

**JOURNAL OF THE
ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE
DE LA PIPE**



Edited by
Peter Davey and Anna Ridovics

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JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE DE LA PIPE

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THE ACADEMY [www.pipeacademy.org]

The Académie Internationale de la Pipe was founded in 1984 to provide a forum for leading scholars from around the world engaged in any field of study relating to the smoking pipe. The Academy's object is to advance the education of the public in the economic and social history of tobacco and pipe smoking worldwide. Its principal aims are to promote better awareness of the pipe as a cultural, artistic and social phenomenon; to highlight the particular place the pipe holds in the history of peoples and civilizations; to collect, preserve and disseminate evidence relating to its history and associations, and to encourage research concerning the past, present or future of the subject.

Academy members bring their own specialisms in fields such as archaeology, social and economic history and fine art, as well as having the opportunity to collaborate with others in working groups. The annual journal has been established to publish the results of the Academy's work, which will be of relevance to researchers from a wide range of related disciplines.

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The Academy welcomes the submission of original papers that fall within the remit of this journal and which make a valid contribution to knowledge. Further details relating to the format and content of submissions can be found at the back of this journal.

ADDITIONAL COPIES

Additional copies of this journal can be purchased from the administrator, Dr. Susie White, (contact details above).

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Cover image: *Chibouk bowl with wind cover and retaining chain, overlaid with woven, brass-wire protective cover (photograph by Darius Peckus).*

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Editorial

This fourth volume of the Journal of the Académie Internationale de la Pipe has been published at the same time as the third volume. Because of the number and size of the papers derived from the Budapest conference (Hungary in 2009) it was realized that there were too many for a single volume of the journal. As a result it was decided to publish the mainly archaeological contributions on pipes from excavations in Hungary and the neighbouring countries in Volume 3 so that there would be a coherent statement of all of this new evidence in one place. The remaining available Budapest papers which are more wide ranging in scope are published here in Volume 4, together with some material from both the Grasse (France in 2010) and Novi Sad (Serbia in 2011) conference, though the main groups of regionally-based papers from those conferences will appear in Volume 5.

The first three papers, whilst concerned directly with pipes of one sort or another are essentially studies of the phenomenon of tobacco use and smoking in different regions of the world, including Europe, America, Switzerland and Japan. Although the pipes that are used in different places and at different times are of intrinsic interest to the collector and art historian they are also very important in the study of the central role played by tobacco in many societies.

Paul Jahshan's paper, given in Budapest, considers the changing perceptions and representations of smokers and smoking in America, England, France and Hungary at different times. Heege provides a detailed overview of the arrival of tobacco and a smoking culture in Switzerland, together with an account of the sources of the pipes in use and the rather limited evidence for local pipe production. Barnabas Suzuki, in his Novi Sad paper, assesses the role of Dutch traders in the introduction of both tobacco and pipe smoking in Japan and documents the extraordinarily individual development of smoking utensils in that country. There follow two papers on eastern pipes. Ayşe Dudu Tepe discusses the archaeological and documentary evidence for the use of bone pipes by the Bedouin in Arabia. This is followed by a far-ranging, well-read overview by Ben Rapaport of the history of the *chibouk* both from the view point of foreign travellers, the artefacts themselves and their social significance.

The third part of the volume is devoted to papers on meerschaum pipes. In the opening paper Anna Ridovics looks afresh at the claim that the first meerschaum pipes were carved in Hungary by one Károly Kovács and demonstrates the extreme complexity of the evidence for and against it. More important, she introduces a very early meerschaum carving which could be 'thought' to be the 'Kovács pipe', together with two other early carvings from the first part of the eighteenth century. There follows a quartet of papers provided by members of the Academy's Meerschaum Working Group, originally presented at the Grasse conference, on the subject of the iconography

and morphology of the meerschaum pipe. The four case studies show how this raw material provided a wonderful medium for the expression of artistic, cultural and social ideas through a wide range of subject matter. Frank Burla considers the historical background, possible maker and owner of a pipe which commemorates the Transylvanian Battle of Breadfield in 1479 (Kenyérmező in Hungary). Hakon Kierulf looks in detail at the sources of inspiration and execution of acanthus-style decoration on the typical Norwegian pipe models. Sarunas Peckus takes the reader on a detective trail beginning with the purchase of a cheroot holder depicting acrobats who, eventually, are firmly identified as the world famous Belgian *Troupe Lafaille*. Finally, Ben Rapaport explores the influence of Canova's sculpture, 'The Three Graces' created for the Duke of Bedford between 1814 and 1817, on meerschaum carvers. In particular he presents a table pipe and a cheroot holder from the second half of the nineteenth century both of which in different ways, have derived their main inspiration from the Canova sculpture.

The final main section of the journal includes two papers dealing with twentieth-century pipes. In the first Susie White looks at the phenomenon of presentation pipes with particular reference to a briar pipe given to the troops fighting in the Boer War by Queen Alexandra in 1901. She considers the evidence for their production (quite a complex process involving factories in France and London) and distribution to the troops. The final paper written by Paul Jung who is based in America and Ruud Stam from the Netherlands documents a trans-Atlantic dispute between the Danco Corporation of New York and Goedewaagen in the Netherlands about the patenting of double-walled, slip-cast pipes. Both these papers point to the need for pipe studies to tackle the twentieth-century evidence in a serious way.

