Editor's Introduction

This year's issue is of particular significance for our journal's history, marking the inclusion of Religious Studies in *Past Imperfect* for the first time. In 2020, our department at the University of Alberta expanded to become the Department of History, Classics, and Religion. In 2021, it was decided to retire the Religious Studies graduate student journal *Axis Mundi* and collectively combine our publishing efforts under *Past Imperfect*. We warmly extend our welcome to all Religious Studies staff and students and encourage our readers to explore the archives of *Axis Mundi*.[1] The addition of Religious Studies to *Past Imperfect*'s purview is an opportunity to extend the range and diversity of our collective voice and to explore the fertile possibilities of inter-disciplinary research between our subject areas. With this in mind we dedicate this year's issue to *Axis Mundi*, recognizing it as a longstanding source of innovative graduate research at the University of Alberta.

Voice is fittingly a central theme of this year's issue. However, while we excitedly look forward to the flourishing of our journal's voice, all too often humanity has faced the systematic silencing of speech or, in the most extreme instances, the attempted destruction of entire categories of voices. These oppressive efforts—by state, culture, and even the self—have, in turn, equally necessitated responses from the supressed. This year's articles and book reviews offer a series of case studies on such strategies of censorship and resistance.

Focused upon a unique Chinese police file discovered via an online auction, Ziyu (Zoe) Guo's article examines the life experience and confessions of Gong Moumou, a female hooligan during the Maoist Cultural Revolution. Guo poignantly traces the Chinese Communist Party's efforts to reform Gong's youthful rebelliousness and define her femininity, sexuality, and individuality according to the Party's rigid ideological strictures. In Katerina Johnston's article we are likewise confronted with the silencing of female voices. Johnston illustrates the various ways in which early-modern women were excluded from practicing medicine and restricted from transmitting their knowledge through published texts. Nonetheless, female medical

[1] *Axis Mundi*'s archives can be accessed at https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/axismundi/index.php/axismundi/issue/archive.

practitioners developed a host of strategies to evade sanction. Through a close reading of early-modern medical texts, Johnston reveals how women pushed against the boundaries of permissibility to have their voices publicly heard.

To round off this year's selection of articles, Christopher Morales examines the spiritual roots of Ralph Waldo Emerson's concept of self-reliance. Morales directly challenges the traditional interpretations of Emersonian self-reliance as an expression of bootstrap American individualism. By contrast, Morales argues that Emersonian self-reliance offers a powerful critique of the latter by grounding individuality and autonomy in the spiritual unity of people as a whole. Far from being a selfish ego-driven pursuit, Emersonian self-becoming and individual expression is a means to actualize freedom by overcoming egoistic anxieties and social expectations. In this loss of the ego, authenticity can be found and playfully explored through spontaneity and open conversation with others.

Our long format- book reviews likewise explore themes of oppression and resistance through the topics of white evangelicalism in Trump's America; Transylvanian Holocaust survivors and the role of food in cultural survival and identity; and the dark environmental legacy of global European imperialism and colonialism. Collectively our issue not only thematically speaks to historical questions but to issues of great contemporary significance. Resurgent political and cultural efforts to restrict marginalized and dissenting voices, erode bodily autonomy, and promote an environment of toxic divisive conversation are all echoed in our authors' themes. How we collectively define freedom, speech, and community in the coming years is of great importance. It is our hope that the articles and book reviews presented in this issue can positively contribute to this evolving conversation.

Sean Patterson
September 2022

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Female Hooligan Youth and the Regulation of Socialist Morality in 1960s Rural Beijing

Ziyu (Zoe) Guo
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Introduction

On November 5, 1968, two cadres from the Revolutionary Committee of Sijiqing People's Commune, Zu Huiying and Zhu Zhiqiang, sent a seventeen-year-old young female "hooligan" to the Haidian Public Security Bureau, the local security branch in Beijing. Gong Moumou, who was seventeen years old in 1968, was described as being involved in "beating, looting, and hooliganism (*liumang xingwei*)" and as "committing crimes [starting] in 1967."[1] On these grounds, she was officially detained at the branch barracks and enrolled in the fifth phase of a Mao Zedong Thought class. Such classes were part of the government's program to regulate and reform hooligan youth during the Cultural Revolution.

Gong was born into a poor, peasant family in Landianchang, Haidian, in northwest Beijing.[2] Landianchang was home to a production brigade under the Sijiqing People's Commune. Gong's mother was a worker at a local state enterprise (*defang guoying*), the Landianchang coal factory, and a member of the working class (*gongren jieji*).[3] Gong's oldest brother was a member of the Communist Youth League and worked at the Beijing Xijiao Farm.[4] Her other older brother worked at the

[1] Beijing shi Haidian qu Sijiqing renmin gongshe geming weiyuan hui, "Gong Moumou diaocha, jiaodai, jiefa cailiao," [Gong Moumou's investigation, confession, and expose materials], 1968, 2. Gong Moumou is a pseudonym I have given young lady Gong. Gong is her true Chinese family name but I have changed her given name to Moumou. There are no page numbers, titles, or sub-titles in the original file. We do not know which work unit or governmental department in Beijing kept these documents or why it was appeared in the flea market. The set of documents was acquired as a cluttered pile of papers. I have assigned page numbers and a title to this file, so that if it is ever made publicly available in an archive or digitized form my citations can be located.
[2] Beijing shi Haidian qu Sijiqing renmin gongshe geming weiyuan hui, "Gong Moumou diaocha, jiaodai, jiefa cailiao," [Gong Moumou's investigation, confession, and expose materials], 1968, 2.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

Landianchang Construction Team.[5] Her family origins were politically favourable during the Cultural Revolution. As a working-class family of a poor peasant background, they were regarded as "both red and expert" (*youhong youzhuan*). "Red" because they possessed the correct political orientation, and "expert" because they served the people through their professional knowledge and skills.[6] Li Gucheng notes in his glossary of Chinese political terms that "to be both red and expert" (*youhong youzhuan*), one must become both politically and professionally qualified.[7] Though Gong was still technically a student, her mother and two older brothers were all working-class members "serving the people." This politically preferred social background may have contributed to a sense of confidence in Gong Moumou, believing that her family's working-class bona fides would function as a political shield for her transgressive behaviours.

According to Gong's personal information form, she left school during her second junior high school year in Class No. 4 at the Beijing Landianchang Middle School, well below the level of education customarily attained by a seventeen-year-old student.[8] The arrival of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 disrupted Gong Moumou's and her classmates' education, distracting them from their studies. Lacking materials, having increased free time, depressed about their long-term prospects, and without supervision from teachers and parents, Gong and other youths in Landianchang roamed unhindered during the Cultural Revolution. From September 1967, Gong Moumou started committing crimes, including getting into ten fights, two episodes of vandalism, and one case of robbery.[9] The Haidian Public Security Bureau defined her crimes as hooliganism (*liumang xingwei*; literally "hooligan behaviour"), characterized by so-called "beating, smashing, and looting."[10]

On August 23, 1968, Haidian authorities interrogated Gong Moumou for the first time, during which she explained the details of her specific crimes. While Gong was officially sent to the security bureau on November 5, 1968, she had been detained

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Gucheng Li, *A Glossary of Political Terms of the People's Republic of China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1995), 544.
[7] Ibid., 544.
[8] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 2.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

since October. She was subjected to Maoist moral reform through thought classes and was not allowed to go home until December 31, 1968. During this period, she submitted written confessions every few days as part of her thought classes, recalling her crimes and mistakes, and reflecting on how to correct these mistakes.

Hooligan crime (*liumang zui*) and juvenile criminal behaviour were not officially defined as legal offences until 1979 in the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China (PRC).[11] However, the local government during the Cultural Revolution still punished Gong through the application of a loose legal definition of "hooligan crime" used by the Party to impose their broader puritanical moral agenda.[12] Gong's confessions of hooliganism and wrongdoing, in the form of self-reports to the CCP, were divided into five main sections: (1) "the wrongdoings of beating, smashing, and looting";[13] (2) "what things other people gave me and what things I gave others";[14] (3) "issues of weapons for criminal purposes";[15] (4) "issues in the [sexual] relationship between male and female";[16] and (5) "issues with hanging out together" (i.e., dating men).[17]

Much of Gong's confession material is repetitive, demonstrating, if not the internalization, at least the regurgitation of lessons in socialist morality. However, in Gong's final confession report, submitted for the conclusion of her thought class, the typical final two sections about "sex" and "hanging out" are missing. It is unknown exactly why Gong did not reflect on these sections in her final confession report. It is possible that the authorities did not allow Gong to include these sections in her final official version because the details were too erotic. On December 31, 1968, Gong Moumou ended her study in the Mao Zedong Thought class, and the authority certified her good reform results on a trainee registration form.

The Chinese Communist Party consists of different levels. In Gong Moumou's case the local governmental level managed her case, producing an internal CCP report

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[11] Harold M. Tanner, "The Offense of Hooliganism and The Moral Dimension of China's Pursuit of Modernity, 1979–1996," *Twentieth-Century China* 26, no. 1 (2000): 10.
[12] Ibid., 24.
[13] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 3.
[14] Ibid., 5.
[15] Ibid., 4.
[16] Ibid., 9.
[17] Ibid., 9.

composed of Gong's written confessions, a report exposing her activities, and detailed records of her trial. The author of the current study found this file on an online second-hand book market in China called Kongfuzi.com. All materials are handwritten. Such "grassroots sources" are referred to as "rubbish materials" (*laji cailiao*) in Chinese, commonly collected from "flea markets, peddlers, and other underground channels."[18] Jeremy Brown writes that grassroots sources can also include "archival documents, internal circulation (*neibu)* collections, oral history, and unpublished diaries and manuscripts."[19] These files describe the lives of grassroots people in China, such as Gong Moumou. Brown observes that the school of "sonological garbology" or the study of "rubbish materials" has gained popularity among an international cohort of scholars who use "diaries, personnel dossiers, public security and legal files, Red Guard leaflets, and other ephemera to shed light on phenomena—family life, petitioning, and sexual behavior, for example—that official archives redact, withhold, or simply do not contain."[20]

The methodology used in this study is a grassroots historical approach. In the most famous PRC grassroots study, *Maoism at the Grassroots*, Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson emphasize that historians who research grassroots history need to "look at the individuals in villages, factories, neighbourhoods, counties, and ethnic minority regions from the bottom up, and in everyday contexts that make the familiar analytic categories of 'state' and 'society' impossible to distinguish from each other clearly."[21] In other words, the approach to "history from below" is a way to reconstruct the history at the local level. Furthermore, this approach facilitates the detailed study of the effects of "repression," "surveillance," and "political labelling" at the individual level.[22] By centering the experiences of individual people at the local level, the grassroots approach can provide microhistories that derive broader conclusions from the study of many individual life-experiences. In this way social histories are

[18] Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson, "Introduction," in *Maoism at the Grassroots: Everyday Life in China's Era of High Socialism*, ed. Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015)," 4.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 1.
[22] Ibid., 7.

reconstructed from the bottom-up as opposed to more top-down historical approaches.

Existing literature has shown that individuals at the local level, like rural female hooligans, operated politically. Gail Hershatter studies which aspects of socialism were local, for whom, and how gender figured into its creation.[23] Hershatter stresses that we should not forget that all socialism —like "all politics," in Tip O'Neill's famous aphorism, is local in China.[24] Chinese people have a common saying: "while above there are national policies and official orders, below there are local countermeasures" (*Shang you zhengce, xia you duice*).[25] This saying implies a degree of competition between the centre and the local: while the Party centre may dictate the policy, its real-life application and form is determined at the local level. In addition, Huang Xin states that Mao's gender ideas of were "shaped by institutional, individual, and local contestation and negotiation."[26] Thus, large historical processes affected the experiences of rural young women, however the specific influence of local level authorities, in turn affected how these policies were implemented and how women from various regions experienced them differently.

Gong's file contains dated and signed handwritten confessions of behaviour that violated the moral standards of Maoist China during the Cultural Revolution. As an adolescent, she would have experienced constant state-mandated sexual repression. For example, dating or "making friends" was taboo for middle school students. Gong's classmates reported her *liumang* behaviours to the CCP, harshly condemning her immoral behaviour. They reported that Gong often mingled with men or male hooligans and was having sex with them; however, there was no evidence to prove that their reports were factual. Nonetheless, Gong's confessions provide evidence about the nature of the CCP's efforts to regulate socialist morality and reform transgressive individuals. In her confessions, Gong located her behaviour as arising from the reactionary thoughts of the bourgeois class—an analysis which would have

[23] Gail Hershatter, *The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China's Collective Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 8.
[24] Hershatter, *The Gender of Memory*, 13.
[25] Erika E. S. Evasdottir, *Obedient Autonomy: Chinese Intellectuals and the Achievement of Orderly Life* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2004), 188.
[26] Huang Xin, *The Gender Legacy of the Mao Era: Women's Life Stories in Contemporary China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2018), 7.

pleased her CCP audience. Still, it is impossible to ascertain whether Gong sincerely admitted that she had made mistakes or felt compelled to regurgitate Mao Zedong Thought.

Gong Moumou's experience in rural Beijing illustrates the state's attempts to regulate socialist morality, reform rural young women during the Cultural Revolution according to the standard of the ideal socialist woman, and control and repress their sexuality, which was interpreted by the CCP as evidence of dangerous bourgeois thinking. According to government ideology, Gong's case represents the violence, immorality, and "bourgeois lifestyle" that threatened the security of socialist China in the 1960s. During the Cultural Revolution, the Party attributed all unethical behaviours to the influence and trappings of capitalism. In such an era of distorted thinking and politicization, the ideology of some young people also became distorted. It was difficult for them to tell whether their actions were correct or heinous. For teenagers, fighting, stealing, exchanging gifts between boys and girls, kissing, and exploring sex were all a normal part of adolescent rebellion. However, the turbulent era of the Cultural Revolution turned previous social norms upside down. There was no series of formal legal provisions to determine or restrict juvenile criminal behaviour. The police only judged allegations of so-called hooliganism based on other people's reports, and problematic teenagers were eventually accused of being "hooligans" or "women hooligans." The hooligans became a "tumour" threatening socialism and needed to be reformed via the teachings of Mao Zedong Thought.[27] Hooliganism ran counter to the socialist code of conduct and the standards of the proletariat.

During the government's reshaping of society in the 1960s, authorities especially targeted female hooligans for cultural reform because their activities conflicted with the image of the ideal working-class, revolutionary woman. Seen as lazy, immoral, and idle, the image of the female hooligan was inconsistent with the ideals of the Cultural Revolution.

The remainder of this study is divided into three thematic sections: the first will discuss the inconsistencies between the image of the female hooligan and the ideal socialist woman; the second will examine the CCP's attempts to regulate socialist morality; and the final section will explore sexual repression in 1960s Maoist China.

[27] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 10.

After 1949, "sex" was gradually regarded as the political enemy of the revolution, and finally, an asexual culture of the Cultural Revolution appeared. The party aimed to control the ownership of both women's bodies and their sexuality because it was feared that unregulated sexual desire would lead to individual political liberation and undermine the power of the CCP. Finally, in this context, it will be discussed how class discourse defined the "crime" of female hooliganism. Gong confessed that a bourgeois lifestyle influenced her behaviour of falling in love, "beating, smashing, and looting" and should, as a result, be criticized.[28] During the Cultural Revolution, the hooliganism of female youth was condemned as a violation of socialist morality and judged, without the formal processes of a criminal justice system, to be criminal behaviour.[29] Throughout this article an argument is developed that the CCP tried to contain and reform the behaviour of female hooligan youths as part of a broader effort to regulate rural female youth according to a standard of socialist morality and to control the discourse of power for Chinese females at the local level during the Cultural Revolution.

Female Hooligans versus Socialist Women

During the Cultural Revolution, regulating the image of the female hooligan was a way for the CCP to stabilize its political power at the local level. As a threat to the construction of socialist China, female hooligans were considered loose, immoral, Westernized, and lazy. Gong had a lot of free time of her own during the Cultural Revolution. The term "hooligan" (*liumang*) was used punitively by the CCP soon after coming to power and forming the PRC in 1949.[30] However, law enforcement was not modified and only gendered the term in 1979 to separately classify female criminals as female hooligans (*nü liumang*).[31] Therefore, the gendered term "female hooligan" does not appear in the Haidian Public Security Bureau branch's documents about Gong, as

[28] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 3.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Yvon Y. Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant: Masculinities and Popular Media in the Early People's Republic of China," *Nan Nü: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Imperial China* 19, no. 2 (2017): 325.
[31] Ibid., 325.

it was not yet in use.[32] This suggests that the word "female hooligan" was not yet commonly in use or even ignored in the justice system of the 1960s. The authorities usually used the term "hooligans" to describe both male and female hooligans, indicating that the Party-state defaulted to gendering hooliganism as a largely male crime before 1979. Wang argues that "the Party-state began using *liumang* punitively soon after its accession to power," but *liumang* "was still coded as male, a fact obvious on even the semantic level: only when law enforcement wanted to talk about a female hooligan did they modify the generic term with gender to become *nü liumang*."[33] The CCP stereotypically believed that women would not become hooligans because the Party believed the image of evil and disorder was exclusively represented by men.

Tani E. Barlow traces the constructs of Chinese gender concepts in different historical and political contexts. In the early days of the 1920s New Culture Movement, the binary gender concepts of woman (*nüxìng*) and man (*nanxìng*) emerged as fundamental categories of colonial modernity in China.[34] The term women (*nüxìng*) was "in a newly modernized, Westernized, semi-colloquial language," which played "the part of a subject of representation and an autonomous agent" in the post–May Fourth Movement of 1919.[35]

By contrast, Chinese women were called *fùnü* (working-class women) after the Communist revolution. After 1949, the Communist government often declared the success of the women's liberation movement, pointing as evidence to the impact of the 1950 New Marriage Law, especially in the rural areas.[36] The law not only allowed the CCP to portray itself as a "saviour" for women who suffered in pre-1920s China—granting them new identities, wealth, rights, and social status equal to men after the Communist revolutions[37]—it was also the foundation on which the CCP began to define the image of the ideal socialist woman.

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[32] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 2.
[33] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 325.
[34] Tani E. Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: Funu, Guojia, Jiating," in *Body, Subject & Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 267.
[35] Ibid., 267.
[36] Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 93.
[37] Xiaomei Chen, *Acting the Right Part: Political Theater and Popular Drama in Contemporary China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 261.

The CCP first defined women—especially rural peasant women—as proletarians and promoted their participation in the Communist Revolution at the local level. The term *fùnü* refers not only to "married women" and "kinswomen" in Chinese but specifically to working-class women as a socialist term. The modern socialist term *fùnü* thus replaced *nüxìng* to symbolize the Party's changing ideal of a Chinese woman in the Mao era. Tani E. Barlow argues that the political *fùnü* was used to label women as a social category in the PRC to fit Mao's campaigns of anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism.[38] Barlow emphasizes that the term *fùnü* represented the political woman—married, working class, collectivist women—inside Chinese socialist families and the state under Mao. The Party used this term as opposed to the "Westernized *nüxìng* (women)," which was "redesignated as bourgeois" and "marking it off as normatively forbidden." Barlow argues that modern *fùnü* are "offering the sexed bodies of peasant women as a space of modernization."[39]

At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards—a mass student-led paramilitary social movement concentrated in urban areas—went on strike and left school to join the "Revolution." Gong's files do not provide evidence that she participated in the strike, but she did indeed leave school during year two of middle school and, like other youths in rural areas, engaged in acts of "beating, smashing, and looting" in her daily life. In contrast with "good rebellion," these youths were described as being involved in hooliganism (*liumang xingwei*), which was a representation of the counterculture during the Cultural Revolution. Yao Yunsheng writes that "the underlying cause of the emergence of this new kind of youth gang was the Cultural Revolution, which weakened the authority of school and parents and gave teenagers unprecedented freedom and opportunities to rebel."[40] Without the supervision of parents and teachers, wandering young people began to form gangs to fight, steal, and make friends. Female hooligans began to appear in public view. They were a socially marginalized group similar to the image of male hooligans. The female hooligans went against the purpose of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because they were the opposite of the image of the ideal socialist woman, who was

[38] Barlow, "Theorizing Woman," 254.
[39] Ibid., 254.
[40] Yao Yusheng, "The Elite Class Background of Wang Shuo and His Hooligan Characters," *Modern China* 30 (2004): 438.

married, collectivist, proletarian, and thus committed to the reproduction of the socialist nation-state.

Gong was incompatible with the standard of a socialist woman (*fùnü*): she left school but did not participate in socialist production in Landianchang like her mother. Historian Chen Shehong describes the life of underage girls in the Chen family who lived in rural Jiading County near the city of Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution.[41] Chen states that "our family was bigger, with three children, and we took more grain from the production team,." The work-points earned by her mother were "barely enough to cover our expenses" in 1966.[42] In that year, all schools were closed.[43] As the eldest child in the Chen family, the eldest daughter Chen Shezhen (born in 1954) had to drop out of school and "started to learn farm work and earned about eight hundred work-points that year" to support household expenditures.[44] Chen Shehong's work shows how the eldest daughters in rural families were also responsible for household work. The image of young rural women in Chen Shehong's book conforms to the standard of socialist women (*fùnü*) in rural areas during the collective era.

