This pdf of your paper in *Fashionable Encounters* belongs to the publishers Oxbow Books and it is their copyright.

As author you are licenced to make up to 50 offprints from it, but beyond that you may not publish it on the World Wide Web until three years from publication (June 2017), unless the site is a limited access intranet (password protected). If you have queries about this please contact the editorial department at Oxbow Books (editorial@oxbowbooks.com).
An offprint from
FASHIONABLE ENCOUNTERS
Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress
in the Early Modern Nordic World

Edited by
Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen, Marie-Louise Nosch,
Maj Ringgaard, Kirsten Tøftegaard and Mikkel Venborg Pedersen


ANCIENT TEXTILES SERIES VOL. 14

© Oxbow Books 2014
Oxford & Philadelphia
www.oxbowbooks.com
Published in the United Kingdom in 2014 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
908 Darby Road, Havertown, PA 19083

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors 2014


A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the publisher in writing.

Printed in the United Kingdom by Berforts Information Press Ltd, Eynsham, Oxfordshire

For a complete list of Oxbow titles, please contact:

UNITED KINGDOM
Oxbow Books
Telephone (01865) 241249, Fax (01865) 794449
Email: oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Oxbow Books
Telephone (800) 791-9354, Fax (610) 853-9146
Email: queries@casemateacademic.com
www.casemateacademic.com/oxbow

Oxbow Books is part of the Casemate Group

Front cover: Johann Heinrich Tischbein, Den Plönske hertugfamilie/The Duke of Plön and his family, 1759. Oil on canvas, 192 × 300 cm.
© The Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, Denmark. Photo: Ole Haupt.
Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................................................................................................................... v
List of Illustrations ............................................................................................................................................................................................................... vi
List of Contributors ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. x

Prologue – Mikkel Venborg Pedersen ............................................................................................................................................................... xiii

1 The World of Foreign Goods and Imported Luxuries: Merchant and shop inventories in late 17th-century Denmark–Norway ................................................................. 1
Camilla Luise Dahl & Piia Lempiäinen

2 Foreign Seductions: Sumptuary laws, consumption and national identity in early modern Sweden .......................................................... 15
Eva I. Andersson

3 Fashion from the Ship: Life, fashion and fashion dissemination in and around Kokkola, Finland in the 18th century ............................................................ 31
Seija Johnson

4 Creating Fashion: Tailors’ and seamstresses’ work with cutting and construction techniques in women’s dress, c. 1750–1830 ........................................ 49
Pernilla Rasmussen

5 Silk Knitted Waistcoats: A 17th-century fashion item ............................................................................................................................... 73
Maj Ringgaard

6 Fashioning the Early Modern Swedish Nobility – mirrored in preserved 17th-century liturgical textiles ............................................................ 105
Lena Dahrén

7 Reflections on Dress Practices and How to get to know the Past ............................................................ 119
Bjørn Sverre Hol Haugen

8 The Queen of Denmark: An English fashion doll and its connections to the Nordic countries .................. 133
Cecilie Stöger Nachman

9 At the Nordic Fringe of Global Consumption: A Copenhagen bourgeois’ home and the use of new goods in the mid-18th century ........................................... 141
Mikkel Venborg Pedersen

10 The Theft of Fashion: Circulation of fashionable textiles and garments in 18th-century Copenhagen .................. 157
Vibe Maria Martens
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bolette-Marie Harboe’s Bridal Dress: Fashionable encounters told in an 18th-century dress</td>
<td>Kirsten Toftegaard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Luxurious Textiles in Danish Christening Garments: Fashionable encounters across social and geographical borders</td>
<td>Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fish-bones and Fashion: The influence of whaling on women’s clothes in early modern Europe</td>
<td>Christina Folke Ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>From Doll Cups to Woollen Sweaters: Trends, consumption and influentials in early 19th-century southern Disko Bay, Greenland</td>
<td>Peter Andreas Toft &amp; Maria Mackinney-Valentin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>From Abundance to Asceticism: Religious influences on perceptions of luxury in Denmark and Great Britain in the 18th century</td>
<td>Juliane Engelhardt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Circulating Images of Unmanliness and Foreignness: Collector Niclas Holterman and European caricatures in Sweden around 1800</td>
<td>Patrik Steorn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the course of the 18th century, fashion was transformed from what in brief could be characterized as a demonstration of wealth into a much more modest and downscaled appearance. At the beginning of the century, powdered wigs, silk stockings and sumptuously embroidered dress for both upper class men and women were an external indication that physical labour did not constitute a part of everyday life. This was, by the end of the century, replaced by somewhat simpler dresses and suits in dark colours, which not only signalled a change of attitude concerning work, but also a new conceptualization of luxury. This chapter investigates the religious origins of this change, and suggests that Puritanism in England and Pietism in the German States (Germany in short), and in the kingdom of Denmark–Norway provided important ideological and behavioural input in this transformation from an extravagant to an ascetic dress code.