The volume concludes with reviews of two new books, one by Academician Natascha Mehler on the clay pipes of Bavaria and the other by Jan van Oostveen and Ruud Stam on those of the Netherlands.

In future, too, the Editor of the Journal will be happy to consider for publication any papers within the field of pipe studies that are considered to make a significant contribution to knowledge and that might be expected in the publication of a learned society.

Peter Davey
Anna Ridovics

The changing representations of tobacco and pipe smoking in the old and new worlds between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries

by Paul Jahshan

Introduction

On August 29, 2009, the UK *Telegraph* reported in its 'Showbusiness' programme that Lynn Barber, writer and interviewer, had withdrawn from the November 'Book Now' festival where she was to discuss her book, *An Education*, after a photo of herself with a cigarette in her mouth, which she had supplied, was rejected by the Richmond Council in Surrey as not conducive to their policy of 'encouraging good health habits'. Remarking on the incident, her publicity director at Penguin, the photo's source, said to the organizers:

I do hope the finished brochure contains no photos of fat people (promoting obesity), or thin people (promoting eating disorders), white people (promoting cultural imperialism), black people (tokenism), [or] women wearing make-up (promoting an unhealthy obsession with idealised female beauty).

Writers and journalists are not the only ones to suffer the increasing effects of ostracism as smokers; fictional characters are quickly following suit: Popeye the Sailor Man, the creation of Elzie Crisler Segar in 1929, will have to see his pipe removed or be given an 18, adult-rated classification, as NHS managers at Liverpool's Primary Care Trust have called for a ban on all representations of smoking in films and cartoons, requesting that 'films featuring smoking we would request be classified in this way, unless it was depicting the harmful effect it has on people's health' (Waddington 2009). What this means is that from now on, only villains and bad characters will be allowed to light cigarettes, cigars, and pipes, thus actively and literally demonizing smoking and smokers. The alarming number of pubs closing everyday in the UK (the *London Evening Standard*, in 2007, was putting the number at five pubs closing every week in London only, with this number, according to the *Sunday Mirror*, rising a year later to sixty-seven a month all over the country) since the latest ban is also a reminder that smoking may not be only about puffing nicotine but also about traditions and ways of life.

On the other side of the Atlantic, smoking bans have been kept at the level of state laws, but have usually been as stringent, if not more, than in Europe. The American Nonsmokers' Rights Foundation published, in July 2011, its list of the state of nonsmoking in the United States, citing the percentage of the population covered by a

100% smokefree provision in workplace, restaurants, and bars in U.S. states and Washington D.C. (interestingly, the map legend clearly states that American Indian and Alaska Native sovereign tribal laws are not reflected; the conspicuous absence of the native American in relation to non-smoking laws can be located, as the present essay will show, in strategies of representation and exclusion). In addition, an increasing number of insurance companies charge higher premiums for smokers, and some states, like Florida, have the right not to hire them at all: Sarasota County Administrator Jim Ley said that this ban on hiring was the result of a strategy to 'produce a healthier work force and manage our long-term health care costs' (Anderson 2008).

The problem with smoking has always been, and will always be, one of representation. Putting aside the still debatable full physiological effects involved in the act of smoking, the image of the smoker has, for about five centuries, haunted the cultural, social, and economic scenes of the Western world. Alternating periods of grace and condemnation have buffeted the devotees of *Nicotiana Tabacum* but, despite the numerous and sometimes disproportionate punishments inflicted on them, humans are still smoking, and will probably continue to do so, albeit in diminishing numbers.

A study of the private and public image of tobacco and pipe smoking in the Old and New Worlds, from America to Hungary between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries will undoubtedly shed precious light on the complex processes involved in the dichotomy present in the representation and use of tobacco, and will also position the present demonization of the smoker in a broader, and therefore more intelligible, anthropological-cultural context.

There are many histories of tobacco and its uses. Publications for the layperson, such as those of Corti, Dunhill, Sabatier, Liebaert and Maya, Sabbagh, Armero, and a host of academic papers, have sketched useful historical and artistic renderings of pipe smoking; yet it is more difficult to find studies dealing with the representation of the smoker, despite the rather voluminous, albeit scattered, literature on the subject. Original documents published as early as 1595 in England present a picture of a society suddenly face-to-face with a new phenomenon affecting not only its private body but also that of its culture as a whole, ranging from medical observations to economic considerations to the symbolism found in the customs and traditions of the countries concerned.

As the use of tobacco spread from west to east, the image of the smoker changed accordingly and, as I will show, quite dramatically, in order to reflect not only the economic and medical needs of each society, but also its image(s) of itself and, most importantly, its own angst in the face of a parallel industrial revolution of sweeping proportions. Western writers and observers were also re-enacting colonial biases as they travelled eastwards, and Edward Said's critique of western orientalism and

cultural imperialism can be helpfully used in the context of the accounts of Hungary, even when written by Hungarians themselves in English when meant for foreign consumption. A study of the sources on the topic in Magyar will undoubtedly provide a much-needed addition to the currently available literature in English and French.