By contrast, Gong chose a different path than most young rural women, pursuing freedom and leisure time, fighting, dating, and making friends. She could do this partly because, as the youngest in her family, she did not have many family duties, which fell to her mother and two older brothers. On the other hand, as the youngest child in a family, Gong was bound by familial discipline such as the authority of her older brother. Gong's confessions allude to the family tensions that resulted from her non-socialist behaviours, commenting that her oldest brother beat her because her male hooligan friends went to her home to find her.[45] Not only did Gong's oldest brother have a family duty to educate his "disobedient" younger sister but he also hated Gong's social network. Yvon Y. Wang argues that "accounts of hooliganish youths are peppered with their rebuttals to the condemnatory voices of authority."[46] It is therefore likely that Gong's "hooligan" behaviours, described in her confessions, were

[41] Chen Huiqin, *Daughter of Good Fortune*: *A Twentieth-Century Chinese Peasant Memoir* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 1.
[42] Ibid., 125.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 12.
[46] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 352.

a way to rebel against social and familial authority. Yao Yunsheng also describes how the hooliganish youths and other gang members sought their "status, freedom, and power in their struggle against traditional and new hooligan groups, parental and school authorities," and social taboos, as well as "the awakening of adolescent sexuality."[47] As a rebellious adolescent child, Gong may have responded to her brother's control and restraint of her freedom by acting out even more rebelliously.

Although the Marriage Reform of 1950 afforded women more rights, the CCP continued to regulate the image and behaviour of women. The Revolutionary model presented in operas during the Cultural Revolution show the Communist government's standardization of the image of socialist working-class females. Chen Xiaomei states that "Cultural Revolution feminism" used the issue of women's exploitation to consolidate political and state power so that the "worker-peasant-soldier model women" idealized on stage was absorbed into the broader concept of the "revolutionary masses."[48] According to the Party, women like Gong, who refused to internalize and act according to the ideal of the socialist woman, were dangerous because they were considered as counterrevolutionary with a rebellious consciousness. As such, at the conclusion of her Mao Zedong Thought class, the authorities required Gong to "go up to the mountains and down to the countryside" to receive re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants.[49] The purpose of this re-education was to stabilize proletarian politics and state power. However, the Party ignored individuality. Under the long-term ideological confinement of Communist education, some young people of the new generation wanted to do stimulating things to enrich their boring lives.

Gong's life experience in a young hooligan gang was to challenge the routine elements of socialist life in the PRC. In the 1950s at stalls and shops in cities and towns across China, many youths bought and rented novels and comics spun off from Hong Kong and Taiwanese "capitalist" films.[50] They sought out small paperback comics known as *lianhuanhua* or "linked pictures,"[51] which included not only stories about

[47] Yao, "The Elite Class Background of Wang Shuo," 438.
[48] Chen, *Acting the Right Part*, 254.
[49] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 160.
[50] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 330.
[51] Ibid.

sexual depravity and violent crime but also on the theme of *xia* (meaning hero, swordsman, or knight in ancient China).[52] The pictures allowed children to access the comics' plots even if they were illiterate. Students in the 1950s started to imitate the culture of *xia* found in novels and other popular media.[53] For example, some youth hooligans in Tianjin used the language and culture of *xia* to organize gangs like The Thirteen Allies (*Shisan meng*), The Five Little Justices (*Xiao wu yi*), The Five Tigers (*Wuhu*), and The Five Rats (*Wushu*).

Xia culture may have influenced Gong as a child born in 1950. Yvon Wang describes the moral culture in hooligan gangs that youth hooligans used the language of *yiqi* (righteousness) and *lianmian* (face), allusions to vigilante martial-arts heroes, to justify their actions and signal their brotherhood.[54] This interpretation would seem to fit with Gong's description of her best female friend and a male youth hooligan as sworn brothers (*baibazi*, or "swearing oaths of brotherhood").[55] She was very proud that she could make so many gallant friends outside of school as often described in *xia* novels.[56] Gong described the male hooligan as the big brother; herself as the second; and her female friend as the third.[57]

Within Gong's family, her eldest brother did not want his youngest sister maintaining contact with hooligan boys. He beat Gong in an attempt to reform her ways and force her to adopt the behaviour of a good girl. Gong's community must have regarded her deviance from the ideal of the socialist woman as unacceptable. When family efforts failed to reform youth hooligans like Gong, they were often reported to the local government by a third party and the authorities intervened to reform them through re-education.

Regulating Socialist Morality

In the 1960s, the CCP regulated socialist morality to strengthen Party control and to reform "bourgeois" thought at the local level. In her daily confession reports, Gong

[52] Ibid., 332.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 334.
[55] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 26.
[56] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 334.
[57] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 26.

adopts the language of regulation and reform, always defining her behaviour, such as fighting and dating, as the result of a bourgeois lifestyle. Gong constantly emphasized the need to criticize her bourgeois reactionary thoughts and claimed that her "bourgeois thoughts should be eliminated."[58] However, it's unclear that Gong recognized in her heart that her behaviours were immoral. The audience for Gong's confessions was always the policeman supervising her class. After reading the files, it is questionable whether the police successfully led Gong to recognize her "mistakes." As such, these reports tell us less about Gong than about the CCP's efforts to regulate socialist morality and reform those contravening its tenets; how the Party directed these efforts against rural hooligans in the 1960s; and the way sexuality was emphasized in reforming female hooligans.

Prior to the Cultural Revolution, hooligans were not subject to moral regulation and reform. During the Social Reform Movement of the early 1950s, the CCP focused on eliminating major chronic social problems from pre-revolutionary Chinese society.[59] These included "widespread opium addiction," "prostitution," and the "crime and corruption" of "a vast underworld of secret societies and labour gangs."[60] According to CCP ideology at the time, the Party identified hooligans as part of the lumpenproletariat—the downtrodden masses of the poor—which in urban areas included rickshaw drivers, casual "coolie" labourers, beggars, and petty thieves.[61] The CCP aimed to attract their support and allow the great majority of the urban lumpenproletariat participate in the Revolution.[62] The CCP also defined rural hooligans as lumpenproletariat because they were " members of a class so long victimized by extreme socioeconomic oppression" by the old regime.[63] This rural lumpenproletariat included marginal men, such as bachelors, bandits, and gangsters. Yvon Y. Wang argues that the rural "lumpenproletariat" took on a new importance with the rise of the Chinese Communist Party.[64] When the embattled Communists

[58] Ibid.
[59] Maurice J. Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1999), 81.
[60] Ibid., 81.
[61] Ibid., 79.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 325.

were blocked from the coastal cities by the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), the Party looked to the rural "lumpenproletariat" for cadres and military personnel.[65] This situation suggests that the CCP did not seek to socially exclude hooligans from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s.

With the advent of the Cultural Revolution, socialist morality became more class-oriented. Only after the CCP firmly established and stabilized itself as a new regime did the Party consider hooligans a threat to socialist morality and social stability and begin sanctioning them. The Draft Guiding Principles for the Criminal Law of the PRC of 1954 reads:

> Hooligan elements *(liumang fenzi)* who do not engage in honest work but gather to gamble, traffic in people, insult women, corrupt youth or otherwise disrupt public order shall be sentenced to up to five years of fixed-term imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death.[66]

The CCP gradually began to crack down on hooligans and classify them as criminals because the Party interpreted hooligan behaviour as undermining socialist morality. The 1954 definition and outline of sentences for hooligans laid the foundation for the CCP's handling of hooligans throughout the 1960s. The only difference is that in the 1960s, the CCP emphasized that hooligans followed a bourgeois lifestyle.

Gong's case was not a criminal offence within the formal justice system because she was only accused of hooliganism. Jeremy Brown argues that "criminal justice during the Cultural Revolution was flawed, but it was a complex system that evolved over time and sometimes functioned as it was intended."[67] Although Gong's beating, smashing, looting, and stealing constituted crimes, these were all classified as hooliganism and, thus, as activities associated with bourgeois morality, in contravention of socialist morality. Therefore, what might have been punished with a five-year imprisonment, according to the draft criminal laws of 1954, instead resulted in being assigned to a Mao Zedong Thought class to transform Gong's capitalist thinking.

Mao Zedong Thought was prescribed through classes as a medicine for female hooligans for the reformation of bourgeois thought. Maoist ideology, and the emphasis on class, are evident in Gong's handwritten reports. For example, Gong

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Tanner, "The Offense of Hooliganism," 11.
[67] Ibid., 128.

consistently quotes from Mao Zedong's supreme instructions in her confession diary. On September 15, 1968, she writes: "The great leader Chairman Mao taught us that we must also exercise dictatorship against thieves, deceivers, murderers, arsonists, hooligans, and all kinds of bad elements in order to maintain social order and the interests of the broad masses of people."[68] In the CCP's view, Mao Zedong Thought classes were necessary to reform and regulate people engaging in behaviours that the Party associated with a bourgeois lifestyle.

On May 11, 1955, the newspaper article "Against the Erosion of the Revolutionary Ranks by the Bourgeois Lifestyle," published in the *People's Daily*, mentions the characteristics of people with a bourgeois lifestyle whose behaviour reflects selfishness, individualism, excessive self-pursuit, pleasure, exploitation, eroticism, and decadence.[69] On June 1, 1966, an article titled "Sweep Away Ox Ghosts and Snake Demons" appeared on the front page of the *People's Daily*. Its author argued that the bourgeoisie and its old class culture needed to be struggled against and criticized because it threatened the dictatorship of the proletariat.[70]

The Party also advocated a form of asexuality because promiscuous sexual behaviour was one aspect of the old culture and bourgeois lifestyle that needed to be destroyed. Neil J. Diamant explains how sexual behaviour became construed as an attack on socialist morality by the "bourgeoisie class":

> Together with the class-based attacks on the sexual decadence of "bourgeois" culture, the Buddhist-inspired sexuality conjured up by the "ox ghosts" and "snake demon" slogan provided youth with ample justification for making sexual behavior a criterion for participation in or exclusion from the new revolutionary community.[71]

On the other hand, sponsoring Mao Zedong Thought study classes was an alternative form of detention and moral reform aimed against bourgeois corruption. The state sentenced offenders to this type of ideological re-education for the duration of their imprisonment.

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[68] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 79.
[69] "Fandui zichan jieji shenghuo fangshi dui geming duiwu de qinshi [Against the erosion of the revolutionary ranks by the bourgeois lifestyle]," *People's Daily*, May 11, 1955.
[70] "Hengsao yiqie niugui sheshen [Sweep away ox ghosts and snake demons]," *People's Daily*, June 1, 1966.
[71] Neil J. Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949-1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 287.

Gong's comments in "An Open Letter to All Members of the Study Class" suggested the intended ideological impact of the class:

> We had been in the study class for more than twenty days, and I have a preliminary understanding of my mistakes. I realized that mistakes I made before were not in the interests of the party and the people and were opposed to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. I accompanied some people fighting, smashing, and looting in society who did not follow Mao Zedong's thoughts. This indeed hindered the smooth progress of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and was unfaithful to the broad masses of the people and the great leader Chairman Mao. The broad revolutionary masses have helped us to run study classes now. This is a good opportunity for us to repent of our mistakes. We should reform our thinking and dig into all the filthy things deep in the soul…[72]

Gong's open letter, the last of her confessions in the file, instead of elaborating on the five aspects of her wrongdoings as her previous confessions had, focused on the class's effectiveness in reforming her thoughts. In this letter, Gong's tone was positive, and she used many "red" words to demonstrate her determination to correct her mistakes. Perhaps the teachers and the police leading the class required Gong to employ this language style and vocabulary in her open letter, which she may have read in front of all the students, teachers, and police officers. The latter may have also wanted to establish Gong as a "model" (*mo fan*) of possible successful reformation through the class. It's difficult to ascertain Gong's personal feelings amidst the ideological parroting found in her confession reports acknowledging the "moral mistakes" that she committed against the party.

Regardless, the Haidian Public Security Bureau must have been satisfied with her reform progress. On December 31, 1968, they ordered Gong to complete her reform by going "up to the mountains and down to the villages" and "receiving re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants."[73] Jeremy Brown states the punishment and re-education of hooligan elements (*liumang fenzi*) between 1966 and 1969 usually involved being sent to prison, labour camps, or the countryside.[74] For example, in

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[72] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 10.
[73] Ibid., 160.
[74] Jeremy Brown, "A Policeman, His Gun, and an Alleged Rape: Competing Appeals for Justice in Tianjin, 1966–1979," in *Victims, Perpetrators, and the Role of Law in Maoist China: A Case-Study Approach*, ed. Daniel Leese and Puck Engman (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018), 135.

1966, Zeng Huizhen's husband reported that a policeman named Mou in Tianjin confessed to raping Zeng Huizhen in late 1958. Under a hooligan offence, Mou was sentenced to more than two years and was "deported to his native place, a village in Hebei Province to be handed over to the poor and lower-middle peasant for supervision and reform."[75] The documents about Gong never state to which village she was sent. However, because she lived in a rural area, it is likely she was sent to Landianchang for reform through agricultural work.

Sexual Repression in the 1960s

The sexuality of hooligan youths became a special target of state criticism and regulation because it most plainly represented their participation in an immoral bourgeois lifestyle. Michael Schoenhals states that "Mao's dictatorship of the masses' did away with the restraints that previously had succeeded in no small measure in keeping the most private of the private parts of people's lives out of the public arena."[76] This extended to the Party's efforts to control sexual expression in Maoist China.

The CCP regarded sex outside of marriage as taboo. For example, in Gong's case, two of the wrongdoings she confessed to were related to sexual relations, including "issues in the relationship between male and female" and "issues with hanging out together."[77] Gong likely believed that her sex life was her own private business and beyond public scrutiny; however, the CCP did not overlook even private matters in seeking out threats to their government. Under intense political pressure and inner condemnation during the thought class, Gong expressed the realization that she could not lie to the Party. She had to honestly confess her sinful sexual relationships to the Party because only it could save her.

For the Party, it was necessary to intervene in the private lives of young people through thought classes to reform women like Gong. Diamant argues that sexual behaviour became directly linked to class status and represented the culture of

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[75] Ibid., 127.
[76] Michael Schoenhals, "Sex in Big-Character Posters from China's Cultural Revolution: Gendering the Class Enemy," in *Gender Politics and Mass Dictatorship*, ed. Jie-Hyun Lim and Karen Petrone (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), 250.
[77] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 161.

"capitalists" or the "bourgeoisie" as a symptom of a "decadent" bourgeois lifestyle lingering even among peasants in remote villages.[78] Gong's confessed sexual behaviours, as well as her class-inflected rejection of them, illustrates how the CCP state married class ideology to state repression, producing both a chilling effect and a discursive surge in conversation around sexuality. Youth accused of hooliganism were made to openly discuss their sexual behaviours in order to, in turn, reject them. Since the CCP is atheist, its taboo on sex had nothing to do with religious ideology or culture and everything to do with exerting state power over the Party's perceived class enemies via the social regulation and control of body-related discourses.

Yao Yusheng explains how hooligan youths in the Cultural Revolution sought self-emancipation and individualism, especially for sexual experimentation. Yao argues that "adolescent sexual experimentation was an important component of the youth counterculture that emerged during the Cultural Revolution."[79] Likewise, Yvon Y. Wang argues that hooligan youths consistently "used the rhetoric of free love to justify their sexuality."[80] The politically countercultural undertones to sexual experimentation in this era suggests that Gong may have been actively rebelling against authority through her exploration of sexual behaviours such as kissing and hanging out with boys.

Some scholars have focused on how the Party regulated adolescent youths' taboo behaviours, such as sexual behaviour. For example, Diamant argues that the sexuality of young women during the Cultural Revolution played "a role in political critique."[81] Though sexual relations belonged to the realm of personal privacy, sexuality became an open secret and a criticized behaviour during the Cultural Revolution. For the female hooligans during the Cultural Revolution, the Party construed sexual relations as mistakes that violated socialist morality. As such, sexual relations unsanctioned by the Party were considered a more serious offence than acts such as dating, beating, smashing, or looting.

Diamant argues that sexual behaviour represented the culture of "capitalists" or the "bourgeoisie," a symptom of the "decadent" bourgeois lifestyle lingering even

[78] Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family*, 286.
[79] Yao, "The Elite Class Background of Wang Shuo," 441.
[80] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 352.
[81] Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family*, 286.

among peasants in remote villages.[82] Lin Jiao argues that "moral obligation defined femininities in the Mao era," and that Mao-era gender formation was "desexualization."[83] The popular culture of masculinization erased femininity during the Cultural Revolution.[84] For example, unmarried women were made to bind their breasts during the Cultural Revolution; girls who did not hide their breasts and body curves were denounced as "tramps," "femme fatales," "being smug," "seeking the limelight," and "showing off."[85]

However, paradoxically the CCP's attempts to regulate socialist morality and to contain, repress, and reform what it conceptualized as bourgeois sexual feelings and actions resulted in the proliferation of sexual discussion amongst youth. As Evertt Yuehong Zhang writes, "Foucault's critique of the repressive hypothesis in the context of Victorian sexuality aims to correct the blindness of such a hypothesis to the other side of repressive power: the enticing and constructing of sexual desire through scientific knowledge in discourse."[86] Although the Cultural Revolution and the Victorian era are quite different in many regards, Foucault's critique of the repressive hypothesis for the Victorian era can still help explain the relationship between sexuality, repression, and power during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. In Gong Momou's case she was required to repeatedly confess her sexual behaviour to state agents. Thus even as the CCP exerted state power over sexuality and the body, it produced more discussion of sex not less. However, within the context of the Cultural Revolution, in which socialist morality replaced sexual education, youths like Gong were forced to reform their thoughts and criticize sexual behaviour as immoral. This dynamic of forcing youth to discuss and condemn their sexuality is exactly what made it taboo and thereby simultaneously enticing.

Evertt Yuehong Zhang states that the body was a focal point for the concentration of state power and ownership by the CCP and Chairman Mao.[87]

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Lin Jiao, "Reconciling Femininities and Female Masculinities: Women's Premarital Experiences of Breast-Binding in the Maoist Era," *Modern China* 48, no. 2 (2022): 4.
[84] Ibid., 4.
[85] Ibid., 10.
[86] Evertt Yuehong Zhang, "Rethinking Sexual Repression in Maoist China: Ideology, Structure and the Ownership of the Body," *Body & Society* 11, no. 3 (2005): 5.
[87] Ibid., 6.

Teachers and police officers supervising Gong's thought class believed they had an obligation to know the details of her sexual behaviour and contact with male hooligans because they represented the authority of the Party to control Gong's body and sexuality. They required Gong to describe and confess the details of her sexual behaviour. According to Gong's handwritten confession on November 7, 1968, she met Liang Quan to kiss at the cement bridge in Landianchang village on January 3, 1968. She also met Zhang Liancai to kiss at the same cement bridge and confessed that Zhang touched her breast once in early March 1968.[88] Gong's detailed confessions of her sexual behaviours—in which she provided dates, times, and locations—demonstrate the level of state control exerted over her. As part of the thought class, she attempted to purify her morality and soul by confessing and repenting to the supervising teachers and police officers. The latter used Gong's alleged "decadent" bourgeois lifestyle— which in the eyes of the authorities amounted to an ideological attack on the local dictatorship of village proletariats—as an excuse to ask Gong to write daily confessions. Gong's bourgeois lifestyle was a pretense for enacting a confessional model of sexual regulation.

During the Cultural Revolution, most accusations against women for violating the socialist women's standard were unfounded. Although these cases had no evidence and involved personal private matters, the Party still targeted hooligan women to eliminate remnants of the bourgeois lifestyle from socialist China. Gong's case was based on a report filed by her classmate, Cui Shaoying, who wrote that Gong had made friends with 'Jackal' [nickname] from a work-study school (a study school for juvenile delinquents).[89] Cui writes that she had heard that "Gong had sex with six men."[90] Cui emphasizes that Gong often fooled around with the hooligans of Landianchang, Haidian, and Liulangzhuang villages.[91] This was an allegation without evidence, based on gossip and the stereotype of female hooligans as "loose women." Consequently, because Gong was labelled "bourgeois" due to the sexual nature of her transgressions against socialist morality, she required a different form of punishment: not a criminal sentence but a public shaming.

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[88] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 95.
[89] Ibid., 52.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

Similarly, but more public, was the case of Zhang XX. Zhang was an 'old Bolshevik' who had been a student at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow between 1925 and 1930. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, a large-character poster was anonymously circulated exposing Zhang XX's sexually promiscuous bourgeois lifestyle as threatening to socialist China..[92] These posters did everything possible to make her appear decadent and morally contemptible, claiming that "Zhang XX murdered her baby boy, born out of wedlock."[93] The anonymous poster also criticized Zhang's alleged licentiousness, claiming that Zhang wrote to her husband and asked him to purchase some hormone drugs to use as an aphrodisiac in March 1951.[94] The cases of Zhang and Gong, though hard to assess the veracity of their sexual conduct, illustrate how regulating sexual conduct became a key feature of the CCP's attempts to eliminate the rights of the people accused of living a "bourgeois lifestyle."