This chapter is a comparative study of Denmark and Great Britain. It examines how prescriptions of modesty and self-restraint written by the English puritan, Richard Baxter (1615–1691) and the German Lutheran, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), among others, influenced the public debates on luxury at the end of the 18th century, albeit in a secular way. In the final discussion, these treatises are seen in context. Thus the focus of this chapter is not the material culture of fashion as such, but the social impact of religious ideas on dress and behaviour.

The culture of representation

The culture of high court had developed since late mediaeval times and found one of its culminations in the splendours of Louis XIV (1638–1715)’s court at Versailles in France. The lavishly decorated castle in Versailles was among the grandest in Europe, and the centre of a great deal of festivity. The display of wealth and enjoyment played an important role in the political justification of the king’s absolute power, and constituted what latter day historians have termed a culture of
Fig. 15.1: In the course of the 18th century, the extravagant dress code of the court culture was increasingly ridiculed and criticized for standing aloof from the world. The caricature illustrates this very well, as the wig and feathers on the head of the woman at the forefront are so tall and voluminous that a bird has nested in it. She has the face of a witch, and her male companion, tickling her chin, not only has a big belly, but also an unpleasant face. The two giggling girls in the background are more modestly dressed. The cross on the necklace of the girl at the right attests that she is a Christian. Its presence on this picture probably is a witness to her decency (The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Collections of Maps, Prints and Photographs; Date and illustrator of the picture is unknown).
representation. This culture is most notable in situations which today are considered as both private and intimate, namely morning and evening rituals. These were public ceremonies during which the king performed before an exclusive audience when he did his morning and evening toilette and ate his meals. Only those belonging to the very top of the nobility were allowed to watch the king actually go to sleep, and it was considered a special privilege to hand the queen her underwear. The French court was the role model which nobles and absolute monarchs in the rest of Europe persevered to imitate. For instance, Frederick I of Prussia (1657–1713) was known for his glittering royal household. The expenses for maintaining his palaces, festivities and private zoo allegedly accounted for 7% of the national budget. In the Danish state, the king too was portrayed as the absolute centre and sun in society. Both Christian V (1646–1699) and Frederik IV (1671–1730) visited Louis XIV as crown princes, and as kings, they pursued the gaudy court life they had experienced at Versailles. In reality, however, the early absolute Danish monarchy until the middle of the 18th century was a “budget-monarchy”, as their display of wealth was primarily expressed in mere ceremonies, not in constructing grandiose castles.

Splendour as a political language of power reflected a social order in the European societies that was deeply hierarchical. The orders of rank attached certain privileges to each estate which were reflected in the style of dress and thus visible in clothing. The sumptuary laws prescribed that outer appearances should be a precise indicator of one’s social standing and place in the hierarchy of ranks, and it was forbidden to imitate the appearance of another rank. The lower orders should thus wear garments of wool and flax, the middle rank decorations, wigs or ribbons, and only the nobility were allowed to wear masks, powdered wigs and dresses of silk and velvet and gold embroidery. However, the sumptuary laws were widely ignored and, as will be demonstrated later, complaints were widespread that the lower orders wore clothes above their standing, as this led to a confusion of ranks.

In the second part of the 18th century, the political culture and the perception of legitimate power changed. This was, not least, fuelled by the rise of a public sphere which became the new platform for the exchange of ideas, information and criticism. Whereas the basic political sentiment in the culture of representation was distance between the king and the people, the public sphere was now slowly opening to a wider and much more differentiated circle of people than those belonging to the top of the orders of rank. Participants in the public debates on forms of government, civil rights and the necessity of enlightenment were predominantly from the economic and educated middle classes. They insisted that the crucial criteria for participation in public debates should be rationality and plausible argumentation. They also influenced perceptions of absolute monarchies with ideas of a social contract, and emphasized that it was the people who possessed sovereignty and had only temporarily transferred it to its ruler. The king was increasingly believed to be, in the words of the Prussian king Frederick II (the Great) (1712–1786), nothing but “the first servant of the state”. His father, Frederick William I (1688–1740) had already dissociated himself from the representational culture of his own father, as he saw himself as a promoter of an ascetic lifestyle. In his political testament, he instructed his successors not to indulge in excessive eating and drinking and not to tolerate theatres, masquerades or public dancing. In Denmark, crown prince Frederick (1768–1839), later King Frederick VI, who from 1784 ruled on behalf of his mentally ill father, Christian VII (1749–1808), gained a reputation for his hard-working, temperate lifestyle. He reportedly slept in a camp bed and his favourite attire was an old military uniform.