America

America was the land where tobacco was first discovered by Europeans, and then later the main source of exportation to the Old World. Virginia and Maryland are, throughout the three centuries covered here, highly praised for quality and taste.

In addition, tobacco use was popularly thought to be a panacea for physical ailments, and a trusted companion when intense intellectual production was needed. General Thomas L. Clingman, 'of North Carolina,' a senator and officer in the civil war, published a book in 1885 that took the continent by storm, *The Tobacco Remedy*, in which the author brazenly writes:

Believing that such knowledge of the advantages of wet tobacco as a poultice...if it should become general, will be instrumental in saving annually many thousands of lives in the United States, I have decided that it is my duty to make a statement on the subject (p 5).

Before relating almost magical cures effected on others by the application of wet tobacco to virtually every part of the body, the general tells how tobacco literally saved his life on more than one occasion: on a sprained ankle after falling off a horse (p 6), on his leg after a 'severe gunshot wound' (p 7), on his eye after receiving 'a heavy blow...from the whip of the [omnibus] driver' (p 8), on his throat after a sudden internal swelling which he feared would have choked him to death (p 10), and on his head to cure 'erysipelas' (p 11). Clingman refers to a September 1884 issue of *Health and Home* in which the headline, 'Will Tobacco Cure Cholera,' cites him as answering 'this question in the affirmative' (p 20). Indeed, such was the fame of the book and its author that 'The Clingman Tobacco Cure' became a household name.

In 1891 appeared in New York a book entitled *Smoking: A World of Curious Facts, Queer Fancies, and Lively Anecdotes about Pipes, Tobacco, and Cigars*, where, among other 'facts,' the author warns that 'European tobacco is not as strong as that grown in America,' (p 3) explaining that German tobacco 'may be smoked continually without any bad effect,' but 'if the lover of the weed used the same amount of the American variety the effect would be very disagreeable, even dangerous' (pp 3-4). The author, George J. Manson, was keen to alert his readers to the connection between smoking tobacco and intellectual activity:

Among the famous men who have drawn inspiration and consolation from the pipe were Milton, who had his pipe and a glass of water just before he

retired for the night. Philosophers have drawn their best similes from their pipes. How could they have done so, had their pipes first been drawn from them? We see the smoke go upward—we think of life; we see the smoke-wreath fade away—we remember the morning cloud. Our pipe breaks—we mourn the fragility of earthly pleasures. We smoke it to an end, and tapping out the ashes remember that 'Dust we are, and unto dust we shall return' (p 25).

Manson refutes the claims made by tobacco detractors in a candid and somehow strange counter-example:

The enemies of the weed say that tobacco is a poison because animals will not use it. A Berlin professor, an artist, however, who has lately experimented in the Zoological Gardens, declares that common brown bears are genuine enthusiasts for tobacco (p 32).

In 1896, John Bain Jr. published in New York an anthology of stories, anecdotes, tales, and poems entitled *Tobacco in Song and Story*, in which he regrets the fact that 'no volume treating on Tobacco had heretofore appeared which contained all that deserved a place in the literature of the weed' (p i), and describes his book as a work that 'will appeal to every lover of the weed, no matter what his station in life may be or the grade of tobacco he consumes...It is intended to be a book of good fellowship, in which all smokers are free and equal' (p ii).

The admirable expressions of universal remedy, of meditative qualities, and of brotherly love and equality attributed to tobacco were met, however, with a very stiff opposition that specifically attacked 'the weed' on all three counts: as a physical poison, as a destroyer of the thinking capabilities, and as a great moral evil. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of writings dealing with tobacco take on a sombre tone sometimes verging on the apocalyptic. Orin Fowler bemoaned the fact, in his 1833 *Disquisition on the Evils of Using Tobacco*, that Americans were spending too much money on the evil weed, and invoked 'the amazing waste of property' involved in the cost of the 'article,' the 'time wasted by the use of it,' and 'the pauperism it occasions' (p 13). Fowler was confident that the expense of tobacco in its various forms 'may safely be set down at ten millions of dollars a year' (p 16). A. McAllister, a year before, was also describing smoking as a 'costly practice' (1832, p 23), and estimated 'the whole number of devotees at one million, who pay their daily homage at the shrine of this stupefying idol' (p 23).

Both writers also concur that smoking is the lot of uncivilized, and ultimately unchristianized peoples. Following America's expansion westward, and the concomitant but necessary colonial dehumanization of the Indian, Fowler, on the one hand, relegated the use of the 'filthy weed' (p 7) to the indigenous populations, and warned that up until the discovery, three hundred years before, of tobacco, the world had been civilized; McAllister, on the other hand, squarely put primitive

man's fear of being alone, and his evasion from solitary reflection, as the cause of using substances 'to stupefy those noble faculties...with which he has been endowed by the God of nature, for wise and benevolent purposes' (p 21).