Regarding the reason why Gong's classmate, Cui Shaoying, wanted to expose Gong, it is possible that Cui was jealous of Gong's beauty, sexual attraction, and social skills. As a classmate of Gong Moumou, Cui Shaoying knew Gong's daily life. During the Cultural Revolution, women were supposed to dress plainly and were not allowed to wear make-up. Perhaps Gong was considered a "femme fatale" in her female classmates' eyes. Teenage girls like Cui may have been jealous of Gong's beauty and ability to enthrall boys, so she reported Gong as having sex with male hooligans without evidence. In this way, Cui attempted to subject Gong to public shaming.

Conclusion

Through the example of Gong Moumou, it was shown how the CCP attempted to regulate the discourse, image, and moral standards of female hooligan youths during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s as a means to reinforce the Party's social control. Although there is no systematic academic research on female hooligans in the rural area during the Cultural Revolution, Yao Yunsheng's article "The Elite Class Background of Wang Shuo and His Hooligan Characters" does offer some relevant insights into hooligan culture in Beijing's urban and political elite families during the

[92] Schoenhals, "Sex in Big-Character Posters," 249.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 250.

Cultural Revolution. Yao studies a group of core hooligan characters Wang Shuo's novels "whose prototypes are clearly his childhood friends and himself" in urban Beijing during the Cultural Revolution.[95] Yao argues that "the Cultural Revolution provided a unique environment for children of the political elite to develop a new kind of hooliganism and youth counterculture that contradicted Mao's aim to empower them to join his revolution."[96]

Beyond the counterculture of hooligan youths from elite families in urban Beijing, this study builds upon Yao's observations and offers an example of how rural hooligans who tried to break social taboos around romance and sexuality were, in turn, subjected to political and moral regulation. Thus, the "intensification of class bias and struggle," "disruption of the school order," the "termination of entrance examinations for middle school and college," and the "weakening of parental and school authority" all provided "an unprecedented opportunity for children" to experiment with hooligan lifestyle during the Cultural Revolution.[97] In this way, the gang activities and sexual experimentation of adolescents, like Gong Moumou, challenged the "hegemonic revolutionary ideology" and "culture of the Cultural Revolution."[98]

Gong's file ends with a final confession report dated December 31, 1968. It is unknown what happened next in Gong's life. There were many innocent "problem teenagers" like Gong during the Cultural Revolution's student strike period. They symbolized wildness, freedom, romance, and rebellion, and, for the CCP, the trappings of capitalism and the bourgeoisie. Regarding Gong's future, perhaps she followed the instructions of the police officers to go to Landianchang to participate in agricultural labour. Perhaps she was again accused by others of being a "femme fatale" after she joined the agricultural production team because her cheerful personality and social skills continued to attract the attention of men.

Although Gong's file was part of an official archive (even if it was later leaked), some of its contents are questionable. For example, Gong's final confession did not include the standard confessions of her sexual improprieties, including "issues in the

[95] Yao, "The Elite Class Background of Wang Shuo,"434.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., 445.
[98] Ibid., 446.

relationship between male and female" and "issues with hanging out together."[99] The final confession report was completed the same day as Gong's official registration form for the fifth phase of the Mao Zedong Thought class.[100] The registration form was also on the previous page of Gong's last confession report. In other words, these two documents may be official documents that had to be submitted to higher-level departments for review or archiving. It is possible the teachers and police officers responsible for overseeing Gong's education considered her descriptions of sexual behaviour too explicit. Therefore, they may have required Gong to delete these entries concerning love and sexuality.

From the 1950s, the authorities banned "capitalist" films and took American movies out of public circulation. Some people who tuned in to "enemy stations" from Taiwan and Hong Kong were accused of listening to "yellow" broadcasts by the authorities.[101] Therefore, people on the mainland were restricted from movies and books about love and sex after 1950. Pornography and romantic movies were also banned from broadcasting in mainland China. In turn, Communist education suppressed people's bodies and sexual desires. In this repressed social context, the statements about the issues of sexual relationships in Gong's daily confession reports became a type of pornography for the teachers and police officers in the Mao Zedong Thought class. As members of the Communist Party who had also experienced sexual repression for a long time, they may have had their sexual desires gratified to some extent by the narration of sex in Gong's daily confession reports.

Stereotypes including being loose, immoral, Westernized, and lazy surrounded female hooligans during the Cultural Revolution. They lost their personal rights because of negative social and political labels ascribed to them. Gong's case is an example of an individual who could not resist the hegemonic authority of the state exercised during the Cultural Revolution. Many other individuals like Gong were compelled to obey the authorities' sexual and moral regulations during the Cultural Revolution.

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[99] Beijing shi Haidian qu, "Gong Moumou diaocha," 9.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Wang, "Heroes, Hooligans, and Knights-Errant," 330.

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Examining Women's Roles in the Publication of Medical Texts During The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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Early Modern English policies made it difficult for women to practice medicine. During the early seventeenth century, for example, fifteen percent of those pursued by the Royal College of Physicians for practicing medicine without a licence were women. This is a significant number because fewer women attempted to perform medicine without a license than men.[1] Writing and publishing medical texts was also a difficult profession for women to pursue. Although women's ability to produce documents of this nature improved for a time as a consequence of the decrease in print censorship following the English Civil War (1642-1651), published male authors continued to question their knowledge publicly.[2] Edith Snook observes that women were often openly criticized in male-authored medical texts. Their authority was disputed partly due to their lack of formal training and their "gendered social subordination."[3]

Despite the numerous obstacles that prevented women from formally learning medicine and consequently writing about it, females nevertheless participated in medical publications. Women evaded the Royal College of Physicians' sanctions and participated in the world of medical publications through disclosing their treatments to male-physician authors, publishing almanacs, and using metaphors to conceal the medical advice in their texts. A few exceptional women also disregarded societal expectations and openly published medical guides of their own. Although these women deserve mention, they were a minority and will not be examined in this

[1] Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 97.
[2] More than fifty medical recipe books written by women were printed in the 1650s, compared to twelve in the 1640s and twenty in the 1630s and 1660s. Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 150.
[3] Edith Snook, "'The Women Know': Children's Diseases, Recipes and Women's Knowledge in Early Modern Medical Publications." *Social History of Medicine* 30, no. 1 (2016): 4.

context. This article will first examine the ways in which male authors utilized women's medical knowledge in their texts. Next it will discuss how women produced medical literature in their own name. Much of the scholarship in this field centers upon one of the two aforementioned topics. This paper aims to unite these narratives in one cohesive paper that provides a brief overview of how women were involved with medical literature in early modern England.

Part One: Intersection of Gender and Medical Texts

In the seventeenth century, the Royal College of Physicians allowed the publication of male-authored texts that cited female sources of medical knowledge. Many such texts that relied on female knowledge nevertheless undermined their female sources by asserting that women could not be considered medical authorities.[4] For instance, Walter Harris's (1647-1732) text *An Exact Enquiry Into, and Cure of the Acute Diseases of Infants*, first published in English in 1693, begins by discussing the value of medical knowledge that women garnered through experience. Harris writes:

> The Diagnostick of Childrens Diseases, cannot so much be collected from their own Relation, neither from the touching of their Pulse, or from a more curious Tryal of their Urine as from the Answers of the Nurses and women that are their constant Attendants. The women know if they have been troubled with Loathings, and Vomitings, and how long; whether the Food or Milk that was cast up, was curdled; whether untimeous Weeping, Watching, and Disquiet, give any Notices of Colick Pains; whether they be affected with acid Belchings, or the Hick up, or a Cough doth appear; whether their Belly hath kept a due course, and if their Excrements be white, green, or filled with Bile. They know, if their Infants have had extraordinary drouth, and so be Feverish, or if their mouths be full of Thrushes, which do much trouble their Sucking. Being enquired, they can inform you, if epileptick Spasms have seized their ender Bodies, with the several Concomitants of time and severity, or whether their present Sickness be treisted with their breeding of Teeth; or lastly, whether any thing considerable, whether that be a swelling of their Belly, or of any other part, either Wheels or Pushes, or the Jaundice, or Rose do appear.[5]

[4] Ibid.

[5] Walter Harris and William Cockburn, *An Exact Inquiry Into, and Cure of the Acute Diseases of Infants* (London: St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1693), 9-10.

Although Harris asserts his belief that women should not be trusted as medical caregivers later in his book, this passage demonstrates his faith in females as observers. Harris contends that through their constant attention to young children, women are able to notice changes in a child's behaviour and the appearance of new symptoms. By virtue of the extended time women spent with children, they were deemed useful aides to male physicians who were regarded as the medical authorities. The practice of assigning value only to a woman's observations eradicates their contribution in medical experimentation and transcription of remedies from the formal record.[6]

Significantly, Harris was suspicious of women who attempted to provide a remedy to the sick rather than relay their observations to male physicians. It appears Harris extended his trust in women's expertise only to their ability to observe various symptoms. Harris describes females who participated in medical caregivers outside the domestic space as gossipers, noting that access to medicinal information is useless unless a trained male physician utilizes it. Harris writes:

> The right use of Medicaments for satisfying the designs of curing, the adjusting both the kind and quantity of Medicaments to the particular Constitution of the Patient, from a quaint Reflection upon the nature of the present Disease; the exquisite knowledg of the constitution, especially of people of full Age, whether it be Sanguine or Melancholick; and whether the Feaver doth mostly affect the Blood, or whether Spirits be wanting and their strength weakned by the bustle and trouble; and lastly, the right knowledge of appointing Diet, are all more requisite to make a good Physitian than the most numerous Provision of Medicinal Receipts, whence ever Collected. And if that be not true, the Apothecary being most Learned in Receipts will easily excel the most Learned physician, and his prattling Servant be equal to his Master; and also a Nurse, or at least, the babling and Cup- Gossip Women being enriched with Books of Receipts preserved from Generations, shall carry the Prize and Glory from the most Learned Physitian and Apothecary, howsoever conversant in Prescriptions of Physitians.[7]

In this passage, Harris is concerned with differentiating women who own extensive collections of medicinal recipes collected over the course of generations to heal household members from those formally trained by male physicians. As Snook details,

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[6] Women were placed in charge of domestic healthcare. Many recorded medical remedies and observations in the family recipe book. For more information on early modern English recipe books, see Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, 2018.

[7] Harris and Cockburn, *An Exact Inquiry*, 57-58.

women's recipe books were a threat to the authority of physicians, and thus it was essential for Harris to assert that women did not possess the theoretical knowledge necessary to determine a patient's course of treatment. This narrative encourages readers to invest all authority in the physician despite women's vital role in identifying symptoms of illness before contacting a doctor.

Walter Harris was by no means the only male physician who authored a text that was reliant upon but disparaging of women's medical expertise. Many other publications, particularly those that discussed treatments for children's illnesses, utilized women's remedies while identifying themselves as sole sources of medical authority on the subject. One such author was the German surgeon Felix Würtz (1518-1575), who wrote a book titled *The Childrens Book of Felix Wurtz: A Famous and Expert Surgeon* that was translated into English and published in London in 1656. Würtz wrote his book to provide guidance to families who sought to employ a woman to care for their infant, and to give medical advice to wet nurses and midwives regarding the child in their charge. In his section titled "Running Eyes in Children," Würtz authorizes a remedy traditionally used by mothers and nurses: "Some Childrens eyes are always running, others have sore eyes, and some of them have their eyes clung together, which to remedy, Mothers or Nurses usually let their Milk run into them, of which I do approve…"[8] Dr. Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius (1614-1672) also wrote about curing eye ailments in his book *Of Children's Diseases Given in Familiar Style for Weaker Capacities*, which was translated from French and published by a London company in 1682. De le Boë writes as follows: "The Eye-lids endure much pain and trouble, sometimes by the Pox blinding them, and by crying which swells them… In such cases Women use their own Milk, or put a little Saffron to it; which others dissolve only in Rose-water, and lay cloaths wet therewith to the eyes, and not badly done."[9] In both instances, the authors assert their authority by detailing the remedy that nurses and mothers traditionally utilize, followed by their seal of approval. These texts add to the perception that a women's medical knowledge is valuable only after it has been tested and recommended by a male physician.

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[8] Felix Wurtz, *The Surgeons Guide* (London: The British Library, 1658),151-152.
[9] Franciscus De le Boë, *Of Childrens Diseases Given in a Familiar Style for Weaker Capacities.* (London: St. Dunstan's Church, 1682), 124.

Jacques Guillemeau (1550-1613) relies quite heavily upon women's recipes in his text *The Nursing of Children,* which was translated to English and published in London in 1612. In his discussion of remedies for a teething child, Guillemeau's narrative mirrors those of de le Boë and Würtz when he describes a treatment utilized by women before deeming it to be credible. Guillemeau writes:

> The Nurses themselves shew us this practice is very necessary and fit; for oftentimes they do scratch and tear the gumme with their nailes, which turneth to the childs great profit and ease, and keeps him from lying languishing so long in paine: And I can sassure the young Chirurgion that I have practiz'd it, and caused it to be practised with good success, above twenty times.[10]

From these texts, it is evident that women's experiences with young children led to the creation of effective cures. Guillemeau writes that scratching the gums is more effective than treatments prescribed by the ancients, which were both painful and dangerous.[11] Despite wet-nurses' success in performing the procedure, Guillemeau insists that the child should be entrusted to a male surgeon who would make a tiny incision along a teething child's gums. Although women's knowledge of remedies for children's illnesses is demonstrably effective, male physicians and authors include them in their texts only after conferring their authority on the antidote. In this case, the cure is only offered with the affirmation that Guillemeau treated patients using this method in more than twenty instances. The practice of a male physician imposing his approval upon women's recipes is also seen in Guillemeau's suggested remedies for diaper rash:

> Women doe commonly be sprinkle those parts [affected with diaper rash] with meale dust, or with Barley, or Beane flower. Some use the powder of a rotten post [rooting wood], or else a little Ireos [iris root] and Roses beaten into a fine powder, Rhasis useth this medicine.[12]

This passage differs from other male-physician-authored texts because Guillemeau does not sanction the poultice by attesting to his own use of the remedy. Rather, Guillemeau observes that Rhazes [Rhasis in French] (865-925)—a renowned physician from medieval Persia whose texts were used in European medical schools during the seventeenth century—used the treatment. Invoking a well-recognized scholar's name would have added credibility to both Guillemeau's text and to the diaper rash medicine

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[10] Wurtz, *The Surgeons Guide,* 59.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Jacques Guillemeau*, Child-birth or, The Happy Deliverie of Women Wherein is set Downe the Government of Women.* (London: Printed by A. Hatfield, 1612), 82.

he advised. Nevertheless, it is significant that women's antidotes are not recommended on their own merit but instead authorized via Rhazes and Guillemeau.

Thus far, the texts examined demonstrate that women's remedies were prominent in texts deemed acceptable for publication by the Royal College of Physicians. Despite the effectiveness of women's treatment plans, male physicians and authors consistently undermined women's medicinal knowledge. Many books authored by male physicians in early modern England only acknowledged women's remedies alongside a statement of the male author's approval. Walter Harris did so most explicitly by describing caretakers as gossipers. Other seventeenth-century scholars, including Würtz, le Boë and Guillemeau, did it implicitly.

Part Two: Female Authored Texts

Women who authored texts containing medical recipes were required to use various imaginative strategies to convey the information they wished to publish. These techniques enabled women to engage in medical discourse without facing fines from the Royal College of Physicians, who punished women for openly publishing texts on this topic. In this section, I will examine almanacs produced by Sarah Jinner between 1658 to 1664, which contained remedies for their female audience. Moreover, this section will include an analysis of *A Sweet Nosegay* (1573) by Isabella Whitney can serve as a case study to demonstrate how some women indirectly participated in the early modern English medical marketplace.

Almanacs were short publications that contained astrological predictions and tables with information regarding sunrises, sunsets and tides. These booklets also included medical cures that were accessible to the general populace. Only three women have been acknowledged for authoring almanacs in England during the seventeenth century; Sarah Jinner, Mary Holden and Dorothy Partridge.[13] Here Sarah Jinner's works are focused upon because she published the largest number of medical recipes

[13] Louise Hill Curth claims that four women wrote almanacs during the seventeenth century. One of the women included in Curth's count signed her writing as Sara Ginnor and wrote a satire of Sarah Jinner's work. Consequently, I do not believe that we can assume the gender of the Ginnor author. I believe it would be more accurate to state that three women wrote almanacs during the seventeenth century. Louise Hill Curth, "The Medical Content of English Almanacs 1640–1700," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60, no. 3 (2005): 264.

directed toward female audiences. For instance, she included thirty-eight recipes in her 1658 almanac, for ailments such as menstrual disorders, infertility, and childbirth complications.[14]

During the seventeenth century, the Company of Stationers regulated the English almanac industry. James I granted this powerful agency a monopoly over the publication of almanacs in 1603.[15] In the mid-seventeenth century, Sarah Jinner was the only woman authorized to publish "female branded" almanacs by the Stationers, which may account for the lack of women involved in writing almanacs during this period. Indeed, the Company of Stationers did not authorize the printing of a second almanac for female audiences until the 1680s, when Mary Holden began publishing her texts.[16]

Sarah Jinner's almanacs have been identified as the first female-authored publication to contain medical advice for women. It should be noted, however, that these texts did not exclusively discuss female concerns. Jinner's texts contained cosmetic therapies (including instructions for sunburn treatments and the removal of freckles, sweat, and unwanted hair) and medical recipes. The medical remedies in Jinner's almanacs ranged from medications for children's problems such as rickets, worms, bed-wetting, and teething to more general cures for rotting teeth, colds, indigestion, earaches, eye pain and hernias. Leigh Ann Whaley notes that Jinner's writing about hernias indicates her comprehensive knowledge of human anatomy. In her 1660 almanac, Jinner describes a hernia, noting that "hernia or rupture is said to be when any tumor appears in the purse of the testicles proceeding either from something descending into the cods, or from some matter going there and causing them to swell."[17] Jinner also observes three types of hernias: Aquosa or Watery, Aentoia or Windy and Carnola or Helby ruptures. Following the description, Jinner provides a cure and discusses how the patient likely received his injury. Jinner observes

[14] Ibid., 274.
[15] Ibid., 260.
[16] Ibid., 264.
[17] Sarah Jinner, *An Almanack or Prognostication for the Year of Our Lord 1660* (London: British Library, 2019), 29.

that watery ruptures occur "when much water is descended into the Cods, which causeth them to swell"[18] and suggests a two-fold cure for the ailment.[19]

Despite her demonstrable knowledge in cosmetic and physiological medicine, Sarah Jinner was most notable for her gynecological recipes in her almanacs. For instance, Jinner's almanac for the year 1659 contains three recipes to regulate a woman's menstrual cycle, four to help men and women with "fruitfulness," two to prevent a miscarriage, and two to clear the womb after miscarriage. Jinner's inclusion of both recipes to regulate a woman's menstrual cycle and treatments to aid fertility is not evidence that women in early modern England understood the role of ovulation in conception. Chantelle Thauvette notes, "since… ovulation's role in conception remained unclear until the 1930s, it is unlikely that women would have used Jinner's almanac to coordinate their sexuality with their fertility, the way women in the early twentieth century practiced the rhythm method of contraception."[20] Nevertheless, astrology played an important role in regulating the most favourable times for conception. For example, in popular culture those who became pregnant while menstruating were thought to produce disfigured children.[21] In her almanacs, Jinner advises her readers which months they should refrain from sexual activity lest they face physical consequences. Jinner warns her audience to avoid wanton acts on the night of September 12, 1658; otherwise, they will be afflicted with the pox.[22] Jinner also writes that pregnant women will be exposed to evil during the month of February 1659 and advises them to "make much of your selves."[23] The existence of Jinner's texts discussing menstruation and fertility suggests that some women in early modern England may have been interested in exercising autonomy over their reproductive systems.

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[18] Ibid., 29

[19] Ibid., 30.

[20] Chantelle Thauvette, "Sex, Astrology, and the Almanacs of Sarah Jinner," *Early Modern Women* 5 (2010): 246. Thauvette notes that women may have tracked their menstrual cycle for a number of reasons. Menstruation was thought to be the body's way of dispelling excess humours from the female body. Therefore, if a woman's period was late, people believed that a woman could experience poor health. Additionally, women may have also tracked their menstrual cycle so that they could determine if they were pregnant.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Jinner, *An Almanack or Prognostication,* 18.

[23] Ibid., 32.