The call for religious reform and asceticism

Why did this change from ostentatious abundance to puritan utilitarianism come about? Why was Louis XIV’s lavishness considered to be almost a duty whereas Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were criticized for excessive consumption, and many monarchs in Europe made a virtue of demonstrating in public that they pursued a sparse life? One of the reasons was the Puritan and Pietistic movements, which enthusiastically called for asceticism. The Puritan movements in England arose from dissatisfaction with the lack of
consistency in the Reformation introduced by Henry VIII (1491–1547) in 1533 and his successors. One of the principal counts in the Puritans’ criticism of the Church of England was that the ecclesiastical liturgy and attire were heavily influenced by the Catholic Church. In protesting against this, Puritans dressed modestly and in toned-down colours. They were nicknamed Puritans and Precisians by opponents because of their rejection of the grandiose church rituals and fundamental reading of the Bible, the nicknames originally implying disdain. Whereas the Puritans were deeply involved in the English Civil War (1642–1649), the Pietists in Germany and the Scandinavian countries made an effort not to engage in church politics and refrained from disrupting the state churches in their respective countries. Nevertheless, they launched a severe criticism of the contemporary orthodox Lutheran churches for propagating rigid systems of learning and dogmatic interpretations of the Bible. In the pietistic worldview, it was not crucial to believe in the right way, but to believe in a vigorous way; to read the Bible personally and experience Christianity in an emotional, heart-felt manner. The publication of Johann Arndt’s *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* in 1603 was a precursor of pietism, but it was inaugurated by Philipp Jakob Spener’s *Pia Desideria*, which was published in 1675. In this treatise, Spener complained about the spiritual misery and increasing moral decay which he believed to be widespread, as people indulged in material pomp and excessive drinking and eating. In spite of Puritanism and Pietism representing two different confessions, Calvinism and Lutheranism respectively, they had several similarities, which make it pertinent to compare Great Britain and Denmark. Both movements emphasized conversion and rebirth, and operated with a clear distinction between true and false Christians. They also both emphasized that the convert’s intensified faith should be reflected in simplicity in material goods and a distinct awareness of using time in a profitable way. And finally, both Puritans and Pietists emphasized *Praxis Pietatis*, i.e. that faith should not only be an inner state of mind, but also be expressed in charitable deeds.

Puritan ideas were popularized in the 17th century through numerous books and pamphlets targeting both the higher and lower orders. A shared characteristic of these was their disciplining commands of everyday life. This is in particular true of Richard Baxter’s *The Saints’ Everlasting Rest* (1650), *The Christian Directory* (1664–65), and *The Poor Man’s Family Book* (1674); of John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s
world and he recommended a life of self-denial in order to prepare oneself for redemption on the Last Day. Baxter devoted a special chapter to give directions for those who were already wealthy. These people should be aware that riches may please their flesh, but did not make them better Christians than the poor. Wealth reconciled not God, and he who had no better was an undone man. It was not sinful in itself to be rich, but Baxter complained about the lifestyle of the rich and their erroneous beliefs about not having any societal obligations. Wealthy people, he wrote, often regarded it as their privilege to live without any profitable labour and eat and drink as their appetite desired. On the contrary, riches should call for far greater self-denial and watchfulness against sensuality. The rich should labour as constantly as the poor, although not in the same kind of work. Wealthy merchants should not keep their wealth to themselves or their children, but be aware that God had given them their wealth to further the good of others; [...] “let it be your care and business to do good. They should keep daily account of their use of money and ask themselves: What good have I done with all that I have this day or week?”

Although Pietist instructions for everyday life were never as elaborate as the puritanical, it was highly evident, and asceticism was also believed to be a distinct feature of being a true Christian. August Hermann Francke was the leading figure in the Pietistic movement in Halle, Germany, where he established comprehensive pedagogical and social institutions: Franckesche Stiftungen. He advised his followers on how true Christians should conduct their lives in the essay: Schriftmässige Lebens-Regeln, which was published in 1695. In the first paragraph, Francke stated that there were many opportunities to sin and that it was therefore of utmost importance always to have God present in one’s thoughts. Similarly to the instructions of Baxter and Bayly, Francke taught the reader that true Christians never spoke more than necessary, and then only when they were given the opportunity by God. They spoke reverently, thoughtfully, meekly and with humility. A true convert should avoid talking about worldly affairs, and when he did he should only speak of useful matters. Francke also warned that “der Lügen-Geist herschet drinnen”, meaning that man had a natural predisposition to exaggerate when telling stories.
mean language were among the greatest sins and God and Jesus should only be spoken of with the greatest reverence. When engaging in society, it was equally important to be useful and, as it was impossible to avoid association with the godless, the convert should try to improve them. When it came to comfort and pleasure, true Christians should always show moderation and sober-mindedness, and decline if somebody urged them to excess in eating and drinking, as this was an attempt to make them sin against their god. True Christians would never laugh, as it could lead to rashness. In general, they would always be useful and always considered the utility of the things they engaged in. The *Lebensregeln* ends with the statement that no one should consider themselves to be worth more than other people, and those who behaved ostentatiously and lavishly should be considered a burden. The *Lebensregeln* thus contained a gleam of egalitarianism, although not elaborated.

Francke did not touch upon excessiveness in dress in the *Lebensregeln*, but this was a theme in his writings for ecclesiastical reform. In *Glaubisches Gedenkbüchlein* from 1693, Francke complained about the general profanation of the Sabbath (*Ruhetag*) as many people spent the day on worldly occupation, instead of matters of the heart. Francke stated that it was not a sinful habit to dress in clean clothes, but it was to be considered a sinful and purely temporal habit when people regarded the Sabbath as an opportunity to flash their pomp and splendour. They came to church not to hear the words of God, but only to see what clothes others wore, thus creating a culture of shallowness. God's true children always sought after Christian fervour and would never let the devil worm of appearance into their hearts.