This image of the white man afraid of facing his responsibilities in an America in search of its identity was, of course, unacceptable, and an ethos of non-active expansion was not to be allowed. Tobacco served, therefore, the double role of representing the dark Other, and also the symbol of a passivity not in tune with the duties of a Christian. Benjamin Waterhouse, in *Cautions to Young Persons Concerning Health*, had warned in 1822:

Do you not, GENTLEMEN, see clearly, that this unwholesome, idle custom includes the insidious effects of indolence; the deleterious effects of a powerful narcotic fumigation...I ask whether he, who indulges himself in this way, does not awake in the morning hot, restless, and dissatisfied with himself? The sound of the prayer-bell grates his nerves; even the [morning]...is unwelcome. He dresses with languor and fretfulness; his mouth is clammy and bitter; his head aches; and his stomach is uneasy, till composed a little by some warm tea or coffee. After stretching and yawning, he tries to numb his irksome feelings by a cigar and a glass of wine, or diluted brandy...By evening a handful of cigars, a few glasses of wine, &c. remove, by their stronger stimulus, these troublesome sensations; when he tumbles into bed; and rises next morning with similar feelings, and pursues the same course to get rid of them (p 36).

To Fowler, the deterioration caused by tobacco on what he called 'this Christian nation,' is enormous, and he adds that the 'eye of angels is upon us,—the eye of God is upon us,' asking whether young Christians should 'fetter, and palsy and ruin,' their 'intellectual capabilities, for the paltry pleasure of using one of the most poisonous, loathsome, and destructive weeds found in the whole vegetable kingdom?' (p 11).

Fowler, McAllister, and Waterhouse also supported the then-accepted notion that smoking causes a dryness of the mouth only relieved by drinking alcoholic beverages. The image of the tobacco-drinker, as the activity was described when it was first discovered, is thus powerfully associated with that of the alcoholic, acquiring a double stigma, and serving also the double purpose of situating both ills in the Other. It is only when 'drunkenness, with all her burning legion of evils, will cease from the earth' that Fowler's 'whole family of man' will become 'sober, temperate, holy and happy' (p 3).

Expectedly, smoking quickly acquires, after the bodily and moral degeneration it has engendered, the status of capital sin. The 'fainting, vertigo, nausea, vomiting, and loss of vision,' mentioned by McAllister, as well as the 'cold sweat' which 'gathers thick upon [the smoker's]

brow,' the fluttering pulse, the 'universal tremor' which accompany a myriad 'other symptoms of dissolution' only reflect the general dissolution of the soul (p 15). Echoing the three authors cited above, R. D. Mussey, in his 1836 *Essay on the Influence of Tobacco upon Life and Health*, could only liken what he calls the 'extraordinary propensity' of man to 'poison or destroy his own instincts, to turn topsy-turvy the laws of his being' (p 3), to nothing other than Original Sin. Mussey could only envision the roots of smoking by quoting the words of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, attributing the evil to that:

first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our wo [sic],
With loss of Eden (p 3).

and ended with subsuming all evils to that of smoking, reprinting a letter addressed to him where the writer does not hesitate one moment to venture that if 'the many acts of suicide, committed in the United States' were to be investigated, their origin would undoubtedly be found in tobacco smoking (p 42).

The Rev. Charles S. Adams, in his 1852 *Poem on the Use of Tobacco*, first delivered in 1837 to the Temperance Society of Orleans, Mass., was 'actuated by that sincere desire of doing good' (p iii) in re-publishing his poem-pamphlet against the evils of tobacco, and started with the following lines:

There is a certain plant whose use exceeds,
By far the use of other kinds of weeds;
And what is worthy of a special note,
No animal but MAN, a WORM and GOAT
Will deign to use—to chew, to smoke, to snuff—
This nauseous, and withal this hateful stuff (p 5).

That tobacco is of the devil's side is clear to Rev. Adams in this apocalyptic vision:

It conquers still, and triumphs like a god;
This nauseous weed, despite of all their laws,
Still holds its throne within the human jaws.
Since o'er our race this foe began his sway,
More than three hundred years have passed away,
Man is the slave, TOBACCO is the king,
THAT LOATHSOME, NAUSEOUS, BLACK
AND DIRTY THING!
Blush, O my soul, for human nature blush!
That such a foe immortal man should crush,
And from its noble rank, by heaven assigned,
Reduce to abject slavery his mind (p 6)!

Another American clergyman, Rev. Dwight Baldwin, in his *Evils of Tobacco, as they Affect Body, Mind, and Morals*, published in New York in 1854, did not mince his words. Under the 'Medicinal Properties' heading, he adamantly—and quite strangely—declares that the question of the medicinal powers of tobacco 'is easily answered, as none of its properties are obscure' for,

indeed, '[o]n every system not accustomed to its use, they declare themselves 'as the sin of Sodom' (p 2). Citing a certain 'Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, a Doctor of Divinity,' Baldwin agrees that the 'dirty weed is poisonous and offensive, contrary to nature, and at war with it' (p 3), and even though 'thongs, from kings, nobles, scholars, and all classes of enlightened lands, down to the naked, squalid savages of heathen nations, pamper their animal appetites with these nauseous fumes and nauseous tastes,' one is forced, so says Baldwin, to ask: 'Where will the dominion of Tobacco end?' as the 'bewitching power of appetite, this subordination of the soul and reason of man to the beastly part of his nature' (p 5) is engulfing humanity in hell-like fire.