Two recipes from the almanac of 1660 that Jinner categorized as "Common Syrups which remove Obstructions of the Terms"[24] have generated some scholarly interest. These medicines were designed to restart menstruation if an undefined obstruction was preventing it from occurring.[25] Significantly, both recipes that Jinner provides to her readers include abortifacients among the ingredients, the first listing containing mugwort and the second requiring pennyroyal. Jinner does not explicitly connect the use of her term "obstruction" with a live fetus, suggesting that if she intended to insinuate such a relationship, she meant it to be determined by those who were reading the almanac. Although it is difficult to establish the intent with which Jinner authored these recipes, abortions did occur during this period. Women frequently received legal pardons for concealing pregnancies by committing infanticide in early modern England.[26] Moreover, as Thauvette observes, there were likely many women desperate enough to rid themselves of unwanted pregnancies that, if Jinner's recipes were available, they might have been used to "induce premature labour," resulting in the infant's death.[27] Regardless of Jinner's reasoning for suggesting a remedy for "obstruction of the terms," it is clear that she was able to provide her readers with gynecological advice during a period when women who wrote medical texts were subject to punishment from the Royal College of Physicians.

Although Sarah Jinner did not have a formal medical education, her almanacs reveal her desire to communicate medical advice to the public. For instance, in the introduction to her 1659 almanac, Jinner recommends that both men and women read her text so that they have access to recipes for ailments that physicians are unable to treat. She writes:

> This year I here present thee with some other of the like nature avoiding such Language as may, perhaps be offensive to some, whose Ears cannot away with the hearing of what, without scruple they will do. It is not fit the world should be deprived of such helps to Nature; for want of which,

[24] Ibid., 26.
[25] As mentioned in fn. 20, delayed menstruation was believed to cause a woman's ill health. This may be the reason that Jinner suggested herbs such as mugwort or pennyroyal to her readers. I do not have enough information to definitively decide what Jinner might have meant when she wrote about an "obstruction of the terms" instead I wish to briefly discuss the scholarly debate pertaining to this 1660 almanac.
[26] Thauvette, "Sex, Astrology, and the Almanacs of Sarah Jinner," 246.
[27] Ibid.

> many by their Modesty, suffer much: in many of which cases, both men and women are very shie of acquainting Physicians; onely they will carry their water to a Physician, and tell him they have a pain in the bottom of their bellies; and the Physician is such a Dunce, he cannot discern the true cause of the Distemper: so the party suffers. [28]

In this passage, Jinner effectively comments on the lack of knowledge possessed by physicians and asserts that her almanac will aid those suffering from untreated illnesses. Jinner also addresses her female readers at the end of her introduction. She informs them that they must not prioritize modesty over understanding their body. After providing a list of texts with which she believed women should acquaint themselves, she writes, "The reason why I commend this piece, is, that our Sex may be furnished with knowledge: if they knew better, they would be better. It is better that they should exercise their parts, in that which appertaineth to a virtuous life, and be made a useful adornment to the Age wherein they live."[29] This passage reveals Jinner's belief that women should know their own bodies so they could treat their own ailments. Therefore, we may see Jinner's writing as an outlet where she advised female readers to gain some control over their bodies and reproductive lives.

Published recipes transferred traditional medicine from the domestic context to that of the marketplace, thus making their authors susceptible to censorship from the Royal College of Physicians. Small and affordable published texts, including pamphlets and booklets circulating in London, were the most vulnerable to this policing.[30] The English parliament further restricted such texts when in 1543 it passed an act prohibiting unlicensed individuals from charging a fee for providing medical aid to the public.[31]

Part Three: Female-Published Texts

The final section of this paper will use Isabella Whitney's *A Sweet Nosegay* (1573) as a case study to examine the skillful manner in which Whitney was able to publish medical

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[28] Jinner, *An Almanack or Prognostication,* 16.
[29] Ibid., 17.
[30] Rebecca Laroche *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 141.
[31] C. D. O'Malley, "The English Physician in the Earlier Eighteenth Century," in *England in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century,* ed. H. T. Swedenberg, jr. (Los Angeles: University of California, 1972), 147.

commentary without transgressing the regulations enacted by the Royal College of Physicians in early modern London.[32] Although Whitney does not provide remedies for her readers, her text is an important work of medical literature. In her anthology, Whitney discusses a metaphorical floral remedy, or nosegay, intended to prevent moral and mental decay.[33] Using medicine as a metaphor enables Whitney to comment upon the medical marketplace and women's place in it and avoid scrutiny she may have otherwise been subjected to had she not chosen this literary device. Whitney's intention behind the use of a metaphorical nosegay will not be speculated upon here. Instead, the way Whitney construes female medical practitioners in the text is examined.[34]

Whitney is recognized as the first female author who published secular verses in England. Women who were active in public were perceived negatively by many contemporary scholars. Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540), the man who tutored Mary Tudor (r. 1553-1558) when she was a princess in 1522, wrote the following in his book *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1540): "It neither becommeth a woman to rule a schoole, nor to live among men, or speak abroad… it were better bee at home within and unknown to other folks, and in company to hold her tongue demurely, and let them see her, and none at all heare her."[35] In this context, Whitney's poetry anthology, written around 1573, may be interpreted as a piece of resistance, particularly due to its medical commentary. Whitney's work is also intriguing because she writes in the first person.[36] She describes herself as a maidservant who was dismissed from her position

[32] Although this paper has been working largely within the seventeenth century, Isabella Whitney's poetry provides an intriguing example of one of the strategies that women utilized to publish medical advice. Studying Whitney's poetry will also be advantageous because it provides insight into the negotiation between gender and the medical marketplace in early modern England.

[33] Nosegays were small bundles of flowers that were either carried or worn by men and women during the Renaissance for the purpose of protecting the owner against miasmas- or bad smells- that were thought to cause illness. For more information, refer Cora Fox, "Isabella Whitney's Nosegay and the Smell of Women's Writing," *The Senses and Society* 5, no. 1 (2010): 131-143.

[34] For further analysis of the way in which Whitney uses medical metaphors, see Meredith Anne Skura, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) and Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority*.

[35] Juan Luis Vives, *A Verie Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke.* (London: Iohn Danter, 1592), 29.

[36] Very little is known about Isabella Whitney so it is unclear if Whitney is describing her personal experiences. For the purpose of this paper I will understand Whitney's use of the first person to mean that she is talking about herself. This is also the lens through which scholars such as Rebecca Laroche and Cora Fox examine the text.

and found herself "harvestlesse, and serviceless"[37]. In this instance, the term "harvestlesse" refers to Whitney's lack of resources, wealth, and husband, which indicates the poet's marginal place in society.[38] That Whitney was not an aristocratic woman makes her writing more exceptional since most female writers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries belonged to the highest echelon of society. Instead, Whitney's case study provides an example of a woman who had lost her position as a maidservant and, as a result, had resorted to selling medicinal preventatives, or nosegays, to support herself financially.[39]

A Sweet Nosegay is a collection of poems containing a metaphorical nosegay for an unknown readership. Whitney's text also includes correspondence with her brothers Brooke and Geoffrey, her sister Anne Baron, and her close friend Thomas Berrie, which contains non-specific medicinal recipes to protect them from "the contagions" (both moral and physical) that she perceives to be rampant in London. The poem in the collection, which bears the anthology title, includes—again unspecified—110 flowers necessary to prepare the nosegay.[40] She does not name any of the flowers or indicate any of their defining properties, likely due to the metaphorical nature of the nosegay. The information given for the forty-fifth flower, for instance, reads:

> The sorrowful do think it death,
> to linger in this life:
> And wish to be dissolved thereof,
> thereby to stint their strife.[41]

Although Whitney omits the names of the flowers she prescribes, she affirms the purpose of the recipe by concluding with the following stanza:

> The Juice of all these Flowers take,
> and make thee a conserve:
> And use it first and last: and it

[37] Isabella Whitney, "The Auctor to the Reader" in *A Sweet Nosegay, or Pleasant Posy: Containing a Hundred and Ten Philosophical Flowers* (Bozeman: Montana State University, 1995), lines 1-2.
[38] Fox, "Isabella Whitney's Nosegay," 132.
[39] Laroche, *Medical Authority,* 140.
[40] Cora Fox notes that it was not uncommon for literary collections to be titled nosegays in early modern England. Fox, "Isabella Whitney's Nosegay," 134.
[41] Whitney, *A Sweet Nosegay,* lines 177-180.

will safely thee preserve.[42]

Whitney's decision not to specify any remedial plants in her nosegay also enabled her to circumvent the laws that prohibited unlicensed physicians from earning money for providing medical aid during the late sixteenth century. As Rebecca Laroche observes, "in keeping her herbs figurative…[Whitney] is immune even though she enters [the Royal College of Physician's] jurisdiction."[43] Although Whitney's discussion of the recipe itself occupies less than half of the anthology, the medical metaphor permeates the entire text and is accentuated by the author's urgent desire to protect readers from contagion. Whitney's discussion of contagion and disease would have deeply resonated with her London readers in 1573 due to the plague's prevalence during this period, especially following the city's major 1563 outbreak.

Whitney's text conveys early modern English citizens' concerns about falling ill. This is particularly clear in a passage where Whitney's character encounters a friend in the streets and advises them to seek protection:

I walked out: but suddenly
a friend of mine me met:
And said, if you regard your health:
out of this Lane you get.
And shift you to some better air,
for fear to be infect:
With noisome smell and savors ill,
I wish you that respect
And have regard unto your health,
or else perhaps you may:
So make a die, and then adieu,
your woeful friends may say.
I thanked him for his carefulness…[44]

Fear of contagion consumed English town life in the sixteenth century and likely contributed to Whitney's motivation for designing a nosegay. Following the meeting

[42] Whitney, "A Soveraigne Receypt" in *A Sweet Nosegay*, lines 1-4.
[43] Laroche, *Medical Authority*, 139.
[44] Whitney, "The Auctor to the Reader," lines 29-40.

with her friend, Whitney records her initial attempt to protect herself from the "stinking streets" of London:[45]

> A slip I took to smell unto,
> which might be my defense.
> In stinking streets, or loathsome Lanes
> which else might me infect:
> And since that time, I each day once
> have viewed that brave prospect.[46]

Larouche comments that early modern London was a city "filled with both physical and metaphysical disease."[47] Citizens were concerned with protecting themselves from moral decay, which they believed to be caused by both an illness of the mind and bodily diseases such as the plague. In this context, herbal recipes were endued with particular importance by those who dwelled in the city.[48] Whitney's text is intriguing because it appears to have been written by an author who sought to provide a solution for her reader's concerns while providing commentary on the medical marketplace but could not do so in an obvious manner due to her gender.[49] On this account, Whitney

[45] Whitney's discussion of "stinking streets" should be considered within the context of miasma theory which originated in Classical Greece and continued to be the prominent theory of infection throughout a large part of the nineteenth century. For more information on the evolution of disease transmission, see Karamanou, M., et al., "From Miasmas to Germs: A Historical Approach to Theories of Infectious Disease Transmission," *Le Infezioni in Medicina* 20, no. 1 (2012): 58-62. Miasma theory was first conveyed in the Hippocratic treatise *Breaths* which states in part that "when the air is full of miasmas [meaning pollution], whose properties are hostile to human nature, this is when men are ill…" This is to say that miasmatists believed polluted, stale, or corrupt air caused disease. For more information about ancient ideas of miasma, see Jouanna, Jacques and Neil Allies, "Air, Miasma and Contagion in the Time of Hippocrates and the Survival of Miasmas in Post- Hippocratic Medicine," in *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen,* ed. Philip van der Eijk, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119-136. When Isabella Whitney discusses "stinking streets" her readers would understand that the smell of the street could lead to fatal diseases.

[46] Whitney, "The Auctor to the Reader," lines 71-76.

[47] Laroche, *Medical Authority*, 140.

[48] Ibid., 140.

[49] It is important to note that the sanctions placed by the Royal College of Physicians did not explicitly state that women would be fined for practicing medicine. Rather, the College sought to prevent any unlicensed physician from profiting off of practicing medicine or providing medical advice. Consequently, many unlicensed men were also policed during the seventeenth century for disobeying these laws. Since women were unable to formally learn medicine or receive a license they were unequally targeted by the sanctions enacted by the Royal College of Physicians.

does not claim to have the experience to cure her readers should they fall sick, rather she emphasizes that her medical advice acts as a preventative.

Whitney provides her audience with a series of protective measures that they could practice to avoid contagions. The last poem of her collection, titled *Wyll and Testament*, which is composed as if it is the poet's will, contains a few such proposals. As Wendy Wall observes, in this last section of the anthology, Whitney wills items "that she could not possibly own—shops, gallows, streets…" to the city of London.[50] Whitney additionally uses this piece to critique the excesses enjoyed by the city's wealthy citizens. Whitney describes London as a city in a state of decay because of the latter's compulsion for riches.[51] To protect her family and loyal readers from the air contaminated by those she describes as "ruffians", Whitney includes provisions in her will for the upkeep of public bathhouses. She writes:

> And near the same, I houses leave,
> for people to repair:
> To bathe themselves, so to prevent
> infection of the air.
> On Saturdays I wish that those,
> which all the week do drug:
> Shall thither trudge, to trim them up
> on Sundays to look smug.[52]

This passage suggests that the metaphorical remedial recommendations included in Whitney's text are practices intended for both men and women. Bathing, for instance, was a regimen that provided hygienic benefits for both sexes.

Additionally, Whitney's nosegay was advertised solely as a preventative measure against disease. She explicitly asserts this in her anthology's introduction:

> But if thy mind infected be,
> then these will not prevail:
> Sir Medicus[53] with stronger Herbs, a doctor

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[50] Wendy Wall, "Authorship and the Material Conditions of Writing," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500-1600,* ed. Arthur Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75.
[51] Whitney, "The Maner of Her Wyll, and What She Left to London: And to All Those in it" in *A Sweet Nosegay,* line 119.
[52] Ibid., lines 121-128.
[53] Whitney utilizes the term Sir Medicus to refer to a licensed physician.

thy malady must quell,
For these be but to keep thee sound,
which if thou use them well:
Pains of my life in healthy state
thy mind shall ever dwell.[54]

Whitney prescribes the use of her metaphorical nosegay only to those whom the contagion has not yet infected. This passage is significant for scholars including Patricia Phillippy and Cora Fox. Upon examining Whitney's poetry, they determined that the author's lack of employment and her consequent financial troubles were the text's central issues rather than its medical commentary as proposed by Laroche and Skura.[55] Contradicting Phillippy and Fox's interpretation, Whitney counsels her readers to seek the assistance of a physician only if they are already ill. This could suggest that one of Whitney's motivating factors for writing her text was to comment on the high cost of physician's fees. More significantly, since the poet published her text as a small octavo—the most affordable form of print—Whitney likely wanted to ensure the largest possible audience, particularly from those of lower economic groups who were sensitive to the cost of medical aid.[56] Whitney's disguised commentary on the cost of a physician may have been a reaction to the rising price of treatment in England during the late sixteenth century, which resulted from the increasing regulations that the Royal College of Physicians enforced.[57]

Whitney's liminal place in English society—due to her lack of employment, her fiscal hardships, and her status as a single woman—allows her to use the metaphor of a nosegay to provide insight into how early modern females interacted with the medical marketplace. The passage in which Whitney refers her sick readers to "Sir Medicus," for instance, reveals that women who offered medical assistance operated largely outside the realm in which physicians ran their practices in the late sixteenth century. Additionally, Whitney, acting as a medical practitioner through her use of metaphor,

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[54] Whitney, "The Auctor to her Reader," lines 117- 124.
[55] I agree with Laroche and Skura's reading of the anthology. For other opinions on Whitney's text, see Patricia Phillippy, "The Maid's Lawful Liberty: Service, the Household, and 'Mother B' in Isabella Whitney's 'A Sweet Nosegay.'" *Modern Philology* 95, no. 4 (1998): 439-462; and Cora Fox, "Isabella Whitney's Nosegay."
[56] Laroche, *Medical Authority*, 151.
[57] Ibid., 147.

did not have a personal relationship with her readers except for her siblings and close friends with whom she corresponded. These two observations do not necessarily represent an accurate account of all female interaction with healthcare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, women such as midwives and nurses held positions that gave them some form of medical authority. It does seem, however, that those who authored advice texts, as Whitney did through metaphor, did not tend to interact with their readership.

The extent of Whitney's medicinal knowledge and interactions with medical practitioners is unknown. Nevertheless, she appears to have been aware of some of the theories proposed in early modern medical literature, as evidenced by the vocabulary she utilizes in her text. Whitney's medical understanding is demonstrated in the introduction of her piece when she cautions her reader that the prescribed nosegay may not be effective for everyone. Whitney notes:

> Because myself did safety find,
> by smelling to the same.
> But as we are not all alike,
> nor of complexion one:
> So that which helpeth some we see,
> to others good doth none.[58]

It is likely that Whitney's discussion of people's differing "complexion" in this passage is a reference to the theory of the four humours. Hippocrates (450-370 BCE) first proposed this theory in ancient Greece, which became an integral aspect of European medicine during the medieval and early modern periods.[59] Although Whitney was using medicinal metaphors rather than recording a recipe, her knowledge of medicinal texts

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[58] Whitney, "The Auctor to the Reader," lines 105-108. See fn. 45 for a discussion of miasma theory and how smells could be fatal.

[59] In a treatise titled *The Nature of* Man, which was published in the fifth century BCE, Hippocrates proposed that the body contained four humours—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and mucous—which corresponded to air, fire, earth, and water. In a healthy person the four bodily elements were balanced, conversely, an imbalance in the humours would lead to illness. The theory as expanded upon by Galen (129-216 CE) also posits that as people age different humours become more predominant in their body. This is likely what Whitney refers to when she states that people have different "complexion[s]." For further reading, see Jacques Jouanna, "The Legacy of the Hippocratic Treatise the Nature of Man: The Theory of the Four Humours," in *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen,* ed. Philip van der Eijk (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 119-136.

marks a point of departure from women's traditional expertise. It is unlikely that many women, aside from those who practiced medicine as a form of employment, would be familiar with the works of Hippocrates or Galen. Indeed, during the late sixteenth century, most women possessed only a basic understanding of the herbal remedies which were to be utilized in a domestic context to treat family members who had fallen ill.

Women who practiced medicine in their homes often gifted valuable recipes to each other as a method of currency or as a sign of their friendship.[60] Whitney's use of the metaphor of a nosegay enables her to provide a commentary on this rich tradition. In her address to the reader, for example, Whitney presents her recipe as a gift to her readers. She writes:

> And now I have a Nosegay got,
> that would be passing rare:
> If that to sort the same aright,
> were lotted in my share.
> But in a bundle as they be,
> good reader them accept:
> It is the giver: not the gift,
> Thou oughtest to respect.
> And for thy health, not for thy eye,
> did I this Posy frame:[61]

Whitney's request that her readers respect "the giver: not the gift" indicates that women may have utilized the gift-giving tradition to gain respect among their peers. This is especially true if there was a chance that the intended receiver may reject the gift, as suggested by Whitney's plea that her audience choose to accept her nosegay. This passage alludes to the anxiety women may have felt while engaging in the recipe trade due to their desire to be accepted and the vulnerability of offering a gift that could be rejected.

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[60] For further reading, see Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, "Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace,'" in *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c. 1450-1850*, ed. M. Jenner and P. Wallis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 133-153.

[61] Whitney, "The Auctor to the Reader," lines 93-102.

In recording a metaphorical recipe, Whitney also comments upon how women who practiced public medicine were more susceptible to public censure than those who partook in the exchange of domestic recipes. Gentlewomen who provided medical aid to the poor for charitable purposes were immune from punishment. Still, women such as Whitney's character, who sought to earn an income from selling medical advice, were at the mercy of her paying clients. Should they be unsatisfied with the remedies they had purchased or believe that the treatment they received exacerbated their illness, these clients could report female practitioners to the appropriate authorities. These women were also vulnerable because they offered remedies to the citizens of London for a fee. They did not, however, possess a medical license, which forced them to navigate the strictures enacted by the Royal College of Physicians against laypeople practicing medicine. Whitney comments on the dangerous position of female medical practitioners in her poem. Assuming the character of a woman providing medicinal recipes, Whitney implores her readers not to punish her if the nosegay she prescribed fails to work:

I thee commend to mighty Jove,
and thus I thee assure:
My Nosegay will increase no pain,
though sickness none it cure.
Wherefore, if thou it hap to wear
and feel thyself much worse:
Promote me for no Sorceress,
nor do me ban or curse.
For this I say the Flowers are good,
which I on thee bestow…[62]

This passage illustrates that female medical practitioners may have been concerned that their clients could accuse them of witchcraft or report them to the Royal College of Physicians if their herbal recipe was ineffective. This fear was likely justified due to the outlier position many of these women occupied, as women of little financial means who earned wages from selling remedies. Legal authorities regularly brought women before the Royal College of Physicians for practicing medicine without a license.

[62] Ibid., lines 165-174.

