. As mainstream America modernized, the Mormons were becoming more integrated with the East whereby they exchanged ideas, and learned of new technological advancements in the sciences. Despite the Mormons' desire to exclude themselves from the general populace of America, they found little time for solitude from the East. Unintentionally, the Mormons were aiding the cause of western expansion in the United States. In fact, the Mormons' distinct design of their wagons became the paradigm for Americans traveling west. As recorded by Joel Palmer in his *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains*, published in 1847 in Cincinnati, Palmer advised people to fashion parts of their own wagons after those of the Mormons:

> The Mormon fashioned wagon bed is the best. They are usually made straight, with side boards about 16 inches

[67] Bushman and Bushman, *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America*, 61.
[68] *ibid.*
[69] *ibid.*, 61–62.
[70] *ibid.*

wide, and a projection outward of four inches on each side, and then another side board of ten or twelve inches [...][71]

Figure 1: *Mormon emigrants*. Photograph of covered wagon caravan by C. W. Carter ca. 1879.[72]

Moreover, the context of the Mormons' western exodus came at the height of Americans' ambitions for expansion. James K. Polk was elected president in 1844, thus bringing power to those who felt that the nation should continue its westward thrust. The next year produced the phrase "manifest destiny." That destiny – the culmination of America's rapid and enormous growth in area and population, the multiplication of wealth by means of industrialization, and the intense economic draw of the California Gold Rush beginning in 1848 – required more west-

[71] Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains, to the Mouth of the Columbia River. 1845 and 1846*, ed. Henry R. Wagner, Microprint copy (Cincinatti, OH: J.A. & U.P., 1847), 257.

[72] National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives Identifier 533790. This media file is in the public domain in the United States.

ward expansion. Finally, in 1869, the Pacific Railway opened Utah to droves of non-Mormons.[73]

It had become overwhelmingly clear that new medical advancements could cure the Mormon's ailments more quickly, with less pain, and with higher efficacy than waiting for traditional herbal remedies to be effective. The discovery of X-ray technology in 1893 and the introduction of complex surgeries such as the appendectomy, gallbladder removal, prostate surgery, and treatments for tuberculosis were all unimaginable – and a death sentence to patients if employed – in the lifetime of Joseph Smith. Even more, surgeons were beginning to successfully treat certain forms of cancer, even performing mastectomies to women suffering from breast cancer. Because of these great leaps forward in the medical sciences during the latter half of the nineteenth century, surgeons first received the Nobel Prize in 1909 and 1911 in recognition of their modern and safe treatments.[74]

Along with Brigham's changing attitude towards modern medicine the attitudes of Mormons in general also changed. Sensing his people would demand more modern medicine for their use, Young perhaps believed it preferable to send Mormons to become doctors and return home, rather than invite many non-Mormon doctors to his city, as if to send the message that Mormons needed outsiders' help or could not survive on their own. Certainly, he did not wish to convey to his followers that God's natural herbal provisions were ineffective for the health of Mormons; rather, he wanted his followers to be certain that modern medicine was ordained by God to be used alongside herbal medicine.[75] The strict practice of the *Word of Wisdom*, with its emphasis on herbal medicine, quickly fell out of style for Mormon communities.

Ultimately, the Mormons had successfully made their home on the furthest reaches of the American frontier, aided by a general acceptance of modern medicine. After Young's death before the twentieth century, the Mormons had established 350 settlements, numbering 100,000 residents, stretching from Idaho to southern California.[76] Joseph Smith incorporated herbal medicine into Mormon doctrine because he understood it – for him, it was the safest way to practice medicine when sick,

[73] Christie-Murray, *A History of Heresy*, 203.

[74] Roy Porter, *Blood and Guts: A Short History of Medicine* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2003), 126.

[75] Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine*, 93.

[76] Butler, Wacker, and Balmer, *Religion in American Life*, 222.

rather than risk the painful consequences of the regular medicine of his day. In this way, Smith was acting as a shepherd for his small flock of followers, protecting them from medical treatments that had harmed and beset him as a youth, causing him to walk with a limp throughout his life. Years later, science had matured technologically and created a new era of modern medicine; at the same time, Brigham Young had been elevated as the leader of the Mormons, who had exponentially increased in number. For him, protecting his people and looking out for their best medical interests meant embracing modern medicine, which had become in many ways superior to the Mormons' herbal practices. Of course, Young was knowingly breaking one of Smith's doctrines set out in the *Word of Wisdom*; therefore, instead of allowing for theological disputes among his people about the authority of herbal medicine, Young attempted to use modern medicine as a supplement to herbal medicine. Fortunately for Young, the majority of Mormons also wanted to implement modern medicine, once they heard of its advancements and saw it in practice. In this way, the *Word of Wisdom* and its binding commands regarding the strict and sole use of herbal medicine were quietly set aside in Mormon culture, for the most part. The Mormons recognized the far-reaching benefits of modern medicine and doctors, and could not ignore their increased availability as Eastern Americans began telling them news of science's progress. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young both led their people in distinct times – one, in a world skeptical of regular medicine, and the other, in a world that witnessed the realization of modern medicine. In unique situations, these leaders and their followers demonstrate the evolution of Mormonism's doctrines and medical policies.

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