In another work on ecclesiastical reform, *Projekt zu einem Seminario universalis* from 1701, Francke criticized those who wore pearls, rings, precious stones and other jewellery as this was only done through vanity. When raising a child, one should teach it true piety and avoid vices. This implied that when the child received new clothes, the parents should never make comments on how wonderful the child looked. Nor should they encourage the child to adorn him or herself as this was not pious behaviour. The parent should also beware never to speak in flattering terms of wealthy people, but teach the child to be thrifty. In order to do this, giving the child a piggy bank was a useful pedagogical tool. In two sermons held in Halle, Francke more explicitly attacked the tradition for demonstrating high estate via pomp in dress. He maintained that God divides mankind into two groups: those who sowed for the flesh and those who sowed for the spirit. To sow for the flesh, was to look with admiration and envy at people in proud and flashy clothes and think to oneself: *So ein Ding muss ich auch haben*. Those who adorned their bodies with jewellery and fine clothes were making room for the Devil into their hearts and thus sowed their own condemnation.

In a sermon on the duties towards the poor, Francke attacked the higher estates for dressing in expensive clothes and purple robes. Where in the Bible, he asked, does it say that you are of a noble estate hence you must dress in noble clothes? Francke continued that those who dressed pompously were fools who only wished for worldly honour and reputation. What did God in heaven say to that? He saw the splendid clothes, but he also saw that the same people chose to ignore the misery and suffering in the society surrounding them. And, in this respect, their outer appearance was trivial. True honour was not assigned to people living in pomp and abundance, as only those who helped the poor would be redeemed.

Francke’s instructions on the conduct of everyday life were well observed in his institutions in Halle. The teachers were instructed not to wear luxurious clothes, wigs, silk stockings or jewellery. However their clothes should be decent and clean. Neither should the teachers attend dancing comedies, nor fools’ games, nor laugh and make fun. When engaging in conversations, they should speak with modesty and sobriety. When engaging in discussions, they should speak with modesty and prudence. In Copenhagen, an orphanage (*Waisenhaus*) modelled on the orphanage in Halle was established in 1716. Here, the teachers received similar instructions.

To sum up, the ethos in the Puritan and Pietist teaching was an ethos of modesty and sincerity. The general tone in the instructions was humility and avoidance of excess in any matter; not merely in material goods, but also in speech and temper. Modesty in dress was both thematized as a separate topic, and was a part of the Pietist’s general call for simplicity and sobriety. The ascetic instructions entailed implicit criticism of the artificiality and display of excess characteristic of court culture. In the
From Abundance to Asceticism: Religious influences on perceptions of luxury

Traditional rank society, people who dressed lavishly deserved respect. In the worldview of the ascetic movements, extravagant appearance did not deserve respect, but was a sign of a hollow and superficial personality. Luxurious clothes and ostentatious materialism signaled that consciousness of sin was absent, whereas in traditional society, one of the ways the aristocracy had demonstrated its position at the top of the societal hierarchy was by not engaging in work – with the wide skirts and tall wigs signaling that physical labour was not a part of their lives. This was contrary to the strong working ethos promoted by the Puritan and Pietistic movements. In their worldview, constancy in labour, performed with seriousness and discipline, was a precondition for obtaining the grace of God.

The public debate on luxury

The question of the impact of Puritanism and Pietism on the Enlightenment has been widely debated among historians and sociologists throughout the 20th century and this debate is still very much alive. There is no doubt that both movements played a significant role in their own era. Puritans played an important political role as they actively opposed absolutism and supported parliamentarism during the English Civil War. Pietists never engaged in politics in the same way the Puritans had done and their influence remained primarily cultural. Frederick William I of Prussia supported the Pietistic movement, among others, by obliging every applicant for a government position to study for four semesters at the Pietistic universities in Halle or Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad, Russia), and by introducing compulsory school attendance. The Danish–Norwegian-Schleswig-Holstein conglomerate state, King Christian VI (1699–1746) in reality made Halle Pietism the official form of Protestantism, employed Pietists in high clerical positions, introduced decrees on the observance of the Sabbath and banned theatres and dance. Confirmation, which was a personal affirmation of the Christian faith, became mandatory in the Danish realm in 1736. The catechism used by the students to prepare for their confirmation was written by the Pietistic bishop, Erik Pontoppidan, and had several similarities with Spener’s Catechism. It remained the official catechism until 1794, and thereby Pietism was propagated to the population at large. However, the focus of this chapter is not the immediate impact of the movements, but their long-ranging effect on the public discussions of luxury in the late Enlightenment, as it is possible to observe some continuity in the arguments and patterns of thought. The following does by no means claim to be an exhaustive survey, but rather attempts to pin down basic trails of arguments and compare and contrast the Danish and British debates. Debates on the economic and moral consequences of fashion and luxury were lively during the Enlightenment and numerous publications on the topic were issued. One trail had a predominantly economic character, as excessiveness was seen as the primary source for the poverty of the state. Another trail focused on the morally corrupt implications of excessive materialism, and passion for ostentatious consumption was described as a corrosive illness, which destroyed virtue and good manners.