Although the majority of these women were not punished,[63] many were fined, imprisoned, or censured.[64] Moreover, as Laroche observes, the policies imposed by the Royal College of Physicians combined with the lasting paranoia consequent of the 1563 plague "made one's role as a female London practitioner at best, needed, at worst hangable."[65] This fear of prosecution is likely the explanation for Whitney's persona, which I argue she intended as a generalized representation of many females who practiced medicine in sixteenth-century England. To further protect herself from the wrath of patients for whom the prescription did not work, Whitney also repeatedly emphasizes the effectiveness of her recipe while simultaneously asserting that her nosegay may be unsuccessful for patients of a particular complexion.[66]

Whitney also expresses concern that her readers may believe she is a sorceress.[67] Witchcraft accusations were a serious threat to women medical practitioners since 1563—a decade before the publication of *A Sweet* Nosegay— when Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) renewed Henry VIII's (r. 1509-1547) 1542 statute against witchcraft by enacting *An Act against Conjurations Enchantments and Witchcrafts.* Although witchcraft accusations transpired before 1563, Elizabeth I's ratification of a new law against the practice saw an increase in allegations. After examining the records from the Home Circuit of the Assize courts[68]—which covered the English counties of Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex—Malcolm Gaskill documented that 258 individuals were indicted for witchcraft between 1560 and 1600.[69] While the majority of the witchcraft accusations and trials occurred in locales within the jurisdiction of the Home Court, pamphlets and reports of the proceedings were regularly sold in London. Consequently, many women dispensing medical advice were doubtlessly

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[63] Deborah E. Harkness, "A View from the Streets: Women and Medical Work in Elizabethan London," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, no. 1 (2008): 58. Harkness estimates that around ten percent of the women who were reported to the Royal College of Physicians were prosecuted.

[64] Ibid., 57. Harkness includes case studies of women who were punished by the Royal College of Physicians that she extracted from the College's annals in her text.

[65] Laroche, *Medical Authority*, 146.

[66] Here the use of the word "complexion" refers to a person's humoral balance. See fn. 59 for further information. Whitney, "The Auctor to the Reader," lines 105-108.

[67] Ibid., lines 165-174.

[68] Criminal trials that were deemed to have a serious nature were tried at the Assize courts which met twice a year and were presided over by a professional judge.

[69] Malcolm Gaskill, "Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England," *Past & Present*, no. 198 (2008): 40.

aware of these cases and were likely worried about being labelled a witch. Such concerns would have been amplified for women of lower financial status and women who provided herbal remedies in exchange for a fee, both of whom were frequent targets of witchcraft charges.[70] Whitney's use of the metaphor of a nosegay provides a commentary upon the medical concerns most prevalent in the minds of those living in sixteenth-century England. Additionally, the text provides insight into how women who practiced medicine, particularly those of lower financial status who exchanged recipes for money, would have interacted with the medical marketplace. Whitney's analysis is indispensable in examining women's participation in medicinal texts because it provides an example of how one woman was able to comment upon the medical community without facing scrutiny from large institutes like the Royal College of Physicians.

Little scholarship exists on published medical texts that were written by women during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Few books exclusively discussing this topic exist, nor are there any historians who provide an estimate of the number of women who published remedial texts in early modern England.[71] Females were limited in their ability to work in the field due to the policies existent within the medical world, including those implemented by the Royal College of Physicians that prohibited people without a license from practicing medicine. Since women were barred from entering formal medical institutions, this restriction effectively banned them from treating patients in England or publishing texts on the subject.

This paper synthesizes the work of many medical historians to demonstrate that governmental policies did not prevent women from participating in the publication of medical texts. Though their medicinal work was not often published in a formal manner, it was made available to the public in several discreet ways. Women's knowledge was represented in the medical marketplace through the male-authored texts that often relied upon traditional remedies and techniques that women had used in domestic medicine for generations. Almanacs, though not considered a traditional

[70] Karen Jones and Michael Zell, "'The Divels Speciall Instruments': Women and Witchcraft before the 'Great Witch-Hunt,'" *Social History* 30, no. 1 (2005): 45.

[71] The scholarship that I rely upon in this paper comes from small chapters within larger texts. For instance, Rebecca Laroche's scholarship on Isabella Whitney is found within her larger book on herbal texts at large, and the work of Cora Fox is contained in an article within a scholarly journal.

form of medical text, also provided a medium for women, including Sarah Jinner, to provide essential healthcare knowledge to her audience. Finally, the use of medical metaphors, as demonstrated by Isabella Whitney's poetry, enabled some women to comment on the medical marketplace without alerting the authorities like the Royal College of Physicians.

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The Spiritual Roots of Emersonian Subjectivity and the Phenomenology of Self-Reliance

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During the nineteenth century, the United States underwent a period of dramatic economic progress and technological innovation, which gave rise to new ways of conceiving the good life and understanding freedom. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, sociologist Max Weber argues that modern capitalism grew alongside emergent Protestant ways of being-in-the-world that promoted hard work and the avoidance of spontaneous pleasure as responses to the uncertainty of predestination.[1] In his classic work, *The Market Revolution*, historian Charles Sellers describes how during the period from 1815-1846, which he deems the Jacksonian Market Revolution, capitalism moved beyond a form of economic exchange and began to restructure social relationships and American ways of being-in-the-world.[2] Nobel Prize-winning economist Edmund Phelps argues that the economic boom in the U.S. economy during the nineteenth century was made possible by the emergence and popularization of modern values, including individualism, vitalism, and self-expression. Phelps argues that these modern values displaced traditional, communitarian values and supported a dynamic economy based on exploration and development.[3] However, Phelps overlooks the degree to which loving and solicitous relationships are necessary for the creative exploration of the self and the development of individual capacities that he associates with a dynamic economy and a fulfilling and flourishing life.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the philosopher of self-reliance, has typically been interpreted as a source of egoistic individualism by readers who conflate self-reliance with

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[1] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* Trans. By Gordon C. Wells. (Penguin Classics, 2002).
[2] Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[3] Edmund Phelps, "A Theory of Innovation, Flourishing, and Growth." In *Dynamism*, by Edmund Phelps, Raicho Bojilov, Hian Teck Hoon, and Gylfi Zoega (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2020), 9-17.

self-sufficiency. For example, cultural historian Quentin Anderson finds in Emerson the sources of a narcissistic and imperial subjectivity in American literature and culture,[4] while Christopher Newfield's reading identifies transitions in Emerson's writing on self-reliance between moments of self-sufficiency and submission to the authority of others.[5] By contrast, this study corrects these trends in the literature by examining self-reliance within the context of Emerson's broader religious commitments and metaphysical monism.

As opposed to self-sufficiency, self-reliance is a way of living through thoughtful spontaneity. This research is informed by Stanley Cavell's positioning of Emerson as a source for modern existentialism via his influence on Nietzsche and Heidegger.[6] I approach Emersonian self-reliance through the Heideggerian methodology of uncovering ontology through phenomenology. According to this Heideggerian method, the existential-ontological structure of human existence reveals itself in the phenomena of everyday life.[7] For a reading of Emerson, this means that to fully understand what it means to be self-reliant over the course of a life, we should turn to the phenomenology of self-reliance in everyday experience.

This article's first section explores the religious and existential-ontological significance of self-reliance, while the second section deepens this understanding by exploring the phenomenology of self-reliance in Emerson's writing on the glance of the eyes and conversation. Overall, I argue that Emerson's self-reliance is a response to the narcissism and egoism of nineteenth-century U.S. capitalist culture, showing how self-reliance is a way of overcoming the ego through the manifestation of the spontaneous movements of thought.

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[4] Quentin Anderson, *The Imperial Self: An Essay in American Literary and Cultural History* (New York: Knopf, 1971).
[5] Christopher Newfield, *The Emerson Effect: Individualism and Submission in America.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[6] Stanley Cavell, *Conditions Handsome and Unhandsome* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).
[7] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time.* Trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York City: Harper Perennial, 2008), 60 (H. 35).

Capitalism, modern egoism, and self-reliance as reliance on God

Abraham Lincoln captured the mood of the emerging capitalist culture of the U.S. in his 1858 "Lecture on Discoveries and Inventions," where he said of Young America,

> Thousands of hands are engaged in producing fresh supplies, and other thousands, in bringing them to him. The iron horse is panting, and impatient, to carry him everywhere, in no time; and the lightening [sic.] stands ready harnessed to take and bring his tidings in a trifle less than no time. He owns a large part of the world, by right of possessing it; and all the rest by right of *wanting* it, and *intending* to have it… He has a great passion—a perfect "rage"—for the "*new*."[8]

Lincoln could already see—without obvious contempt—the networks of unsightly labour that provide for new kinds of insatiable consumption and the manipulations of nature that provide for a petulant expectation of convenience. The emergence of modern U.S. capitalism accompanied the emergence of a modern U.S. egoism that finds support in understandings of freedom and human flourishing rooted in an individual's capacity for unencumbered choice, consumption, and possession. The expansion of railroads, the invention of the steamboat, and the building of canals and turnpikes through the American Northeast made it possible to ship farm products cheaply from the Midwest, where land was cheap and plentiful. Even from her relatively sedentary perspective, Emily Dickinson notes how new trains could "lap the Miles – / And lick the Valleys up."[9] The U.S. population began concentrating in densely populated industrialized cities and migrating westward towards new industrial forms of farming. As Emerson observes,

> The inventions of the last fifty years counterpoise those of the fifty centuries before them. For the vast production and manifold application of iron is new; and our common and indispensable utensils of house and farm are new; the sewing-machine, the power-loom, the McCormick reaper, the mowing-machines, gas-light, lucifer matches, and the immense productions of the laboratory, are new in this century, and one franc's worth of coal does the work of a laborer for twenty days.[10]

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[8] Abraham Lincoln, "Lecture on Discoveries and Inventions," April 6, 1858, https://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/discoveries.htm.
[9] Emily Dickinson, "586," *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*, Ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Little, Brown and Company, 1960), 286.
[10] Emerson, "Works and Days," in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Society and Solitude, vol. 7* (Houghton Mifflin, 1904), 159-160.

Spurred by technological advances that pushed Americans to greater specialization and reliance on the market, American capitalism supported the emergence of new ways of understanding oneself in relation to others and the market.

During the Jacksonian Market Revolution, Emerson witnessed the emergence of a newly distractible, greedy, and egoistic American way of being. In his 1844 essay, "The Young American," Emerson describes how new railways and roads annihilated the distances between people and places, promising support for a shared "American sentiment." He writes,

> Not only is distance annihilated, but when, as now, the locomotive and the steamboat, like enormous shuttles, shoot every day across the thousand various threads of national descent and employment, and bind them fast in one web, an hourly assimilation goes forward, and there is no danger that local peculiarities and hostilities should be preserved.[11]

The population began to resemble less the self-sufficient life of New England yeoman farmers and came to be organized into networks of economic interdependence typical of advanced capitalism, prompting Emerson to write, "Commerce, is the political fact of most significance to the American at this hour."[12] Farmers began specializing in the mass production of single crops for the market, while city dwellers became entirely dependent on the market to provide the necessities of life. As Emerson notes, "the farmer who is not wanted by others can yet grow his own bread, whilst the manufacturer or the trader, who is not wanted, cannot."[13] We can already see in Emerson's essay the tensions between the ideal of network culture as democratizing and connecting, and its reality as divisive and polarizing. He forecasts that peculiarities will give way to a shared American sentiment but also recognizes that manufacturers, traders, and farmers will have diverging interests.

As Mark C. Taylor discusses in his study of the impacts of nineteenth-century capitalism on modern subjectivity, "Increasing connectivity through high-speed transportation, information, communication, and financial networks not only draws people closer together, but also creates deep social, political, and economic divisions."[14] More

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[11] Emerson, "The Young American," in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 2* (Bell & Daldy, 1866), 293.
[12] Ibid., 296
[13] Ibid., 344
[14] Mark C. Taylor, *Speed Limits* (Yale Univerity Press, 2014), 182.

than geographic and economic networks of exchange, the emergence of a culture of capitalism in the U.S. created new concepts of subjectivity and freedom. According to Taylor, the culture of capitalism supports the emergence of a subject that is in possession of itself, seeks the satisfaction of its needs, and understands freedom in terms of choice, consumption, and possession. The modern egoistic subject is skeptical of other people and the obligations and sacrifices that life in community demand. As Taylor argues, this skeptical egoism and unwillingness to trust and live with others support the destruction of our natural environment and, as Hannah Arendt argues, the emergence of anti-democratic and totalitarian politics.[15] Emerson's theory of self-reliance critiques this subject and that critique provides groundwork, by way of Nietzsche, for Taylor's radical a/theological deconstruction of the self and his hope for a subject that delights in generosity.

Without the language, concepts, or temperament to mount a Marxist critique, Emerson describes how he sees economics displacing politics and reducing humans to their market value. He writes,

> Trade goes to make the governments insignificant, and to bring every kind of faculty of every individual that can in any manner serve any person, 'on sale.' Instead of a huge Army and Navy, and Executive Departments, it converts Government into an Intelligence-Office, where every man may find what he wishes to buy, and expose what he has to sell, not only produce and manufactures, but art, skill, and intellectual and moral values. This is the good and this the evil of trade, that it would put everything into market, talent, beauty, virtue, and man himself.[16]

The Revolutionary era's ideal of the self-sufficient and moral yeoman farmer, whose family produced what they needed for a modest lifestyle, gave way to the ideal of the self-made man—a term coined by Henry Clay in his February 2, 1832 speech on the Senate floor, "The American System," and later popularized by Frederick Douglass. Douglass articulated the idea of the self-made man in his lecture of that title, where he invokes Emersonian self-reliance as his inspiration.[17] Douglass's formulation of the self-made man is of a man who creates his destiny, often against the best attempts of

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[15] Mark C. Taylor, *Speed Limits*; Hannah Arendt, *Totalitarianism: Part Three of The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Inc., 1994), 172-177; Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: The Viking Press, 1963), 279.

[16] Emerson, "The Young American," 299.

[17] Frederick Douglass, "The Self-Made Man," in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Philip S. Foner (Lawrence Hill, 1999).

society to keep him down. In the common imagination, this is a person who pulls himself up by his own bootstraps. Self-making came to describe men who grew up poor but achieved economic and political success, as in the common example not only of Douglass himself but also of Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, and Andrew Carnegie. The conflation in American culture of self-reliance with economic self-sufficiency led President Bill Clinton to offer a corrective in his 1996 State of the Union Address, where he said, "The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to a time when our citizens were left to fend for themselves… Self-reliance and teamwork are not opposing virtues; we must have both."[18] While Emerson has been associated with the ideology of individuality as self-sufficiency, the idea of a self-made man is close to blasphemy for Emerson since, for him, "self-reliance is reliance on God."[19]

Academic commentators widely acknowledge that Emersonian subjectivity includes, at its core, a divine spark. However, this has largely not been taken seriously as a phenomenological description of a psychologically divided subject. That the self has at its core a divine spark is an idea common in Western thought and which Emerson encountered in Plato's daimonion and the Plotinian relationship between souls and the One. He confirmed this divine spark theology as closest to his own religious perspective when he encountered it in Quakerism. Later in life, when he was asked about his religious outlook, Emerson is reported to have said, "I am more of a Quaker than anything else. I believe in the 'still, small voice,' and that voice is Christ within us."[20]

Emersonian subjectivity is divided between a superficial, willing, and desiring ego, which one anxiously maintains and presents to other people, and the inner, impersonal, and generous core of subjectivity, which he sometimes describes as God and sometimes as the intuitive movement of thought. In a journal entry from 1850, Emerson writes,

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[18] William J Clinton, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union." January 23, 1996 (Available at "The American Presidency Project," accessed June 5, 2022, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-the-state-the-union-10).

[19] Emerson, "Fugitive Slave Law," in *Essential Writings*. Ed. by Books Atkinson. (Modern Library, 2000) 788.

[20] David Greene Haskins, *Ralph Waldo Emerson: His Maternal Ancestors, with some Reminiscences of Him* (Cupples, Upham and Company, 1887) 48.

> Culture, the height of Culture, highest behavior consist in the identification of the Ego with the universe, so that when a man says, I think, I hope, I find,—he might properly say, the human race thinks, hopes & finds,—he states a fact which commands the understandings & affections of all the company, and yet, at the same time, he shall be able continually to keep sight of his biographical *ego*,—I had an ague, I had a fortune; my father had black hair; etc. as rhetoric, fun and footman, to his grand & public *ego*, without impertinence or ever confounding them.[21]

In these lines, Emerson contrasts a person's grand and public ego—which in "highest behavior" is identified with the thinking, hoping, and finding of the human race—with their biographical ego. According to Emerson's monism, the grand and public ego is the divine part of oneself that is shared with all other people and the universe. In Emerson's terms, the publicness of the grand ego does not mean that this ego is exposed for all to see but that it is shared in common. As George Kateb interprets Emerson, "To be an individual one must become 'public'; it means losing 'personality' as well as losing the partiality and distinctiveness flowing from one's identification with a group."[22] In Kateb's account, one's egoistic identification with one's own biography, personality, and group prevents one's public identification with humanity. For Emerson, one's identification with humanity takes place in terms of underlying monism and our shared rootedness in the divine. Contemporary authors that remove reference to the divine are left with the superficial, biographical, and public ego alone. This is the same ego Emerson sought to overcome or conform to the divine in self-reliance. This is the most basic definition of self-reliance: conforming the ego to God. As he writes, "Self-reliance, the height and perfection of man, is reliance on God."[23]

Herwig Friedl helpfully explains Emersonian subjectivity in terms of what he identifies as Emerson's double consciousness. Friedl writes, "Early on Emerson noted 'an ambiguity in the term Subjective,' which serves to designate both the individuality of a person and his ontological participation in or, rather, identity with a totality, that is, both his self and his SELF."[24] Friedl explains Emersonian subjectivity as a synthesis of social and divine: existing both in the world and in a deeper spiritual ground. Friedl

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[21] Emerson, *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 2*. Ed. by A.W. Plumstead and Harrison Hayford (The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1969) 203.
[22] George Kateb, *Emerson and Self*-Reliance (Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002) 29.
[23] Emerson, "Fugitive Slave Law," 788.
[24] Herwig Friedl, *Thinking in Search of a Language* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2019) 72.

describes "two basic existential moods in Emerson" that call for fusion or reconciliation: "The mythically gained assurance of identity with Being and the seeming aimlessness in a world of shifting values."[25] Friedl's suggestion that Emerson seeks a fusion or reconciliation of these two modes of being is a bit misleading. If Emerson seeks a reconciliation between these two ways of being, it is not a reconciliation that would accept a compromise of divine being, nor is it a meeting midway between God and the world. The reconciliation that Emerson calls for conforms one's ego entirely to the divine and so is just as much an overcoming of the ego. As Emerson writes in his journals, "These hands, this body, this history of Waldo Emerson are profane and wearisome, but I, I descend not to mix myself with that or with any man. Above his life, above all creatures I flow down forever a sea of benefit into races of individuals."[26] Emerson makes the Hegelian move of replacing his proper name with the first-person pronoun, "I," which signals absolute individuality as well as impersonality and universality insofar as "I" is a designation available to all people in all times and places. When Emerson here writes "I," he is invoking the voice of the one divine God who is the ground for all temporal and worldly beings, such as "Waldo Emerson." For Emerson, the truest or most authentic expression of oneself is motivated by the part of oneself that is universal, divine, and impersonal.

This divided self is the basis for what I refer to as Emerson's rooted metaphysics. This is the idea—undoubtedly developed in Emerson's thinking from his readings of Plotinus and German idealism—that all individuals are rooted in a common, divine ground. Thus, on the superficial level of phenomenal experience, each person is an individual, but in a truer way—for which Emerson claimed to find evidence in his (mis)reading of Kant's theory of the noumenal realm and, later in life, in his reading of Schopenhauer—all people and nature are one. William James notes this intersection of monism and individuality in his description of Emerson's metaphysical outlook. James writes,

> [Emerson's] metaphysics consisted in the platonic belief that the foundation of all things is an overarching Reason. Sometimes he calls this divine principle the Intellect, sometimes "the Soul," sometimes the One. Whate'er we call it, we are at one with it so far as our moments of insight of

[25] Friedl, *Thinking*, 74.
[26] Emerson, *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 7*. Edited by William H. Gilman, Alfred R. Ferguson, Harrison Hayford, et. al. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969) 435.

> god. But no moment can go very far, and no one can lay down the law for others, for their angles of vision may be sacred as his own. Hence two tendencies in Emerson, one towards absolute Monism; the other towards radical individualism. They sound contradictory enough; but he held to each of them in its extremist form.[27]

Emersonian subjectivity mirrors the basic structure of Schopenhauer's metaphysics—a similarity Emerson notes later in life when he reads selections from Schopenhauer's work. In *The World as Will and Representation*, Schopenhauer pushes Kant's understanding of the non-temporality and non-spatiality of the noumenal realm to its logical conclusion. If time and space are mental intuitions that structure the phenomenal realm, then the noumenal realm, without the intuitions of time or space, can be deduced as a single thing-in-itself. Without time or space, there can be no sense of individuality, separation, or change, and thus only one thing. Separation and individuality are part of the way the mind organizes phenomenal reality. Thus, the things in our world appear to be separate objects though they are ultimately unified.