Short of excommunicating the flock of pipe smokers, the influential authors and guardians of the physical and moral health of the New World played upon the threat of eternal damnation, and the horror of burial outside the church in order to carefully create and maintain an image of a demonized other which should not, at any cost, reflect the very same fears and anxieties of a nation burdened with the guilt of territorial expansion, aggression, and expropriation. Smoking became an act against nature, meaning civilized nature, and a distant reminder of the Fall of Man as caused by Satan, the Adversary, as it took new and different shapes, be it in the smoking instruments or in the lascivious serpentine volutes of smoke (Fig. 1). Tobacco-as-evil will be also attributable to the schizophrenic relationship with England, seen at the same time as the ancient colonizer and enemy, and as a market necessary for the survival of the young United States.



Figure 1: Swell Struggling with the Cig'rette Poisoner (Harper's Weekly, New York, October 14, 1882, v. 26, 651).

England

It will not come as a surprise, then, to learn that the vast majority of bodily, moral, and spiritual ills attributed to tobacco, documented and strongly espoused by American authors, is almost non-existent in the literature of the time in England. Yet, almost standing alone, King James I's 1604 famous polemic, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (Fig. 2), first paved the way to numerous official condemnations, as the plant was 'first found out by some of the barbarous *Indians*,' in order to deal, 'as all men know' with the 'uncleanly...constitution of their bodies,' but when brought to 'Christendome,' it became a 'detestable disease'. Englishmen who use the herb are imitating the 'barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish *Indians*,' and are changing nature by force of habit: '*habitus, altera naturam*' (n.p). The seeds of the Other as enemy, both in the self and outside of it, which later became a fixation in the colonial ethos, are to be found there.

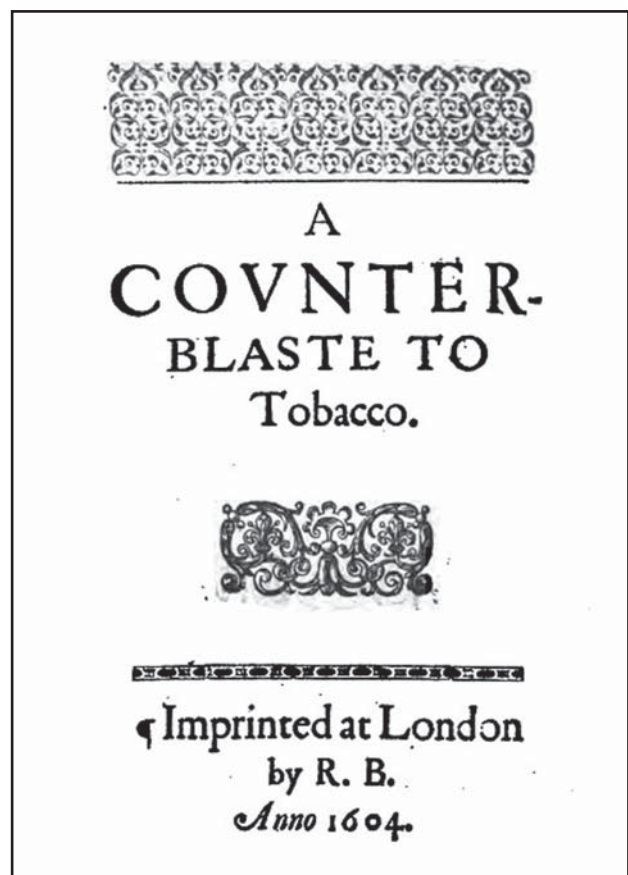


Figure 2: The cover of King James' notorious pamphlet.

One of the earliest accounts of the properties of tobacco, nine years before the king's 'counterblaste,' is entitled *Tabaco: The Distinct and Generall Opinions of the Late and Best Phisitions that Have Written of the Divers Natures and Qualities Thereof*, in which the author, Anthony Chute, was reporting the wonderful effects of the plant, from being 'very excellent and soveraigne beeing tired and weary with journeying too far' (1595, 11), to its being an almost absolute panacea, rendering its users

whole again:

I thinke that there is nothing that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle upward, but may be taken away with a moderate use of Tabacco, and in those parts consist the chiefe reasons of our health, for the stomacke and head being cleare and void of evill humors, commonly the whole body is the better (p 19).

The image of a Paradise Regained, before the Fall and its subsequent evils, is strongly linked, contrary to the American constructions cited above, to the origin of the plant in the distant New World.

In 1602, 'Dr. Bellamy' was extolling the virtues of tobaccos and reiterating its wonderful effects on restoring a wholesomeness lost after centuries of western civilization. Tobacco is 'in essence, commendable, in smell, comfortable, in taste, tolerable, in vertue, forcible, in effect, most admirable,' and 'every discreet person... and every other considerate man and woman, &c. of highest degree, finest grain, sharpest sence may safely without danger, I say (not feed,) smell, touch, taste, and take, of our renowned Tabacco, without annoy: By it... all superfluous redoundant moisture in mens members, are wonderfully drained, & drenched, obstructions reserate and opened, paines, surrances, and grievances, marvellously appeazed; melancholie, and such mad humors, never a deale the more...augmented (n.p).