The economic criticism of luxury was, first and foremost, directed towards the import of goods from other countries, as this, it was claimed, caused a deficit in the national balance of payment. In the Danish state, complaints were raised that extravagant goods were produced in foreign factories thus undermining domestic industry. As it had become fashionable to dress in accordance with French fashion, and to buy mirrors, chairs and beds produced in England, money was transferred out of the country. The Society for Civic Virtue was established in 1785 in order to promote simplicity in dress and encourage the inhabitants to buy goods produced in Denmark “[as] we use too much of foreign goods, and have only a little to sell to foreign countries.” Especially in the period 1801–1807, when Denmark was involved in the Napoleonic Wars on the French side and was attacked by the British Navy, the calls for simplicity in the public debate were widespread. Several royal proclamations were issued, which ordered the population to reduce abundance and encourage modesty and industry. Thus it was a basic premise of many economic discussions that sumptuousness was the primary source of the poverty of the state, and citizens were urged to demonstrate their love of country by limiting the consumption of luxury. These arguments were primarily a
reminisce of the restricted import policy of mercantilism in Denmark. Yet, among defenders of economic liberalism in the rest of Europe too, excessive materialism was linked to licentious behaviour and lack of patriotism. Liberal thinkers, such as the French philosopher François Voltaire and the Scottish philosophers David Hume and Adam Smith, did not see luxury as a problem as such, on the contrary they applauded man’s striving for increasing material welfare, but also stressed that wealth should be pursued in a way beneficial to the country as a whole. Luxury was only bad if used in an unpatriotic way. The ideological foundation of this perception was the Dutch-born British Philosopher, Bernard Mandeville’s essay The Fable of the Bees from 1714, in which he argued that selfishness and vanity were not evil dispositions if they were “civilized” and used in the service of the common good. This notion of the public benefit of man’s vices became incorporated in the ideology of liberalism; when man’s basic instincts, such as greed, envy and ambitions were pursued in a socially acceptable manner, society as a whole would profit and prosper.

Public discussions on luxury in Denmark and Great Britain were not only concerned with the national economy; they also contained a distinctly moral tone. Vanity and greed were regarded as desirable vices in so far as they caused industry and diligence. However, they could lead to a moral slippery slope. The British magazine, The School for Fashion warned throughout the two volumes published against the moral dangers of indulging in fashion and luxury. The opening dedication To Fashion describes it as corruptive to morals, hostile to domestic happiness and dangerous to the health, the virtue and happiness of the female world. Especially, fashionable young women were in danger, as they: “[…] indulge themselves in mode of conversation, latitude of expression, and freedom of demeanor, which the courteous of a former period would have blushed to practice. This is the first step to profligacy, because a want of modesty leads to the sacrifice of chastity in the married character.” The author continued that the present mode of appearance reflected a very high degree of immorality because it was immodest and showed contempt for reason and religion. Not even prostitutes would appear in the fashion of the present day in any public place. In the first chapter, the reader was introduced to a wealthy couple; the husband was a respected proprietor and possessed a natural generosity and benevolence. However, his wife was a different kind of creature as her extravagane, love of magnificent dresses, finery, masks, feathers, flowers, gauze, ribbons, hats and garlands was beyond bounds, her pursuits were riotous pleasures and her heart corrupt. Thus she was portrayed as vulgar and completely lacking in charm and virtue. In the subsequent chapters, readers were presented with accounts of her material excessiveness in all aspects of life, turning the domestic household into a theatre scene displaying abundance. Each chapter ended by stating a moral lesson that true virtue was neither to be found among the rich and wealthy, nor among the lower orders, but among the educated middle classes, who knew the rules of polite conduct and good taste: “[…] it is most certain, that the virtue to be found among mankind, is chiefly to be met with among the middle class. The excessive luxury of those in high stations, and the extreme poverty and ignorance of the lower ranks, is undoubtedly the chief cause of that depravity.” Thus the world of the wealthy was described as a world of pretence and depravity.