While Schopenhauer's monism applies to all phenomena, Emerson usually describes a monism of living things—humans and nature. Emerson's monism is supported by the idea of noumenal reality, but Emerson's monism is based on an intuition of spiritual unity more than physical unity, and for this reason, it is grounded more essentially in his Neoplatonism. Though Emerson would eventually agree with Schopenhauer's view, Emerson's early monism is not based on the non-temporality and non-spatiality of the Kantian thing-in-itself, but rather on the abiding spiritual participation of all creatures in a divine ground. As he writes in "Sermon CXLII," "The moral universe is one great family, included in God as the waves are contained in the ocean."[28] Similarly, he writes in "Over-soul," "As there is no screen or ceiling between our heads and the infinite heavens, so there is no bar or wall in the soul, where man, the effect, ceases, and God, the cause, begins... We live open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God."[29] The impact of his early engagement with Neoplatonism, largely in Thomas Taylor's translations of Plotinus,

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[27] William James, "Emerson," in *The Works of William James: Manuscripts, Essays and Notes*, Ed. Frederick H. Burkhardt, et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 318.
[28] Emerson, *The Complete Sermons of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, *vol. 4*. Ed. by Wesley T. Mott and Albert J. von Frank. (University of Missouri Press, 1992) 64.
[29] Emerson, "Over-soul," in *Essential Writings*, 238.

is evident in Emerson's thinking about the way humans abide in divinity as well as in the way he describes thinking as a receptive capacity. Though less systematic than Plotinus, Emerson draws on several concepts evocative of Plotinus in his metaphysical essays and descriptions of the relationship between God and humanity. Following Plotinus, Emerson describes the human as a receiver of thought, spirit, life, and strength: a benefactor of a spiritual reality, at once higher than oneself and internal to oneself, and in which each person is ultimately grounded.[30]

One's thoughts could seem to be the most authentic contribution one could make from the depths of one's freedom and will, and yet Emerson is emphatic that one is the receiver or the observer of one's thoughts. In "Over-soul," he writes,

> Man is a stream whose source is hidden. Our being is descending into us from we know not whence… I am constrained every moment to acknowledge a higher origin for events than the will I call mine. As it is with events, so it is with thoughts. When I watch that flowing river, which, out of regions I see not, pours for a season its streams into me, I see that I am a pensioner; not a cause but a surprised spectator of this ethereal water; that I desire and look up and put myself in the attitude of reception, but from some alien energy the visions come.[31]

For Emerson, thought is the influx of the divine Over-soul into the human mind. Thus, one's thoughts become one's own, not in the thinking, but in their manifestation in the world. It is in the self-reliant expression and carrying through of thought that one lays claim to thought. Far from a willful expression of self—more appropriate to the striving of the ego—thought is placing oneself in the position of receptivity for inspiration.

Though Emerson's religious language makes some contemporary readers uneasy, Emerson cannot be read without God if we want to understand the full complexity of the Emersonian subject. However, Emerson leaves room for a non-religious understanding of the phenomenology of thinking when he discusses the voice of God as intuition. It is not only thought but ultimately self-reliance, which he describes as a reception of divinity. As I show below, self-reliance is not the autarchic and willful

[30] The idea of God as above and inner to the self is a Neoplatonic theme that pervades early and medieval Christian thought. For example, in Augustine's characterization in *Confessions* of God as "*ineterior intimo meo*" (higher than my highest and more inner than my innermost).
[31] Emerson, "Over-soul," 237.

production of the ego; it is rather the overcoming or forgetting of this ego in such a way that one manifests the intuitive movement of thought.

Building upon the relationship between individuality and monism, Emerson distinguishes two modes of thought—Understanding and Reason—a division he picks up from Kant and romanticists such as Carlyle, although Emerson construes these terms differently. For Kant, understanding is the faculty of the mind that deals with causality and phenomena; it is piecemeal, temporal, and reliant on the sensory intuitions of the world. Reason, the synthetic faculty of the mind, is used to draw inferential conclusions beyond what is empirically given. Such inferential knowledge is essentially foreclosed in Kantian epistemology: Reason seeks to know the thing-in-itself but only produces non-empirically based illusions. In a decidedly religious mood, Emerson grants Reason access to the noumenal and spiritual realm. As Buell astutely observes, "That Kant denies Reason can know the thing in itself, whereas Emerson granted Reason that knowledge invoking Kantian authority, is one of the ironies of intellectual history. The key point is that Emerson believed that inner-lightism had good modern epistemological warrant."[32] Emerson's Reason is the capacity to receive thought and ethical motivation from the Over-soul, and thus an indispensable component of self-reliance.

One of the most striking features of Emersonian subjectivity is the degree to which one's everyday identity, the person one usually takes oneself to be, is a false image of oneself. This exterior ego is the locus of personality, will, and choice. It is who one takes oneself to be in one's everyday inauthenticity and the part of one's being that stands apart from the divine unity and becomes an individual and a skeptic. He writes in "Over-soul,"

> What we commonly call man is the facade of a temple wherein all wisdom and all good abide. What we commonly call man, the eating, drinking, planting, counting man, does not, as we know him, represent himself, but misrepresents himself. Him we do not respect, but the soul, whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make our knees bend.[33]

This superficial ego is an inauthentic expression of oneself insofar as it is a symptom of one's lacking the courage to manifest divine intuition self-reliantly. The ego is that

[32] Lawrence Buell, *Emerson* (Harvard Belknap Press, 2003) 61.
[33] Emerson, "Over-soul," 238.

part of oneself that refuses to follow a vocation because it is turned towards worldly commitments, especially the commitment to social norms and the ego's autobiographical continuity.

The ego is not merely an inauthentic expression of oneself; it is most essentially the wall one throws up and maintains in the face of the other when people self-unreliantly "descend to meet."[34] The ego is the anxious reaction to "the hobgoblins of small minds"—others' expectations (i.e., my fear of showing myself to be different than they expect me to be) and one's own anxiety about autobiographical continuity (i.e., my concern that my present and future should conform with my past: that I should become who I have been; that I should be systematic; that I should keep my word; that I should finish what I've started). Thus, both social and intrapsychic anxieties support the ego. This ego is a bad faith commitment to one's past, an inertia that prevents one from having an authentic present or future. In its commitment to the past, the ego is one's descent in the presence of others and the loss of a future.

More essential to one's being than the superficial ego is the divine spark at the heart of subjectivity. The divine spark is the origin of thought and intuition; it reveals one's vocation, calling one to become who one is. In everyday life, one tends to turn from the divine spark to ignore its call and anxiously flee toward the ego. It calls one in unrestrained and novel ways towards oneself and out of bad faith and self-unreliant commitment to what one has been. Interestingly, Emerson describes this part of the self not only as universal and public but also as impersonal. Publicness is just another way Emerson speaks about the universality of the divine spark. It is public because it is what one shares with all others. As Kateb puts it,

To be an individual one must become "public"; it means losing "personality" as well as losing the partiality of distinctiveness flowing from one's identification with a group… We ascend by abandonment—that is, by the deliberate struggle against being calculating, against becoming obsessively self-absorbed, self-furthering, even self-realizing…. We abandon pride of personality. We mitigate what I have called 'positive personality' because it distorts self-reliant receptivity.[35]

[34] Emerson, "Friendship," in *Essential Writings*, 205.
[35] Kateb, 29.

The divine spark is metaphysically universal because it is the same monistic, divine ground in which all people are all rooted. It is morally universal because it speaks the same truth to all people. The common moral vocation is what Emerson has in mind when he writes of publicness. Publicness is the idea that if one speaks from intuition, one's words will take on broad public significance since, in such words, other people will recognize their own latent thoughts and familiar vocation.

Emerson's next move has confounded many readers since he claims that what is most suited to one's self-reliance is not the particularity of one's experience but that which is impersonal and universal. He writes, "That which is individual and remains individual in my experience is of no value. What is fit to engage me and so engage others permanently, is what has put off its weeds of time & place & personal relation."[36] He pushes the logic further to argue that the divine spark, in its universality, is entirely impersonal. The ego is the center of one's personality, while divine intuition is the universal, public, and impersonal movement of all life. Thus, though academic and casual readers regularly portray Emerson as egoistic and individualistic, he is actually highly suspicious of the ideology of individualism.

In self-reliance, it is this divine spark, the innermost and most universal part of oneself, on which one relies. As Emerson writes in "The Fugitive Slave Act," "Self-reliance, the height of human culture, is reliance on God."[37] Thus, perhaps counterintuitively, self-reliance is a manifestation not of the willful, choosing ego-self but of the universal, impersonal, and generous aspect of one's being. As Buell puts it, "We are entitled to trust our deepest convictions of what is true and right insofar as every person's innermost identity is a transpersonal universal."[38]

Emerson describes children and students as examples of people naturally in the position of self-reliant impersonality. Children and students are neutral, accepting of novelty and without commitment to parties or systems of thought. He extolls the virtues of youthful neutrality over several paragraphs in "Self-Reliance," where he writes,

> What pretty oracles nature yields us on this text in the face and behavior of children, babes, and even brutes. That divided and rebel mind, that distrust of a sentiment because our arithmetic has

[36] Emerson, *Journals*, *vol. 7*, 65.
[37] Emerson, "The Fugitive Slave Act," 788.
[38] Buell, 59.

> computed the strength and the means opposed to our purpose, these have not. Their mind being whole, their eye is as yet unconquered.
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> The nonchalance of boys who are sure of a dinner, and would disdain as much as a lord to do or say ought to conciliate one, is the healthy attitude of human nature... He cumbers himself never about consequences, about interests; he gives an independent, genuine verdict… But the man is as it were clapped into jail by his consciousness. As soon as he has acted or spoken with *éclat* he is a committed person, watched by the sympathy or the hatred of hundreds, whose affections must now enter into his account. There is no Lethe for this. Ah, that he could pass again into his neutrality! Who can thus avoid all pledges and, having observed, observe again from the same unaffected, unbiased, unbribable, unaffrighted innocence—must always be formidable.[39]

The infant is blissfully unaware of social expectations and unconcerned with autobiographical continuity. The same goes for nonchalant boys, free of anxiety about the future and committed to nothing other than the enjoyment of the present. Adults are committed to others' expectations and their own and so are unable to be who they are in the present. Analogously, Emerson describes philosophers and theologians to be committed to the spreading of systems rather than the discovery of novelty: "Leave your theory, as Joseph his coat in the hands of the harlot, and flee. A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines."[40] Emerson's point is not that the naive neutrality of children is the highest perspective. The infant's neutrality is a neutrality that has not observed the world and so lacks the knowledge and experience that would make the neutral, childlike adult the fullest manifestation of self-reliance. He provides a list of such people, "Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo," not systematizers but also not mystics; these men, according to Emerson, lived in the world with thoughtful spontaneity and without becoming committed to the world's ways.

[39] Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in *Essential Writings*, 134.
[40] Ibid., 138.

The phenomenology of self-reliance: the glance and conversation

Emerson discusses self-reliance in both existential and phenomenological terms. The impersonality and spontaneity of phenomenological self-reliance open a way to understand and manifest the existential self-reliance discussed in the first section of this paper. Emerson discusses phenomenological self-reliance in the glance of the eyes and conversation. In these experiences, one acts and encounters the other without regard for the anxious maintenance of the ego-self. The glance and conversation are moments when one is given over to the divine self and the intuitive movement of thought. But self-reliance is not just about these passing experiences of ego transcendence. Self-reliance is more appropriately about expressing the divine self over the course of one's life, which involves a more perduring overcoming of the ego. Self-reliance is not merely the ego loss that allows one to flow in friendly conversations, but the transcendence that allows one to be in one's life today and everyday who one is in the present, without being determined by who one takes oneself to be or who one presents oneself as in society. Existential self-reliance is the ego transcendence that allows one to live their vocation as called in the present without regard to one's bad-faith commitments or others' expectations.

The glance shows up repeatedly in Emerson's writings, both as a form of communication among friends and as a moment of self-reliant action. True friendship and moments of self-reliance go together since true friendship is an affinity between people's inner divinities, and self-reliance is the exposure of one's inner divinity to the world and the other. Glances appear in two important ways in Emerson's work: glances between people, and glances at the world. Both examples describe people who are lost in thought, looking without aim and egoistic concern. One glances at the world in the mode of thoughtful receptivity. Similarly, lost in thought and without concern for the ego, one's eyes sometimes meet another's in the intersubjective glance. Here, one is not only given over to thought, but one sees another person egolessly actualizing the intuitive movements of their thoughts. Such moments can be startling and intrusive precisely because we see the other with her guard down and her thinking exposed.

Glancing at the world in the mode of receptive thought is an experience familiar to anyone who practices philosophy, writing, or any form of deep and sustained

thought. One glances at the world contemplatively, awaiting the advent of ideas or the proper words. For Emerson, glancing at the world is a practice of active thinking. He writes in "Intellect," "Our spontaneous action is always best. You cannot with your best deliberation and heed come so close to any question as your spontaneous glance shall bring you, whilst you rise from your bed, or walk abroad in the morning after meditating the matter before sleep on the previous night. Our thinking is a pious reception."[41] Glancing is an anticipatory looking at the world that sees nothing in particular since it is a manifestation of the mind's general openness. In "Behavior," Emerson writes, "The eye obeys exactly the action of the mind. When a thought strikes us, the eyes fix and remain gazing at a distance."[42] The glance looks beyond the particularity of objects in order to see the world, generalizing not only one's visual perspective but also one's mode of thought. In the mode of deep, thoughtful receptivity expressed by the glance at the world, one momentarily leaves behind concern for one's partial ego-self, forgetting one's outward presentation of self and allowing the intuitive movement of thought to rise to the surface. In this way, the contemplative glance at the world is an experience that points towards self-reliance.

Emerson often likens the intersubjective glance to friendly conversation, which is his other major example of phenomenological self-reliance. In *Conduct of Life*, he even claims that the glance is a more effective means of communication than conversation, being more general and universal than language expressed through particular words and linguistic conventions: "The eyes of men converse as much as their tongues, with the advantage that the ocular dialect needs no dictionary, but is understood all the world over."[43] Though I may not understand the other's lament, I see the pain and sorrow in her face, and I recognize it as an eruption of the same emotions and sensations that move me in my own sorrow. Whereas the conventions of a language particularize thought, the glance brings us back to our essential universality and monism. In his early essay on friendship, "The Heart," Emerson writes, "The Heart is as I have said a community of nature which really does bind all men into a consciousness of one brotherhood. Of this the look between man and man is the

[41] Emerson, "Intellect," in *Essential Writings*, 264.
[42] Emerson, "Behavior," in *Conduct of Life* (The Riverside Pres, 1883) 178.
[43] Ibid, 180.

expression."[44] When in the course of my day, I catch the eye of another, and we glance at each other; we see each other as we are given over to the intuitive movement of our thoughts. In the glance, I am seen thinking, while simultaneously, I see the one who sees me in her act of thinking. Glancing, we see each other with our guards down; we see each other given over to thought and, in a moment, without concern for the maintenance and presentation of the ego.

The young Emerson, in "The Heart," writes that the glance is superior to conversation not only because words as such concretize and particularize the thoughts they speak but also because language is willful and thus associated with the ego, whereas the glance is unwilled and spontaneous. The somewhat later Emerson of *Essays*, and the much later Emerson of *Conduct of Life*, identify a form of egoless and flowing conversation which speaks self-reliantly, from beyond the will, much as the glance sees. That the glance is not an expression of will or ego means that it is an expression of the intuitive movement of one's thought and thus an experience of self-reliance in the present:

> One of the most wonderful things in nature, where all is wonderful, is, the glance, or meeting of the eyes; this speedy and perfect communication which transcends speech and action also and is in the greatest part not subject to the control of the will. It is the bodily symbol of identity in nature. Here is the whole miracle of our being, made sensible,—the radical unity, the superficial diversity. Strange that any body who ever met another person's eyes, should doubt that all men have one soul.[45]

The glance overcomes the stingy and egoistic skepticism about our underlying monism—a skepticism manifest in the ideal of egoistic individualism—and reveals the Emersonian subject's rootedness in an impersonal, divine unity. When two people encounter each other, egoless and self-reliantly expressing the intuitive movement of their thought, as they do momentarily in the intersubjective glance, each sees the other as an incarnation of the impersonal and general divinity that permeates all nature. The phenomenology of being seen in one's self-reliant spontaneity—being caught off guard being one's thoughts in the world when one has forgotten one's concern for the hobgoblins of little minds—is an experience in the present of a self-reliant life.

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[44] Emerson, "The Heart," in *The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. 2*. Ed. By Stephen Whicher, Robert Spiller, and Wallace Williams (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964) 283.
[45] Ibid.

In *Essays: Series One* and *Conduct of Life*, Emerson develops the experience of conversation as an example of phenomenological self-reliance. "Conversation," he writes, "is the vent of character as well as of thought."[46] Whereas the glance is momentary and essentially gone as soon as one recognizes it, the loss of oneself in conversation is a more perduring experience of self-reliance. He writes in "Experience," "All good conversation, manners, and action, come from a spontaneity which forgets usages, and makes the moment great. Nature hates calculators; her methods are saltatory and impulsive. Man lives by pulses; our organic movements are such."[47] In the kind of good conversations Emerson has in mind, the participants focus on the ideas of the conversation, forgetting about their anxious conformity to social expectations and commitments in their presentation of themselves. In such conversations, ideas flow through each speaker so that each exposes the spontaneous movements of thought to the other. Because in conversation, we see and hear the other as another person thinking—which is to say, in self-reliant and egoless spontaneity—we get a glimpse again of our underlying monism.

Conversations that are examples of self-reliance are rare, and our speaking to one another more often consists of thoughtless gossip and evasive politeness. The common mode of conversation in society is the confrontation of two egos, anxiously and politely maintaining their identities and never exposing the spontaneity of thought. In "Friendship," Emerson writes, "Every man alone is sincere. At the entrance of a second person, hypocrisy begins. We parry and fend the approach of our fellow-man by compliments, by gossip, by amusements, by affairs. We cover up our thought from him under a hundred folds."[48] We fend off the other's approach in conversation through the thoughtless and formulaic performance of manners and social conventions. Rather than self-reliantly revealing our thoughts and selves, we discuss the events of our day, the news, and small talk. We politely censor our thoughts not to offend the other's partialities, only saying what is pleasing and acceptable in the other's company.

Polite consideration for the other's partialities can be such a hindrance to authentic conversation that Emerson even considers whether conversation might be

[46] Emerson, "Clubs," in *Society and Solitude*, 237.
[47] Emerson, "Experience," in *Essential Writings*, 318.
[48] Emerson, "Friendship," in *Essential Writings*, 207.

best among strangers. Unknown and unrevealed, the stranger is, for Emerson, an example of universality incarnate. In "Friendship," he writes of the stranger, "He stands to us for humanity. He is what we wish."[49] A stranger is someone I know nothing about, and so is, for me, an infinite potential. One can speak more freely with the stranger since one is unaware of the stranger's sensibilities. I know my acquaintance prefers to avoid and is offended by certain topics, so our discussions remain within polite limits. Emerson goes on to describe conversation with a commended stranger:

> The same idea exalts conversation with him. We talk better than we are wont. We have the nimblest fancy, a richer memory, and our dumb devil has taken leave for the time… But as soon as the stranger begins to intrude his partialities, his definitions, his defects, into the conversation, it is all over. He has heard the first, the last and best he will ever hear from us. He is no stranger now… Now, when he comes, he may get the order, the dress, and the dinner,—but the throbbing of the heart, and the communications of the soul, no more.[50]

Thus, the stranger provides another fleeting experience of self-reliance in the world. The stranger whose ego has yet to be revealed is to me an image of the impersonal and universally human. Every stranger is potentially the friend and conversation partner for whom Emerson searches. The strange image of universality is spoiled when the stranger descends to become an individual ego through the introduction of her partialities.

Emerson writes that we often slip into deficient modes of polite and mannered speaking not only when we are trying not to offend our partner but also when the topic of conversation does not interest us. A conversation which would be of no interest fails to consider topics of universal concern and instead dwells on what is of egotistical interest to the one who speaks. In "Self-Reliance," Emerson describes the "mortifying experience" of being trapped in an uninteresting conversation. He writes that one slips into the mode of mechanical politeness, playing the role of audience: "The forced smile which we put on in company where we do not feel at ease, in answer to conversation which does not interest us. The muscles, not spontaneously moved but moved by a low usurping willfulness, grow tight around the outline of the face, with the most disagreeable sensation."[51] Uninteresting conversation closes off the

[49] Ibid., 202.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Emerson, "Self-Reliance," 137.

possibility of self-reliance since it demands the non-spontaneous performance of politeness precisely to cover up one's thoughts and boredom. Such a performance, which blocks one's spontaneous thought to please the other while maintaining a certain socially acceptable and expected image of oneself, is the antithesis of self-reliance.