These effects were reinforced and put to music by the Elizabethan composer and organist Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623) who, in his 1608 *Ayeres or Phantasticke Spirites for Three Voices*, pictured the pipe smoker as engaging in a rejuvenating and spiritually-cleansing ritual:

Fill the pipe once more,
My brains dance Trenchmore.
It is heady,
I am giddy;
My head and brains,
Back and reins,
Joints and veins,
From all pains
It doth well purge and make clean (pp 16-17).

As if speaking from the Garden of Eden, James Jennings, more than two hundred years later, said about tobacco that it was 'one of the most important plants which the vegetable world affords,' yet was cautious enough, as a scholar of the Enlightenment, to add:

although, at present, our knowledge concerning it forbids its internal use, as a medicine, except in a very limited way, yet we think it quite possible that future researches and experiments may render it a useful auxiliary in the art of healing (1830, 81).

Indeed, studies on the effect of tobacco served, throughout the centuries, to situate scholars and physicians on the

scientific spectrum of the time, and positions with or against the plant and its uses were made parallel to their authors' level of intellectual sophistication as well as their prejudices, fears, and aspirations.

The Garden of Eden is, of course, an 'otherworldly' place, the paradise before the Fall, the exotic, lush dream of innocence. As tobacco was discovered in the New World, beyond the 'City upon a Hill,' the English version of the Spanish El-Dorado was built upon by tobacco's proponents. Its origin in the lands of a wonderfully alien civilization, its magical properties, its potent effects, its ease of use, all conspired to make it tantalizingly attractive to a society in need of a romantic outlet and, more darkly, in need of a justification for its growing expansionism abroad. Tobacco thus effects a peculiarly double-jointed rapprochement and distancing between the British crown and its overseas colonies, titillating the wildest dreams of an insular population amazed at the opening up of the world. B. Love, The author of *An Apology for Smokers*, published in 1831, was singing the praises more of an orientalist image than of a pipe smoker and, as if in a vision seen from behind a curtain of smoke, was catering to his readers' romantic yearnings when he beheld:

the sweet little tobacco-loving she-Mahometans... then sipping their sherbet or coffee and handing the chabouc from one to another as courtesy or inclination may dictate, at the same time chattering away with all their might, settling other people's affairs for them without ever dreaming of their own, and thus making the equivalent of our English ladies' tea party (p 22).

But as this depaysement was to be brought home, the 'savage' nature of tobacco's origins and the 'beastly' customs of the first smokers had to be much softened up. Consequently, the English were among the first to elevate smoking and the pipe smoker to a level of sophistication rarely seen in association with a plant. Love, in his *Apology* above, took the example of the Quakers, 'the most cleanly people under the sun,' with their houses 'perfect patterns of neatness and tidiness,' to show that 'there is not any set of people so fond of smoking, or amongst whom the custom is more general' (1831, p 16), and answered the accusation of beastliness by another question: 'this is the most groundless charge of any, for what beast ever smoked?' (p 29). Pipe smoking is an exclusively human activity, and should be considered not a debasement, but a privilege, and those who dislike smoking and the smokers are 'Misses in their teens...and unfortunate 'lady-like gentlemen' who cannot smoke' (p 30). Advanced human civilization is associated, in nineteenth-century England, with a clear-cut division between the sexes, their roles and behaviours.

Smoking, in other words, is a manly stimulant which not only offers economic opportunities to a pro-active imperialistic power, but is also the mark of a free spirit rising against unjust edicts. Jennings wondered at the folly of trying to stop smoking, and at the smoker's resilience

against such oppression, for neither King James, nor the Grand Duke of Moscow, nor the King of Persia, nor Pope Urban VIII, nor the Turkish Sultan Amurath IV were able to quench the fountain of smoking which continued unabated. This image of the pipe smoker, puffing away the troubles and calamities, and finding sustenance in tobacco for imagination, creativity, and non-conformism, became an ingrained icon throughout the centuries.

But lest this image of what may be called 'free-smoking' is associated with the American type of indolence cited above, it is important to note that the English were particularly keen on pointing out the social relevance of pipe smoking. The author of *The Social Pipe*, Robert Ferguson, wrote in the dedication to the 1826 edition that tobacco, which he calls the 'Social Weed,' has 'for its salutary virtues been the delight of millions, the solace of the solitary, the promoter of social intercourse, the concomitant of mirth, and the kind offering of friendship' (p v), and that, on the contrary, the smoking of tobacco 'is in no respect incompatible with the most elegant pursuits of the *Man of Fashion*, as well as the refreshment of the Merchant after his fatigues of mercantile studies' (p vi), an idea taken up later by the writer of the *Apology* mentioned above who, speaking to the then-well-established middle classes, made the tobacco plant a symbol of social equality:

O all-powerful plant, all mankind acknowledge thy sovereign power and bow beneath thy sway! The king upon his throne, the beggar in his bush, the rich man in his hall, the poor man in his cot—the naked Indian and the turbaned Turk—the subtle Persian and the cunning Greek—the haughty Spaniard and the savage Moor—the smooth-tongued Yankee and his neighbouring tribes, who first of all the world thy fragrant joys inhaled—all—all the peopled earth, wherever the sun doth shine upon man, thy presence hail and thy delights partake! (Love 1831, 11).