In both the Danish and British debates, the denunciation of luxury sometimes took the shape of a denunciation of modernity as such; built on a notion of a paradise lost. It was a recurrent theme that, simplicity was far greater back in a distant past. In wistful phrases, it was described to the reader how people in antiquity applauded frugality as they knew that true honour did not come from opulence. Since then, man had alienated himself from the natural state and believed that he could find happiness in the material world. In the public debate, a sarcastic tone of voice was often used to complain about fashion Junkers, face powder heroes, and licentious balls and masquerades. The minutes of the Society for Civic Virtue prescribed in detail how the members should behave thriftily; only cold supper was allowed, only one room in the house should be reserved for parties, and festivities at weddings and baptisms should be subdued. The members should never enjoy pure alcohol, only punch, and of course tea and coffee, their clothes should be made of domestic fabrics and kept in sober colours,
and stockings made of silk were not allowed. The rules were actually for the benefit of the national economy, but they also had a moral emphasis. The members should demonstrate their self-restraint and inner virtue by dressing modestly. The ascetic conduct of life should permeate the members’ entire mentality and in line with this, the minutes prescribed how every member every single day, morning, noon and night, should reflect on every one of his deeds and ask himself: is this for the good of the country? There are some clear similarities between these rules of conduct and the ideals propagated by, for example Baxter and Francke as these prescribed the convert always to have God present in his/her thoughts and to examine their conscience every night on the day that had gone. Nevertheless, by the end of the 18th century, the religious origins of this habitus were forgotten, and became expressed in secular terms; the goal was no longer to honour God, but to promote the welfare of the fatherland.

The cry for simplicity was unambiguous in the Danish public debate throughout the 18th century. However, there was a change in the focus of the groups in the population that had a primary responsibility for not dressing in the correct manner. In the mid-18th century, complaints were widespread that the lower orders strove to dress above their estate. It was argued that people should dress in order to make the differences between the estates visible; when people of the lower
orders dressed in pomp it would lead to the destruction of the social order. Extravagant clothing was reserved for the wealthy, and not to be worn by commoners. Debaters thus supported the sumptuary laws and the determining of the social hierarchy. The opposition to social mobility among the lower orders is congruent with the predominant attitude in the Enlightenment movement in the mid-18th century. This changed in the final decades of the 18th century. Claims for social equality increased, and attacks on the prerogatives of the nobility became widespread during the French Revolution. Members of the Society for Civic Virtue argued that the society was a forum in which the Rich and Noble can unite with those, who are not Rich and noble. Although the society pleaded for simplicity, its members also distanced themselves from the sumptuary laws exactly because these discriminated people socially.

A prominent member of the society, Tyge Rothe, who was also a prominent participant in the public debates in Denmark in general, stated that what was optimal would be a citizen aristocracy (Borger-adel). He argued that expensive clothes did not create true nobility whereas people, who could persuade the public by reason and argumentation, constituted the true nobility. Another example is an article, published by an anonymous author in one of the leading magazines in Denmark, Minerva, which discussed the public expenses used at a royal wedding in 1790, and recommended that these should be kept to a minimum. More generally, it was emphasized that the royal family’s way of life should be characterized by virtue and simplicity and thereby be a role model for the rest of the population. This was different to the representative culture at the outset of the 18th century, in which the king was on display and the people constituted the audience. The perceptions of the royal family as distant figures did not disappear in the course of the 18th century, but it was definitely a change that they were regarded as role models for the rest of the population, and that commoners’ identification with royals was considered to be important.

Participants in the public debate in Denmark could not criticize the royal family publicly because of the censorship. Instead, some of them launched harsh attacks on the nobility, picturing it as a part of the population that lived in isolated estates, puffed-up, morally corrupt, and unable to reason and sponging on society at large:

"Had I become one of those unhappy overdressed chaps [...] who, disdaining humanity, and in spite of common sense, Virtue and good manners, step forward confident of their ancestors and painted Shields, and hardly had any idea of what human beings are; then I had been a fool [...] the noble man can only be raised to be a noble man, which is, to nothing."

The above quotation reflects a continuous power struggle between the educated middle classes and the nobility. However, it reveals more than that. It was an overthrow of the aristocratic culture and the public display of rank and wealth. Concerning luxury, it was no longer the lower orders who were held responsible for dressing above their estate, but the nobles who were attacked for dressing exactly as their estate prescribed in traditional society. Moreover, their outer splendour was pictured as a hollow and superficial culture and lack of virtue. This discourse also echoed the discourse of the Puritan and Pietistic movements, but in a secular language and understanding, as there were no references to Christianity.

Denunciation of luxury did not lead to the praise of poverty, as people still found it important to demonstrate that they were successful, but wealth found more subdued expressions. Instead, new codes of taste and conduct were established, emphasizing, among others, that clothes should demonstrate good taste. According to an article published in Minerva, the watershed lay not between those who consumed luxurious food and clothes, and those who did not, but in the manner in which it was done. The writer found those who ate turtle soup and drank imported wine in an obviously greedy manner, repulsive, whereas those who dressed in neat and clean clothes and behaved modestly tasteful. This is in line with the dress code recommended by Francke mentioned above. In the British debate, the concepts of taste and elegance were also pointed out as crucial factors and defined as “a natural or instinctive propensity to the beautiful, elegant, and sublime, disliking as much the paltry tinsel of the tawdry, as the dryness of the merely neat, or awkwardness and insipidity of the elegant [...].” All things strikingly brilliant and flashy were described as vulgar, whereas good taste
was sublime and refined, originating from a natural disposition. Modesty and good taste thus became integral parts of what contemporaries termed *polite society*. The term describes the emergence of new codes of conduct developing among the rising middle classes, opposing, in their own terminology, the etiquette of the court with the etiquette of the city. Conduct books and courtesy guides prescribed that men of honour were characterized by a good character: refinement and rectitude, restrain of passions, and also by sensibility as opposed to the duplicity of the court. This etiquette also implied a dress code.
which should not indicate poverty, but taste, seriousness, and a dedicated commitment to industry.\textsuperscript{43}