It is not only one-sided and uninteresting conversations that keep people from self-reliantly revealing themselves, but also gossip. Emerson writes of gossip as a mode of self-unreliant talking commonly employed to parry the other's approach. In his 1832 "Sermon CLV," Emerson describes gossip as a form of talking that is narrowly specific to a particular time, place, and ego. In contrast, true conversation reveals the inmost universality of the egoless movement of spontaneous thought:

> Thoughts which are superficial are local and personal; would be unsuitable to any other time or place. Those which move the man from the bottom of his soul are equally interesting to all men. Carry the gossip of your street to Rome or Japan and it would be unintelligible. But your conclusions respecting right and wrong, the laws of the mind, the end of man, which command your own interests at all times have an equal interest for all men that ever were on earth…. Thus is the inmost self the universal nature of man.[52]

Gossip is talking about ego identities and the particularities of a person's life, and thus not conversation on any perduring or universal truth. One gossips about what was done or said by a particular person, about the events and exchanges pertaining to individual people in the world. One does not gossip about eternal truth or topics of universal concern. Unlike the conversational intimacy wherein people share in a mood based on the mutual exposure of their spontaneous thinking, the gossipy concern with mundane events and encounters can only acquaint one ego with another. When an encounter between people takes place in terms of the formulaic performance of manners or the thoughtless and egoistic sharing of gossip, "all is yet unsaid, from the incapacities of the parties to know each other, although they use the same words."[53]

Good conversation considers topics of shared interest, and in their focus on the topic of conversation, each partner forgets their self-unreliant concern for social conventions and others' expectations, revealing the spontaneous movements of

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[52] Emerson, "Sermon CLV," in *Sermons*, 146.

[53] Emerson, "Nominalist and Realist," in *Collected Works, vol. 3*, ed. By Joseph Slater, Alfred R. Ferguson, and Jean Carr (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984) 145.

thought. As discussed above, Emerson understands this spontaneous movement as revelatory of a monistic, divine, and pre-egoistic ground of subjectivity. Thus, two people conversing are not only examples of self-reliance but also an experience of the underlying unity of the world. In "Over-Soul," he writes,

> Persons are supplementary to the primary teaching of the soul. ...The larger experience of man discovers the identical nature appearing through them all. Persons themselves acquaint us with the impersonal. In all conversation between two persons tacit reference is made, as to a third party, to a common nature. That third party or common nature is not social; it is impersonal; is God.[54]

When one is caught up in good conversation, speaking and moving self-reliantly and without thought for others' judgements, one speaks with the universal voice of God. Further on, he writes, "We know better than we do. We do not yet possess ourselves, and we know at the same time that we are much more. I feel the same truth how often in my trivial conversation with my neighbours, that somewhat higher in each of us overlooks this by-play, and Jove nods to Jove behind each of us."[55] These lived experiences of self-reliance, in the glance and in conversation, are indications of the existential self-reliance by which one becomes who one is over the course of a life. In the glance, one is caught in a moment of thought. In conversation, one gives oneself over to the topic of discussion and reveals one's unmannered speech and spontaneous thoughts. Because Emerson understands these spontaneous thoughts to be the voice of God, glances and conversations are moments of revelation and incarnation.

Irena Makarushka looks to Emerson's sermons as examples of revelatory conversations between the preacher and his congregation. She writes that preaching "unites the seer with the sayer. It is an expression of the soul's insight, and as such, it is the soul conversing with other souls. For Emerson, this conversation constituted the ongoing process of revelation."[56] Makarushka shows us how Emerson's sermons are revelatory conversations. However, we can take this further since not only sermons but all good conversations are moments of religious ecstasy, revelation, and self-reliance. She takes Emerson's advice to preachers—to speak with the force of their inner divinity, as did Jesus—to be narrowly applicable to preachers. Whereas for

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[54] Emerson, "Over-Soul," 241.
[55] Ibid., 242.
[56] Irena Makarushka, *Religious Imagination and Language in Emerson and Nietzsche.* (St. Martin's Press, 1994) 18.

Emerson, speaking with divinity is possible in all good conversations, providing a phenomenological example of self-reliance.

While conversation reveals metaphysical and existential truths about who one is and how one is related to others, it also does the more epistemological work of developing one's thoughts and expression. Articulating one's ideas in conversation is already by itself an effective way to begin developing these ideas by concretizing and defining them in language. Emerson refers to this as "the mechanics of conversation" when he writes, "Conversation is the laboratory and workshop of the student… Every time we say a thing in conversation, we get a mechanical advantage in detaching it well and deliverly. I prize the mechanics of conversation. 'T is pulley and lever and screw."[57] Much as a mathematician scrawls numbers on a pad to more easily manipulate them, the expression of ideas into words allows conversation partners to go to work on the ideas.

But even before going to work on ideas, we get an advantage from the speaking of ideas, settling them and concretizing them in words. Expressing an idea through words allows that idea to circulate in the world, to be taken up and worked upon by others. The benefit for one's thought of concretizing ideas in words and facing the challenge of actually communicating and being understood will be familiar to anyone who has had to teach a class or prepare a formal explanation. In "Social Aims," Emerson writes, "It is very certain that sincere and happy conversation doubles our powers; that in the effort to unfold our thought to a friend, we make it clearer to ourselves, and surround it with illustrations that help and delight us. It may happen that each hears from the other a better wisdom than any one else will ever hear from either.... for in good conversation parties don't speak to the words, but to the meanings of each other."[58] In communicating one's ideas to another, one becomes more familiar with those ideas oneself. Emerson writes,

> Conversation, which, when it is best, is a series of intoxications. Not Aristotle, not Kant or Hegel, but conversation, is the right metaphysical professor. This is the true school of philosophy,—this the college where you learn what thoughts are, what powers lurk in those fugitive gleams, and what becomes of them; how they make history. A wise man goes to this game to play upon others

[57] Emerson, "Clubs," 228-229.
[58] Emerson, "Social Aims," in *Society and Solitude*, 92-93; 100.

> and to be played upon, and at least as curious to know what can be drawn from himself as what can be drawn from them. For, in discourse with a friend, our thought, hitherto wrapped in our consciousness, detaches itself, and allows itself to be seen as a thought, in a manner as new and entertaining to us as to our companions. For provocation of thought, we use ourselves and use each other… We must be warmed by the fire of sympathy, to be brought into the right conditions and angles of vision.[59]

Here, Emerson moves from the mechanical and workshop concept of conversation, pointing out the role of sympathy in conversation. Conversation is not only thinking-with but also feeling-with (sympathy), a sharing of mood.

Conversation takes one beyond oneself and one's own abilities because it is the intercourse of minds thinking. Like partners in a relay race, conversation partners move the topic in new directions before it is taken up and moved further. Emerson writes, "Conversation is a game of circles. In conversation, we pluck up the *termini* which bound the common silence on every side."[60] The common silence is not merely that which has yet to be said, but that which neither of us can say without the other, and thus that which can only be brought out of silence through our common action. Good conversation synergistically moves the conversation partners beyond that which either is capable of on her own. A good conversation partner is someone who agonistically challenges me and draws out my thinking beyond itself. In "Inspiration," Emerson writes,

> Homer said, "When two come together, one apprehends before the other;" but it is because one thought well that the other thinks better: and two men of good mind will excite each other's activity, each attempting still to cap the other's thought. In enlarged conversation we have suggestions that require new ways of living, new books, new men, new arts and sciences. By sympathy, each opens to the eloquence, and begins to see with the eyes of his mind. We were all lonely, thoughtless; and now a principle appears to all; we see new relations, many truths; every mind seizes them as they pass; each catches by the mane one of these strong coursers like horses of the prairie, and rides up and down in the world of the intellect.[61]

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[59] Emerson, "Inspiration," in *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Letters and Social Aims* (Fireside Edition, 1903) 293-94.
[60] Emerson, "Circles," in *Essential Writings*, 256.
[61] Emerson, "Inspiration," 294.

Conversation, like friendship, can be interpreted in terms of the Greek agon (ἀγών), a friendly competition or sparring between warriors that serve to exercise and develop their skills. Agonistic competitors become strong through each other. When one exceeds or betters one's competition, one does not dominate the other; rather, one liberates the other to development.[62]

More than helping one to exercise and develop one's ideas, a good conversation partner allows one to say what one cannot say to oneself. In "Considerations by the way," he writes, "Conversation… is a main function of life. What a difference in the hospitality of minds! Inestimable is he to whom we can say what we cannot say to ourselves."[63] Such a hospitable mind goes beyond simply providing an occasion to express oneself or even agonistically develop one's ideas. The conversation partner who allows me to say what I cannot say to myself is the occasion of a new thought, not simply the development of an old idea. This partner allows me to express a truth about myself that I have avoided or cannot see because it is what structures my ability to see. Conversation decenters the speaker and allows her to get beyond her own intellectual frameworks. In his manuscript on friendship, Emerson writes of the educative function of conversation,

> But there is a use which is rendered to us by our friends which is not mercenary nor finite, but is absolute <productive of an eternal benefit,> & everlasting & is the very highest office which one being can render to another. It is, that, we educate each other. It is, that, one man is trained up to the knowledge of what he is & what he can do, by the instrumentality of other men; that by our mutual action, conversation, and observation, our powers are exercised & disclosed to us.[64]

More than being disclosed to the conversation partner, one is disclosed to oneself in conversation.

In this article, I have developed a reading of Emersonian self-reliance and subjectivity grounded in Emerson's religiosity. I have shown how self-reliance functions as a psychological, phenomenological, and existential concept that Emerson

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[62] Yunus Tuncel, *Agon in Nietzsche* (Marquette University Press, 2013).
[63] Emerson, "Considerations by the Way," in *The Conduct of Life*, 270.
[64] Emerson, in Kalinevitch, "Emerson on Friendship," 54. NB: The symbols included in these lines are the standard notations used by the editors of *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* to indicate Emerson's later revisions of his journal entries. <…> indicates a deletion from the original text, and ↑ … ↓ indicates an addition.

develops in response to the emergence of capitalist culture and a subjectivity defined by skeptical egoism and an understanding of freedom as choice and consumption. The self-reliant person is one who overcomes the anxious maintenance of an ego identity in the face of others' expectations and one's own desire for autobiographical continuity. Overcoming the ego, the self-reliant person actualizes the spontaneous movements of thought, which Emerson understands as intuition and the voice of God. Emerson prizes moments in daily life when a person forgets the maintenance of the ego and is moved by spontaneity: the glance and good conversations. These moments of phenomenological self-reliance help us to understand the existential structure of a self-reliant life. Self-reliance becomes an existential concept when understood on the level of a life, where one gives up anxious attachment to the ego not just in the momentary ecstasy of conversation but in a more perduring way in everyday life and the relationships one develops.

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Du Mez, Kristin. ***Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation***. New York: Liveright Publishing, 2020. 336 pp.

Many have asked how Donald Trump, a brash playboy billionaire with questionable ethics, could generate wide-ranging support among white conservative Christians. In *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation*, Kristin Du Mez attempts to explain this pro-Trump phenomenon. At stake for the author is her own self-professed identity as an evangelical. Du Mez, a professor at a Christian-reformed university in the Midwest, argues that white evangelicals in the twentieth century recast the celebrity of John Wayne into an "icon of Christian masculinity" (10). Evangelicals then deployed masculine Christianity against a variety of perceived cultural threats from communism to growing secularism. Trump's election represents the culmination of white evangelicals' adoption of militant masculinity. This patriarchal ideology shifted from evangelicalism's margin to orthodoxy, leading to serious abuses of power.

Du Mez organizes *Jesus and John Wayne* into an introduction, sixteen chapters, and a conclusion. Each chapter characterizes how masculine Christianity functioned over time. Du Mez begins chapter one in the early twentieth century with a brief discussion of fundamentalism. Prior to the rise of mainstream evangelicalism that took place in the mid-twentieth century, fundamentalism operated as a conservative if marginal wing of American Christianity. Fundamentalism's reputation suffered due to an insistence on embattlement, militancy, and combativeness. In the wake of the horrors of World War One, these traits were seen as backwards and discordant with the rest of American culture. The opening chapter then turns to Billy Graham and follows his attempt to rescue conservative Christianity from cultural obscurity. Continuing through chapter two, Du Mez tracks how Graham rebranded conservative Christianity through an outward focus on cultural and political engagement. Importantly, during Graham's rise in the 1960s, evangelicals' involvement with politics went from silent to active. For white evangelicals, much was at stake over fears like communism, non-white foreigners, Catholicism, and the Civil Rights movement. Chapter three moves to a discussion on how two evangelical women, Marabel Morgan and Phyllis Schlafly, challenged feminist notions of equality. Taking advantage of emerging distribution

networks such as Christian publishing houses, these women promoted traditional Christian womanhood by prioritizing male leadership, child-rearing, and domesticity.

In chapters four through seven, Du Mez demonstrates how white evangelicals coalesced into a powerful political force known as the Religious Right. Prominent figures from Jerry Falwell to Oliver North promoted militant patriarchal power. This messaging incorporated issues on morality and foreign policy. At stake were concerns like traditional family values and the Vietnam War. Du Mez states, "In the home, fathers disciplined children and husbands exercised authority over wives. […] Beyond the home, the power of the patriarch ensures the security of the nation" (88). Here we see how the religious and civic spheres fused into a singular political identity.

Chapters eight through fourteen continue to explain how public-facing evangelicals perpetuated masculine and militant Christianity. Du Mez argues that the once-fringe far right became increasingly bound to the more centrist evangelical position. This link between fringe and center created an "evangelical cult of masculinity" (277) culminating in the election of Donald Trump to the presidency. By the final two chapters, Du Mez arrives at a significant conclusion: blind obedience to patriarchal authority led to egregious abuses of power in public and private spheres. Du Mez explains how "a 'cultlike culture' led to a culture of corruption, including 'pedophilia, violence, defamation of the innocent to protect the guilty... [and] defiance against lawful authority'" (288). The implication is clear: public-facing white evangelicals bear a large share of responsibility to those who have been mistreated and/or abused.

Du Mez's strongest argument relates to the violent consequences of Christian masculinity. The author uses a historical framework to persuasively show how the fringe and center became linked. This linkage created the condition of possibility, or *probability*, for a cult-like culture of abusive behavior and silence. Du Mez states that this culture, one of "patriarchy and submission, sex and power…promised protection for women but left women without defense, one that worshiped power and turned a blind eye to justice, and one that transformed the Jesus of the Gospels into an image of their own making" (294). With that said, I question why this line of argumentation was not introduced earlier in the book. Not until the final chapters does this assertion emerge.

One method of *Jesus and John Wayne* highlights the who's-who of conservative evangelicalism. Some might critique this approach on two grounds. First, Du Mez opts for breadth, not depth, in her discussion of evangelicalism's so-called leaders. Every few pages or so a new section introduces a public figure and how they contributed to the movement. Second, the book fails to consider how patriarchy plays out among the laity. This method does, however, illuminate how powerful evangelicals have wielded their influence. For example, female victims of assault are habitually blamed and labeled as temptresses while perpetrators are defended and protected. Du Mez states, "Victims are often pressured to forgive abusers and avoid involving law enforcement" (278). Thus, I consider this method a primary strength of the book, one that gives weight to Du Mez's argument.

At times, *Jesus and John Wayne* conceptualizes white evangelicalism through a singular lens: gender. I agree that to discuss culpability for abuse Du Mez needed to demonstrate the consistent characteristic and ramifications of masculine, militant Christianity. I question, however, if mainstream white evangelicalism can be reduced under the *sole* framework of gender. This is not so much a disagreement with Du Mez's conclusions as it is a call for clarity in argumentation. Is gender one facet that the author has chosen to focus on? Or is it the primary fulcrum on which the entire movement operates? Further, the subtitle gives the impression that race will constitute a major theme. Du Mez does acknowledge race and states that "for conservative white evangelicals, the 'good news' of the Christian gospel has become inextricably linked to a staunch patriarchal authority, gender difference, and Christian nationalism, and all of these are intertwined with white racial identity" (6-7). The author, however, does not explain how whiteness connects to patriarchy. Du Mez uses the term "white" merely to differentiate white evangelicals from the roughly twenty-five percent of black Christians who themselves identify as evangelical.

Throughout *Jesus and John Wayne* Du Mez critiques the white evangelical movement for "corrupting the faith" in two important ways. First, she argues that social and political principles ground the movement instead of theology (297-298). This grounding reflects a general lack of engagement with biblical text. Second, the author repeatedly points out the contradiction of serving both Trump and Jesus. Du Mez writes, "For evangelicals who have transformed the Jesus of the Gospels into a

model of militant masculinity, the conflict is not apparent." Here the author refers to biblical misinterpretation, or what she calls "theological illiteracy" (6).

When considering the above, a couple critiques come to mind. First, I am not convinced that white conservative evangelicals at large are theologically illiterate. For that to be convincing, Du Mez would have needed to demonstrate evangelicals' biblical misunderstanding. Rarely does Du Mez look at scripture or perform exegesis. The existence of militant masculinity does not necessarily correlate with biblical literacy. Second, Du Mez positions herself as the authority on an *un*corrupted faith over and against the claims of others. The subtitle of the book reflects this point. Du Mez's scholarly expertise should be taken into account. But I am left wondering if and to what degree conservative white evangelicals agree with Du Mez's conclusions about corrupting a faith and fracturing a nation. How would evangelicals respond to the contention that their movement is more cultural than theological?

Despite these critiques, *Jesus and John Wayne* deserves serious consideration from those interested in the cultural and political stakes of conservative evangelicalism. Du Mez's discussion of the link between evangelicalism and political power helps to explain the dogmatic allegiance some have to their political identity. She persuasively shows that Trump's presidency was no aberration. Rather, it was an outcome of patriarchal ideology within white evangelicalism. Du Mez's conclusions about the impact of masculine Christianity and the devastating real-world effects of abuse suggest many avenues for further study.

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Király, Kinga Julia. ***Recipes for a New Beginning: Transylvanian Jewish Stories of Life, Hunger, and Hope***. Translated by Rachel Hideg. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: CEEOL Press, 2020. 324 pp.*

Julia Király's *Recipes for a New Beginning* is a true labour of love in the genre of oral history. Király weaves an intricate tapestry from ten Holocaust survivors' recollections of childhood, the Holocaust, and the Communist era with forty-one traditional recipes of their northern Romanian homelands in Transylvania. The author sheds new light on the intersection between history, memory, ethnography, and food studies. Király's work bears the fruits of deep listening, meaning that a no-holds-barred approach was used in following up on mental associations, whether these concerned domesticity or the Holocaust. *Recipes for a New Beginning* is translated from the original Hungarian by Rachel Hideg and prefaced by Louise O. Vasvári, the foremost expert in Hungarian culinary nostalgia and Central European Holocaust life writing. Vasvári writes that this genre-crossing text could be productively categorized as a "culinary memorial book" (7). Király chronicles and commemorates the Jewish lives and ethnographic details of Transylvanian locales as per the *Yizkor* book format (2), however with a focus on recipes as the locus of memory.[1]

Befitting contemporary works of oral history and ethnography, Király forewords her magnum opus on a distinctly self-reflexive note by noting her appreciation for intergenerational recipes under the poverty and alimentary dullness of the Ceauşescu regime (12). As a local of Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), and given her multilingual Hungarian background, Király was well-positioned to attempt to reconstruct the foodways and betrayed Hungarian loyalties of her interviewees, and the tragic martyrdom of the Székely Sabbatarians in East-Central Transylvania.[2] In the foreword, Király also addresses the ethical stakes of her survivor-oriented methodology that uses

* This book review is dedicated to Transylvania-descended interviewees of mine who integrated their discussion of food into a "whole life perspective": Tom D., Esti M., and Margaret N.

[1] Yizkor books constitute memorial texts to particular destroyed communities, containing Holocaust testimonies, memoiristic writings, and other forms of cultural expression such as didactic tales and poems.

[2] The Székely Sabbatarians were Jewish Sabbath-observing Unitarians, many of whom formally converted to Judaism and married ancestral Jews. Gábor Győrffy, Zoltán Tibori Szabó, and Júlia-Réka Vallasek, "Back to the Origins: The Tragic History of the Szekler Sabbatarians," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 32, no. 3 (2017): 566-585.

food talk to elicit larger narratives of the past, agonizing over whether her interviewees actually wanted to recall certain horrific ordeals. She likewise emphasizes the epistemic fluidity of memory, the importance of the interplay of her interviewees' mental associations with her dignified curiosity, and the preservation of the idiomatic richness of their speech (14-15). The subsequent chapters are organized much like a *Yizkor* book, centred on the Holocaust and ending with an account of the death and burial of her most pious interviewee, Helena (Lea) Kain, the guardian of tradition in Szatmár (Satu Mare) (7-8, 313-317). The succession of chapters is illustrated by a menorah icon, culminating with seven candles for the late Kain.