In 1832, *Nicotiana; Or the Smoker's and Snuff-Taker's Companion* appeared in London, penned by Henry James Meller, with the aim of defending 'all lovers of the 'soothing leaf'' (p vi) against their detractors. Smoking, far from being unsocial, is 'the common source of harmony and comfort,—the badge of good fellowship in almost every state, kingdom, and empire' (p vii). Meller adds that 'in almost every clime and condition of society it is known as a common sign, or freemasonry of friendly feeling and social intercourse' (p vii.). Countering the objections of the time, smoking is not an idle activity, for it is 'singularly popular with mechanics, the most industrious classes of England,' nor is it dirty, for it is held 'in the greatest esteem, among the most moral and cleanly sect in Christianity—the Society of Friends or Quakers' (p viii); finally, the use of the herb is not disgusting, for it is 'indulged in by the most rigidly kept women in the world—those of Turkey, who elevated in the dignity of the Haram, are taught to consider a whiff of their lord's *chibouque* a distinction' (p viii). As a moral instrument, tobacco is the promoter of the highest virtues:

The pipe and the [snuff] box are twin-brothers; they are the agents of friendship, conviviality, and mirth; they succour the distressed, and heal the afflicted; impartial and generous, they administer to all that sue for comfort, and the spirits of peace advance at their call; they live in charity with all men, unite them, and re-unite them, and they sympathise all hearts, entwining them in a cheerful and lasting community of soul and sentiment. The pipe and the box give a vigour to the mind, and a language to its ideas. They give harmony a tone, and discord a silence. They inspire the bold, and encourage the diffident. Yes! through their agency alone, all these benefits are received and experienced. In short, they express in one breath, superlative happiness (pp x-xi).

Meller then proceeds to present a brief history of tobacco and of smoking in England, followed by a selection of poems, a chapter on the 'Laws and Regulations concerning Tobacco' (p 38), and a section entitled 'The Importance of Smoking and Snuff-Taking, Exemplified in a Grave Dissertation, Dedicated to the Youth of the Rising Generation' in which the author asks: 'What, after all, are a few years in the scale of human existence! Is the fear of losing one or two of their number, to deter us from availing ourselves of innocent pleasures within our reach?' and answers with the following candid analogy: '[I]f so, London, methinks, would soon be deserted by the scientific and intelligent portion of its inhabitants, merely because the Thames water chances to be a little poisonous, or so, and the air of the town notoriously unhealthy' (p 56).

London became the focal point for similar publications meant to be companions to the mainly pipe smoker in need of meditative snippets to perfectly match an evening session near the fireplace. *Tobacco Talk and Smokers' Gossip* was one such book, published in 1884, with the subtitle *An Amusing Miscellany of Fact and Anecdote Relating to the 'Great Plant' in all its Forms and Uses Including a Selection from Nicotian Literature*. The anonymous author explains in the preface that:

[n]ot only novels and plays, old newspapers, travels and memoirs, have been examined or perused; but the works of poets and satirists, histories, acts of parliament, technical treatises...have been ransacked for contributions on the use and abuse, the praise and blame, of the 'plant divine' (p v).

The anthology, meant for 'the delectation of all devotees of Tobacco' (p v), covers 'pleasant gossip about famous tobacco-takers from Raleigh to Tennyson; not omitting the small sins of royalty, the backslidings of bishops (archbishops too) in this respect; soldiers and doctors, lawyers and artists, poets and peers—everyone in short who is an honour to nicotian society' (p vi). The contents include anecdotes with titles such as 'A Tobacco Parliament,' 'Napoleon's First Pipe,' 'Frederick the Great as an Ass,' 'Raleigh's Tobacco Box,' 'Bismarck's Last

Cigar,' 'Pigs and Smokers,' 'Shakespeare and Tobacco,' Thackeray's 'The Social Pipe,' and many others. *Tobacco Jokes for Smoking Folks*, an 1888 London publication, was equally meant as a jolly companion to the smoker; many of the stories, according to the unnamed author, have been 'culled from the pages of the Trade journal *Tobacco*, from the office of which this book is issued' (p i). The overall inclination of the book is towards an acceptance, and sometimes an encouraging, of smoking, as witness some of the short 'jokes' below:

In Turkey all the ladies smoke,
Of Russia 'tis a trait,
In Spain, the fair sex do the same,
So why should London wait (p 8)?

Tobacco may be a weed, but it is one that we'd hate
to see weeded out. Yes; it's a weed we'd chew not
to see exterminated. See (p 51)?

Near Sittingbourne, Kent, there is a man whose wife won't allow him to smoke—but he has outwitted her. He has fitted a cushioned seat across a large washtub, and he gets into the latter and then lowers himself into a well. When at the end of the rope he opens an umbrella over himself, lights up a pipe, and enjoys his smoke and newspaper (p 59) (Fig. 3).



Figure 3: Husband smoking in a tub (*Tobacco Jokes*, 1888, 59).