**Conclusion**

The religious writings on luxury were written in the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century. The heyday of the Puritan and Pietist movements was more or less over in the second half of the 18th century. Yet, some of their basic ideas survived, albeit in a secular version and leaving out the religious element. This chapter has shown that a distinctive feature of the public debate on luxury in the second half of the 18th century was warnings of its corrupt potential on public and private morals. Although these warnings were expressed in secular terms and outlook, the discourse of a contemporary moral decay and a world out of joint has clear similarities with the Puritan and Pietistic movements. Both the religious movements and the debate on luxury in the late Enlightenment contrasted outer splendour with inner virtue. Wealth was not disapproved of as such, but it was emphasized that it should be used for the common good, through either reinvestment or charity, and never be seen as a short cut to salvation. Thus the demonstrative display of wealth was ridiculed, vulgarized, and considered to be morally suspicious. Although this has been an investigation into the discussions on luxury in Denmark and Great Britain, a brief look at the changes in fashion in colonial USA indicates the same pattern; femininity was from the 1750s divorced from outward display and restrained propriety was cast as the true signifier of high status.\textsuperscript{44}

The purpose of this investigation has not been to conclude that the ascetic religious movements were the sole reason for the changing perceptions of luxury. The inspiration from Greek antiquity has not been dealt with here, but was definitely a highly significant source of stimulation, as was the emphasis contemporary economic thinkers increasing placed on the importance of a large and industrious population. Moreover, rejections of luxury were also widespread in Catholic France, and this challenges the special status allotted to the Protestant reform movements in this chapter. However, the object of this chapter has not been to provide an exhaustive explanation for the changes in fashion in the course of the 18th century, but to isolate the religious factor in a more complex picture of change.

In his seminal work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, the German sociologist Max Weber claimed that one of the characteristics of modern western capitalism was a distinct asceticism, as control with affects and wants become a goal in itself. Weber stated that the source of this asceticism was the Pietist, and especially, the Puritan movements, as they promoted a life of self-control and a faith, which should always be present in the believer's thoughts. Ideally this was a complete life system, a *Lebenswelt*, as he termed it. This ideal continued in the modern forms of capitalism which developed in the 18th century onwards, as this was characterized by a life devoid of pleasure, with thrift and a high level of duty towards one's career. This chapter has not dealt with capitalism as such, but it has in effect sought to exploit and perhaps even develop Weber's theory and demonstrate that, what earlier was pronounced as religious ethics pointing at distinguishing between true and false Christians became secularized and integrated in a new spirit, expressed in etiquette and rules of conduct. These reflected the early movements, but were now linked to the rising middle classes' notions of a healthy state and national economy, as well as personal virtue and good morals. The constant urge to be thrifty and spend time in a useful way furthermore illustrates Max Weber's statement that the Puritan and Pietist movements promoted a democratization of monastic life, in that it became the obligation of every Christian, and later every citizen, to demonstrate his or her inner virtue through systematic self-control every day.\textsuperscript{45}

The French sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice is equally pertinent as an analytical point of view in this context. Bourdieu does not focus on the secularization of religious norms, but on distinctions in taste and positions in the public and private sphere. At first glance, the showdown with the aristocratic culture seems to reflect a struggle between economic capital, possessed by the nobility, and cultural capital, which the rising middle classes were in the process of creating and which they believed they could lay exclusive claims to. However, such a dichotomy would be a simplification, as
Fig. 15.5: Classical Danish design, which developed in the decades following the Second World War, has a functionalistic and simple appearance. This chair, designed by Hans Wegner and simply named “The Chair”, is no exception. It can be regarded as a late heir to the ideas of good taste developing among the middle classes in the early modern period; it is ascetic and downscaled; comfortable, but not designed for hours of relaxation. Everybody knows it costs a fortune, but still it is a world apart from the ostentatious demonstration of wealth characteristic of the nobility in the 17th century. Today, The Chair and similar goods from the golden era in Danish Design are popular in well-educated middle class Danish households. They represent Bourdieu’s cultural goods, as they are believed to imply an aesthetic disposition, an ability to recognize good taste, and thus indicate that the owner possesses a certain amount of cultural capital. The religious roots of this ascetic design are forgotten, but the plain and unpretentious style without superfluous adornment was originally inspired by American shaker furniture (Designmuseum, Danmark; Photo: Pernille Klont).
the pointed display of power and wealth was also an expression of cultural capital. Instead, along with Bourdieu one may characterize this as different positions and different ways of creating cultural capital. The middle classes did not oppose economic capital as such, but maintained that this was not sufficient; wealth without culture and good taste had no value or status. The decisively new aspect in this was that, within their field, cultural capital was detached from economic capital. It was a demonstration that high societal status was achievable without material wealth, and this was opposed to aristocratic culture. The aristocratic field used overwhelming wealth to mark distinctions to the mob. The rising middle classes were aspiring to a higher societal status and recognition and used their material taste and preferences as a status marker and tool of distinction. The quotation from Minerva, mentioned above, which stated that what was crucial was not whether one ate turtle soup or not, but the way it was eaten, is a very fine illustration that the cultural distinctions among this new segment were also expressed through embodiment.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Sniff Andersen-Nexo, Gunvor Simonsen, and Mikkel Venborg Pedersen for their very constructive critique of this paper and for providing me with useful literature. Needless to say, the responsibility for the entire content is mine.