The first chapter, "Childhood," is separated into the subsections "Peacetime" and "A Shattered Childhood." The former begins with Király's personal and methodological reflections on the encounter between different forms of childhood and the role of guided remembrance in recovering details from a particular memory (19). In presenting the voices of Zsuzsa Diamantstein, Leopold (Rudi) Kárpelesz, Etelka Tusa, and Goldi Salamon, she reveals the centrality of certain Purim and Chanukah recipes in the celebration of these holidays (22-27, 46-47) and the lack of opportunity they had for mimetic learning (i.e. by observation and imitation) in the kitchen due to their youth (23, 31). Király's interview with Érdengeleg native Helena Kain reveals much about the nature of household management and religious observance in the region, especially with regard to food preservation, embroidery, and the Three Weeks of mourning (63-67).

The interview analyses of the next section present attitudes towards Hungarian irredentism (i.e. the Axis-arbitrated Second Vienna Award in September 1940, which transferred most of northern and eastern Transylvania from Romania to Hungary) and transitions to "A Shattered Childhood," which revolves largely around the Holocaust in Bukovina and Transnistria through an excavation of memories related to the 1941 Bucharest and Iaşi pogroms (88-89).[3]

Chapter Two, "Forced into Adulthood: The Ghetto," begins with László Baky's 7 April 1944 decree inaugurating the blitzkrieg against Hungarian Jewry. Along with the sudden humiliations wrought by ghettoization in Szatmár (Satu Mare),

[3] See also Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others: A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania* (Las Vegas, NV: Histria Books / The Center for Romanian Studies, 2021), 227, 428 (Second Vienna Award) 453-456 (Bucharest pogrom), 463 (Iaşi pogrom).

Máramarossziget (Sighet), Nagyvárad (Oradea), and Dés (Dej), Király provides a granular perspective on these ghettos through her research partners who endured them and were faced with a narrow vice of choices. Helena Kain and Goldi Salamon also offer evidence that Romanians were 'better bystanders' than the Hungarians in Máramaros during the Holocaust (139, 142, cf. 61). Similarly, Leopold Kárpelesz describes the treachery of Hungarian officers and ordinary Magyars and laments their sudden change in attitude amidst the Second Vienna Award and the Nazi invasion of March 1944 (151-152).

The next two chapters, on Auschwitz-Birkenau and its network of slave labour camps, present a montage of their horrors and deceptive messages. True to the culinary memorial genre, there are notable instances of food talk in these zones. (178, 181, 196-197, 208-212). As an inmate of the "Gypsy camp," Leopold Kárpelesz explains first-hand the unique deprivations that the Roma suffered (190-191), while Lajos Erdélyi assumes that Roma tended to be *kapos* (forced collaborators with the Nazis) (216-217). This contrast between solidarity and othering brings to mind the epistemic gaps between Jewish and Roma survivors that Ari Joskowicz examines in his 2016 article "Separate Suffering, Shared Archives."[4] Such an approach points a way forward through deep listening and guided remembrance.

Chapters Five and Six are entitled "Liberation" and "A New Beginning and Dictatorship." Chapter Five stresses the chaos of the time and the existential void that remained. Chapter Six positions survivors' postwar efforts to rebuild their lives, resultant psychological corollaries, and collision with their former Hungarian neighbours (253). The latter themes are presented alongside how pre-Holocaust foodways were maintained and changed (243-250). The historical thread underlying this period is the Romanian Communist regimes of Gheorghiu-Dej (1952-1965) and Ceauşescu (1965-1989) and their accompanying atmosphere of paranoia and intimidation, which shines through the interview data, especially in the accounts of Lajos and Anni Erdélyi.

Recipes for a New Beginning, with its 'whole life' approach to Transylvanian Holocaust survivors, is comparable to András Koerner's work, particularly *How They Lived: The Everyday Lives of Hungarian Jews, 1867-1940*. In terms of using oral history in

[4] Ari Joskowicz, "Separate Suffering, Shared Archives: Jewish and Romani Histories of Nazi Persecution," *History & Memory*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2016), 110-140, especially 115-121.

conjunction with other sources to reconstruct Hungarian-Jewish foodways, Király's book forms a thematic pair with Koerner's *Jewish Cuisine in Hungary: A Cultural History with 83 Authentic Recipes*, which uses the Centropa life story interview of Zsuzsa Diamantstein.[5] I agree with Vasvári that *Recipes for a New Beginning* is foremost a meticulously executed affective and interdisciplinary mosaic of emotional chronicles for intergenerational transmission (2-3). Király is particularly transparent in her methodology, allowing the reader to read dialogues *between* the interviewees. Her inclusion of literary vignettes, for example by Elie Wiesel, helps make this book legible to a wider audience. This book provides historical insight into understudied topics on the Holocaust in 'Greater Hungary,' such as the martyred Sabbatarians of Székely Land (160-161) and Hungarian-perpetrated mass violence south of the Transylvanian partition line in the 'Second Hungarian-Romanian War' (94-95).[6] Király's focus on women's culinary memories in relation to changing national identities and the vicissitudes of history complements oral historical scholarship by Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki, who holistically address the memory work of Holocaust survivors, and Norma Baumel Joseph, who has outlined the primary source valence of cookbooks and the ritual significance of the transmission of culinary knowledge.[7] Overall, *Recipes for a New Beginning* is unique in its sustained presentation of culinary

[5] Centropa is an East-Central European organization that has been particularly thorough in their interviews of Holocaust survivors, and in documenting their life stories overall. See https://www.centropa.org/en.

[6] Regarding Sabbatarian martyrdom see Győrffy, Tibori Szabó, and Vallasek, "Back to the Origins: The Tragic History of the Szekler Sabbatarians," 577-81. For commentary on Hungarian-perpetrated violence see Zoltán Tibori Szabó, "The Holocaust in Transylvania," in *The Holocaust in Hungary: Seventy Years Later*, eds. Randolph L. Braham and András Kovács (Budapest: CEU Press, 2016), 174; Holly Case, *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), Chapter 2, especially 90-93, 101-102, 214-217; Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others*, 307-308; László Kürti, *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001), 33-35.

[7] See for example Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki, "'We Started Over Again, We Were Young': Postwar Social Worlds of Child Holocaust Survivors in Montreal," *Urban History Review* 39, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 20-30; Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki, "Questions Are More Important than Answers': Creating Collaborative Workshop Spaces with Holocaust Survivor-Educators in Montreal," in *Beyond Testimony and Trauma: Oral History in the Aftermath of Mass Violence*, ed. Steven High (Victoria: UBC Press, 2015), 212-234; Norma Baumel Joseph, "Cookbooks are Our Texts: Reading an Immigrant Community Through Their Cookbooks," *Religious Studies and Theology* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2016):195-206;Norma Baumel Joseph , "T"beet: Situating Iraqi Jewish Identity through Food," in *Everyday Sacred: Religion in Contemporary Quebec*, ed. Hillary Kaell, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 99-126.

memories as intertwined with interviewee's interrupted lives, addressing regional variants of recipes through conversations between interviewees. (78)

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Corey Ross, ***Ecology and Power in the Age of Empire: Europe and the Transformation of the Tropical World***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. 488 pp.

Ecology and Power in the Age of Empire is an ambitious book reframing the history of colonialism and imperialism as projects that were, in the first place, ecological and environmental and, in the second place, social, political, and economic. Using a vast array of archival sources from many disciplinary backgrounds, Ross reveals the extent to which colonial powers were not only ideologically but also materially immersed in ecological projects. Such projects ranged from the unfettered depletion of land to slapdash efforts to conserve its alleged "natural beauty." In three parts, covering the late-nineteenth century imperial age to the mid-twentieth century collapse of the high colonial era, Ross delves into case studies exploring the colonial extraction of natural resources (part one); colonial conservation efforts across a wide-ranging geography the author terms "the tropics" (part two); and the disastrous outcomes that unfolded in the aftermath of direct colonialism (part three). Ross's groundbreaking intervention details the reciprocal influence between people and their surrounding environments. He also takes a granular look at the consequences of colonialism on the environment and, conversely, the occasional agency expressed by these non-human ecologies affected by imperialism, namely "the soil, water, plants, and animals that were likewise a part of Europe's empire" (4).

Part one emphasizes the purely extractive dimensions of colonialism, focusing on cotton, cocoa, rubber, tin, copper, and oil production. Ross argues here that colonialism was primarily a socio-ecological project that sought to secure natural resources rather than territorialize land. He describes the process by which imperial powers often began transforming many geographical zones *before* there were any formal colonial designs. Given the book's length and breadth, the following review focuses on a select number of cases addressed by Ross. Among the constellation of natural resources examined in part one, perhaps the most important of them is chapter six's exploration into the history of oil acquisition, given its centrality to the current climate catastrophe and global capitalism in general.

From the late-nineteenth century onwards, oil became of particular interest to empires attempting to acquire power in "the physical sense of the term, defined most

elementally as energy converted into action" (199). Initially in the form of coal, the application "of unprecedented amounts of fossilized energy to a multitude of new industrial, military, and commercial activities" (200) fundamentally reshaped and expanded Europe's physical capabilities to alter the world it colonized—an ability, in turn, significantly enhanced by the discovery of oil. The extraction of oil wrought massive ecological and environmental changes, "connect[ing] a multitude of entities together: the geologist and the forest, the driller and the desert, the motorist and the subsoil" (202). This resultant process of intertwining locations, expertise, and technologies would become essential to globalized capitalism.

Each geographic example of oil extraction in the chapter, such as Burma, Sumatra, and Borneo, "underscores the dependence of colonial oil firms on military security" (209) to dependably and profitably extract oil. However, Ross argues that, for imperial powers, the "main concern…was not a lack of oil but a lack of control over its flow" (213). The latter helps explain how twentieth-century European plans for securing oil unfolded. For example, the colonial powers did not immediately tap known oil deposits—like those near the Tigris river in northern Mesopotamia—but rather chose to prospect for additional fields in neighbouring Iran. To access these resources, European companies had to work diplomatically. Such diplomatic strategies included extracting concessions, such as the 1901 D'Arcy Concession in the case of Iran; establishing and working with regionally-based organizations to keep other known oil sources in the ground, such as the Turkish Petroleum Company, which prevented the extraction of Mesopotamian oil; and instituting ownership over companies that would do the extracting to circumvent local rules and simultaneously establish definite markets for the oil. This last example was best exemplified by the British Royal Navy's acquisition of a fifty-one percent stake in the British parastatal organization of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) in 1912, shortly after large quantities of oil were discovered. The example of Iran is particularly important because, despite numerous interventions, Iran was never formally colonized. Thus, the operation of APOC indicates the extent to which empires could project their power to physically change the environment of distant areas prior to or even without a formalized colonial

apparatus in place. Instead, they relied on what some scholars have termed company or corporate colonialism.[1]

Ross argues that the most powerful consequence of imperial ecological construction and destruction was often the environment's reaction. The environment suffered from colonial exploitation but also foiled those same colonial plans. In this sense, Ross describes the environment as exercising its own kind of agency, frequently killing colonial workers and sinking profits within various colonies. For example, in chapter one, Ross examines how colonial interests, both in terms of political attention and financial investment, hinged on soil depletion, which inevitably carried a boom-bust implication. As a result, European powers consistently shifted their interests from areas of soil depletion to areas of fertility. Another example is that as the world became increasingly commercially interlinked, local ecosystems were correspondingly delinked from each other. For instance, the implementation of perennial irrigation to feed water-hungry cotton plants without a sustained program for drainage adversely affected the entire ecosystem, including rapid salinization and reduced fertility for the soils around the Nile because irrigation engineering interrupted the Nile's annual flood cycle (42). Simultaneously, this irrigation program's diversion of Nile waters led to a "falling nutrient subsidy from the Nile" that depleted nutrients in the adjacent ecosystem in the southeast Mediterranean, impacting fisheries and the prevalence of disease (43). Of course, as marine resources were depleted in the Mediterranean, wandering imperial eyes were cast elsewhere to supplant those resources.

On the other hand, one facet Ross explores less is that colonialism was as interested in *linking* environments and temporally shortening the space between them as it was in delinking them. For example, in pre-oil rush Qajar Iran, in 1872, the Persian Crown granted an outstandingly steep concession to the British banker Baron Julius de Reuter to build a railroad that would link London more closely to India while providing inroads to Persia. While the railway was never actually built because of tensions with the Russian Empire, de Reuter framed the concession as an attempt "to open up the great natural resources of their country for the benefit of the world at

[1] See Elizabeth Comack in "Corporate Colonialism and the "Crimes of the Powerful" Committed Against the Indigenous Peoples of Canada" *Critical Criminology* 26, no. 1 (2018): 455-471; Phillip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

large."[2] This motivation to collapse space and time between locales to the smallest degree possible undergirded colonial machinations, linking ecologies along transportation routes for human consumption while simultaneously severing the link between other facets of these ecologies.

In parts two and three, Ross exposes the reader to the domino effects of unintended consequences, where major disruptions in ecological systems by white settlers and imperial powers often ushered in iterations of older problems on a greater scale because of degradations in ecological health. Part two focuses on later colonial practices of conservation and the language of improving and rationalizing land use, while part three delves into the destructive aftermath of these efforts, which, more often than not, ended up exacerbating the harms already done under the purely extractive phase. Ross demonstrates the relationship between these phases through numerous examples. This is perhaps best encapsulated by the trypanosomiasis-carrying tsetse fly in sub-Saharan Africa (259), whose deadly multiplication was wrought by the reduction, via hunting, of herbivores that had fed on the bushes that the tsetse occupied (260-261). At the same time, Ross examines the push and pull between the different ideological camps in various European empires, which could not agree on whether slow programmatic or radical immediate development of the colonies' ecology was better. Ross also explores the various pressures and subversions the colonies themselves initiated. As Ross describes in chapter ten, an increasingly technical understanding in the twentieth century of what would be "good" for the environment—for example, accommodating the native biosphere and utilizing Indigenous knowledge—was perpetually counterbalanced by the exploitative impulse to reap profit quickly and excessively, despite these purely alien extractive practices almost always resulting in failure.

Three points in this section are particularly striking. The first is that the battles between exploitation and conservation were waged on primarily "ethical" grounds. In other words, they hinged on the injury or benefit environmental projects would provide to European powers in terms of their own perceived morality. Ethics became cemented in the cloak of "science," as illustrated in chapters seven and eight. These

[2] Ceren Ucan, "A Tale of Two Railways and the Reuter family." *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 55, no.1 (2019): 22 – 32.

chapters demonstrate how truly "scientific" ideas—for instance, the regulation of resources against overuse, animal extinction, climate change, watershed protection—were always paired with a racist "scientific approach" that limited "irresponsible" Indigenous use of the land. Later, once it became clearer to the technical experts (chapters nine and ten) that Indigenous land-use practices were the most ecologically and economically sustainable, new political concerns arose that encouraged increased colonial intervention into nature, albeit for different reasons. One new camp advocated for faster exploitation of the land at any expense and saw African lands as being a *tabula rasa* for the use of European agricultural machinery, endowing it with new characteristics of "purity" that yet retained its "irrationality" (355).[3] Another that emerged was "in many respects… [a] prime example of a budding 'green anti-imperialism,'" (344) which critiqued imperial land use practices as environmentally degrading. Yet these nascent "green anti-imperial[ist]" ethics still "proposed solutions [that] amounted to a further extension of colonial control" (344). Those who advocated for imperial environmental plans that would do less harm to the Indigenous people believed that colonized peoples and places still needed an improved form of imperial intervention and oversight so that colonized populations could survive the contact of European "civilization" that had supposedly inexorably changed them—a change that the Indigenous people could not weather without European (345).

What is ethical? One of Ross's most important contentions in parts two and three is that imperial powers oscillated between it being ethical to exploit versus ethical to conserve. The changing definition of ethics is a powerful argument with clear implications for the present: to avoid the worst impulses of conservation, the so-called "developed" world cannot apply the paternalistic logic of the white man's burden to the domain of worldwide ecology. After all, regarding the imperialist powers' various conservation attempts, Ross observes, "'ethically' minded officials were primarily concerned with boosting indigenous confidence in European expertise rather than valorizing local techniques for their own sake" (332). This often led to disastrous consequences for the environment and always for Indigenous peoples.

The second important argument in this section that conservation itself was a colonial appendage and not a salve to imperial exploitations—a logic that persists to

[3] This logic is akin to that of the "noble savage" literary trope.

this day. Colonial-era conservation efforts "represented a radical assertion of power over land use" (273). This appears akin to today's rhetoric around saving the environment, which often results in the continued appropriation of Indigenous lands for national conservation projects in settler colonial societies like the US, Canada, Australia, Israel, and others.[4] Ultimately, Ross also notes that today's climate and environmental nihilism echoes the colonial view that the relationship between past and present is "one of inexorable decline" (300), just as in colonial times, and is imbued with crypto-colonial characteristics itself. This assumes that humans have no way to live within ecologies without degrading them and that "natural" environments have no humans. Eco-tourism and green-grabbing practices – which generally parcel out areas from permanent human habitation to "preserve" them – reinforces this logic.

Finally, Ross reminds us that we cannot see the moulding of the environment in colonial times as monocausal or as only being shaped by European hands. As much as this story is about the negative consequences wrought by the European colonial seizure of lands, it is also about how Indigenous communities resisted or co-opted these methods to make the new models work for themselves, which sometimes contributed to the deteriorating effects as well. Relatedly, as Ross's conclusion explores, is the idea that the history of the environment offers few singular conclusions in who offered the "right" way to do things under the nation-state model. On the one hand, while the colonial story of linear deterioration ignored constructive Indigenous land use practices, it is also true that some colonial practices did occasionally improve the environments through imperial conservation efforts. That post-colonial nation states sometimes exacerbated environmental, agricultural, or resource-mining ventures introduced under colonialism is evidence of today's multi-agency regarding environmental degradation. For example, scholars like On Barak have argued that forces like "coalinization" did not merely begin in Western Europe then spread elsewhere. Instead, the adoption of coal power happened early in places like the

[4] For instance, the ongoing Israeli seizure of occupied Palestinian areas to "conserve the environment." One recent example is a new nature preserve that is being built illegally in the Palestinian West Bank's Jordan Valley. See Akram al-Waara, "In Jordan Valley, Palestinians denounce new Israeli nature reserves as a 'facade' for annexation, *Middle East Eye,* January 23, 2020. https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/new-israeli-nature-reserves-west-bank-are-facade-annexation.

Ottoman Empire, in which coal came to be mutually constitutive of colonizer and colonized societies alike.

On the other hand, Indigenous practices were, more often than not, constructive in preserving an ecology that retained human habitation. To this point, as Ross details, Indigenous human activity in the savannah was actually healing it from a natural process of deforestation, re-entrenching the forest and encouraging growth before the advent of colonialism there (302). That colonial powers misidentified the direction that the forest was moving—that areas were actually being reforested and not newly deforested —would probably be the most likely repeat consequence of potential neo-imperial conservation. On the contrary, a radical plan for our environmental and ecological future must be one that mutually benefits all, including both the land and people's sovereignty.

A critical takeaway of Ross's book is that we—globally in the present—should listen to "[I]ndigenous communities [rather than] technical experts" (418) to learn how to create a sustainably productive world and strategize our way out of our impending environmental catastrophe. These Indigenous practices are improvisational, flexible, and offer a framework that allows us to think beyond the crucial and potentially disastrous limits that borders have on saving the world. Ross argues that human societies and non-human ecologies cannot become discreetly self-sufficient again, if this was ever true in the first place. All localities are now interdependent "omnivores" (421), wrapped up in capitalism's global supply and consumption chain. A national framework where the developed world constantly offloads the consequences to the developing world will doom us. However, the past, as much as it offers warnings for what not to do (and what we still are doing), also points towards "hybrid practices" (360) and experiments that may instill hope.

Ecology and Power in the Age of Empire is essential reading for graduate students and scholars who focus on the fields of colonialism, the history of conservation, and the histories of the environment in the post-colonial world. Its wide-ranging topics of analysis, as well as the fact that it brings both colonial exploitation and conservation under the same analytical mode, is incisive, innovative, and weighs heavily on our present moment. As Ross details in the introduction, we are entering a new age of imperialism, wherein "wealth and power are based not only on the social construction of productive human activity but also on the ability to modify the rest of the biosphere

and harness its productivity for human purposes" (2). The impulses undergirding ecological exploitation remain with us, so it is well worth continuing to trace how imperialism insinuated itself into the environment over the ages. To that point, Ross's vast case studies and analyses are particularly useful for the further study of the relationship between capitalism's historical development and the environment. Although the book explores these implications to some degree, subjects such as the financialization of nature and what scholars like Raj Patel and Jason Moore call the "frontier-making" impulse of capitalism;[5] the imperative to define who and what represents "untapped" labour (47); and how nature upends capitalistic intentions (18) could all be examined in greater depth in future research.

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[5] Raj Patel and Jason W. Moore, *A History of the World in Seven Cheap Things: A Guide to Capitalism, Nature, and the Future of the Planet* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).