Notes
1 When referring to circumstances prior to 1708 England is used, and Great Britain thereafter. Please note that all the originally Danish quotations in the text have been translated into English by the author.  
5 The Church of England is, on the one hand, the ancient name for the Christian Church of England, stemming from the 7th century, on the other hand it was formally established during the reign of Henry VIII, then changed, and regained its form during the reign of Elisabeth I, Queen of England (1533–1603) and with the Restoration of Charles II Stuart (1630–1683).  
6 The full title of the treatise is Pia Desideria oder berglöfes Verlangen nach gottgünstlicher Besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen samt einigen dahin eingefalt abgeweckten christlichen Vorschlägen.  
7 The full title is the Saints' Everlasting Rest: or, A Treatise of the Blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in Glory.  
8 [...] fitting out speeches, apparel, provisions, furniture and all our deportment and behavior to the meanness of our parts, and place, and worth. This is the very Nature of Humility [...] The Christian Directory, part 1, chapter IV: Directions against pride and for humility, 182–185. The quotation is from p. 183. Later in the same page, Baxter defends the magistrate's right to wear apparel suitable to their rank.  
9 The Christian Directory, 204.  
11 “Doubtless the rich, if ever they will be saved, must watch more constantly, and set a more resolute guard upon the flesh, and live more in fear of sensuality than the poor, as they live in greater temptations and dangers.” Baxter then lists the temptations of the rich: Pride, fullness of Bread, Idleness, Time wasting Sports and recreations, lust and wantonness, tyranny and oppression of people below them. The Christian Directory, 492.

Both quotations are from p. 493. In The Poor Man's Family Book Baxter also advanced criticism of the grandiose lifestyle of the rich: “The Children of must Great men and Gentlemen; whose condition make it seem necessary to them, to live in that continual fullness, (or plainly) pomp and idleness [...] as it is as hard for them to be Godly, sober persons [...] as a Camel's, passage through a needle's eye! [...]” This quotation is from chapter 7, part 8, 269–272.


14 Peschke (1969), paragraph VIII.  
15 Peschke (1969), paragraphs XXIV, XXVI and XXVII.  
16 Peschke (1969), 78–79.  
19 Francke (1729) 18–33.  
23 See, e.g. van Lieburg and Lindmark (2009) and Gierl (1997).  
24 Fullbrook (1983), 94.  
26 [Anon] (1772).  
27 Rothe (1786); [Anon] (1787).  
28 Royal proclamations and ordinances were issued in 1783; in October and in December 1808; in 1809; in November and in December 1810; and in June and in September 1811.  
31 See, for example Lang Nissen (1800), 15; [Anon] (1792a) vol. 5, 37–40 and vol. 6, 41–42; [Anon] (1792b) vol. 25, 194–196.
32 The School for Fashion (1800), vol. 1, xi–xii.
33 The School for Fashion (1800), vol. 1, 16–17.
34 De første fem og tive Vedtagter som ere antagne af Selskabet for Borgerdyd den XIV September 1785. [The first twenty five regulations, which have been passed by The Society for Promoting Civic Virtue on September 14.] Copenhagen 1785.
35 Moltke, (1758); Sommerfeldt, (1772); [Anon] (1772).
36 Rothe (1786), 9.
38 See, for example Thaarup (1794), 32–41.
40 [Anon] (1790b), quotations are from pages 273 and 276. Similarly, the British Magazine The School for Fashion contained an article in vol. 1, 1800, pp 183–194, which was one long argument that high rank and nobility do not in themselves deserve honour.
41 [Anon] (1793) the quotation is from p. 268.
42 The Carlton-House Magazine 1793, 246; Carter (2001) p. 1. The juxtaposition of the middle classes with people living in the city was predominately an English phenomenon, as I have not come across this in the Danish sources.

Bibliography

Sources
[Anon] (1762) The Polite Academy, or School of Behaviour for Young Gentlemen and Ladies. London.
Baxter, Richard (1650) In plain familiar Conference between a Teacher and a Learner. Copenhagen.
Baxter, Richard (1674) The Poor Man’s Family Book. 1. Teaching him how to become a true Christian 2. How to live as a Christian, towards God, himself and others, in all his relations; especially in his family 3. How to die as a Christian in Hope and Comfort, and to be Glorified with Christ for ever. In plain familiar Conference between a Teacher and a Learner.

Literature
Gierl, Martin (1997) Pietismus und Aufklärung, theologische...