Finally, at the closing of the nineteenth century, in 1898, *Lyra Nicotiana: Poems and Verses Concerning Tobacco* appeared in London, edited by William G. Hutchison. The relatively voluminous work starts with William Barclay's 'To his good olde Friend, M. Alexander Craig' (in the 'Seventeenth Century Smokers' section) and ends, before the editor's epilogue, with Richard Le Gallienne's 'The Happy Smoking Ground'. The editor's 'very modest performance,' as he describes his book, lies in his 'selection of some of the best poems and verses in the language which relate to tobacco' (p xiv). Anticipating negative reactions, Hutchison writes: 'Tobacco, the ascetic may exclaim, what relation has it to poetry - the criticism of life?' To which the only answer possible would be, that a life lacking tobacco would lay itself dangerously open to criticism' (p xiv), energetically adding: 'I should think but poorly of a higher life in which tobacco was not one factor of existence and poetry another' (p xv). The discovery of tobacco is to be hailed as an event of divine proportions: 'Prometheus brought fire from heaven: that was good no doubt, but Raleigh—or somebody else—did better. He brought tobacco from America' (pp xx-xxi). Fire is good, Hutchison says, to 'warm us in winter, to provide us with roast pig, to drag us over the country at a mile a minute' (p xxi), but all cater to the 'grosser and more material instincts' (p xxi); he explains, quite humorously: 'A sufficiency of heat and roast pig is necessary no doubt, so possibly is speed in communication; but warmth and pork cannot of themselves induce a tranquil philosophy of life, and there are no express trains to paradise' (p xxi). Only tobacco can.

The representation of the smoker as performing a quasi-magical ritual where brotherhood, equality and universality, among other physiological and intellectual virtues, are celebrated found, understandably, profound echoes in the writings of French authors on tobacco and pipe smoking.

France

Despite taking a middle way between the mostly damning American views and the mostly approving British ones as to the effects of tobacco—such as M. Buc'Hoz' 1787 dissertation on tobacco where the author, on the one hand, is seen quoting a certain M. Fagon surprised by the 'temerity of man to try, for the first time, a poison more dangerous than hemlock, more terrible than opium, and more deadly than henbane and mandrake' (p 8) and, on the other hand, acquiescing that tobacco 'is a very good cephalic which wakens up the imagination & gladdens the heart' (p 27)—the image of the smoker seems to have been, overwhelmingly, that of a bon-vivant. It is true that voices were raised against excesses, but most of these were neither apocalyptic in tone, nor lethal in assumptions. An anonymous *Epître a tous les preneurs de tabac*, published in 1806, lightly portrayed those who had stopped taking the powdered tobacco as enjoying, once again, a much cleaner nose (all sources in French have been translated by the author in this paper):

[F]reed from such a shameful yoke
I walk straight-headed, with a happy nose.
...
This is what they will say. Look at Crazy Hortense
Who will say with an eloquent eye:
What? This is he! This is the once dirty nose
Which with tobacco was undignifyingly soiled!
Good Lord! What a change! Without fearing criticism
We could today make of it a relic (p 2)!

Another anonymous writer, calling himself 'a friend of the smokers' health,' was saying in 1824, in *Du Tabac et de son usage*, that he had never been able to understand 'how a nation vaunted as the most polite, the most policed, and the most delicate in the world, could have degraded itself so much as to find its happiness in the grossest and most disgusting of all habits' (p 67).

Apart from these and other rather harmless jabs, the common consensus among chroniclers of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries was that pipe smoking was a civilized activity and that smokers were participating in the creation of a refined and artistic tradition. Indeed, the same anonymous author quoted above praised the bewildering array of snuff-boxes available in his time. He lists 'boxes made of all materials, of all tastes, of all forms, and even of all political parties. One can see boxes made of gold, of chrysocolla, of crystal, of marble, agate...mother-of-pearl, ivory...horn, carton,' and also 'historical, chronological, geographical, biographical; liberal, ultra, royalist' boxes, with 'round, oval, square, flat, grotesque; urban, rural,' motifs, and those meant for the office and for travelling. On them one can find 'love, friendship, faithfulness, religion, libertinage, all the virtues and many vices'. Not content with all of this, the author asserts that snuff-boxes also reveal the innermost character of the person who carries them, and that they even 'betray his thoughts and serve, as the features of his face, to discover the secrets of his heart' (1824, 31-32).

The universality of tobacco and the ubiquity of the smoker are, more importantly, emblems of the new times to come. In 1755, about a quarter of a century before the revolution, M. Vadé's *La Pipe cassée, poème épitragipoissardiheroicmique*, pictured the pipe as the symbol of equality for all and the emblem of a manly return to the simple joys of life:

You Courtiers, you great Lords,
With all your wealth and your honours,
In your banquets I challenge you
To live a happier life than us (p 18).
...
I need, with a pensive air
To look for and find with my writing nib
The Tobacco which by day I smoke;
For, not content to be a rhymer,
I have the talent to be a smoker (p 26)!
...
Romans, what has become of you,

You to whom customs and habits
Served for so long as ornament?
Friends to simple nature,
Luxury, the idol of Paris
Was the object of your scorn (p 35).

A dance is followed by a fight in which the pipe, to the great dam of the protagonist, La Tulipe, is broken 'in one hundred pieces' (p 46) (Fig. 4), and with this tragedy closes the poem.



Figure 4: Final heart-rending scene of the breaking of the pipe (*La Pipe cassée*, 1755, 35).

And about another quarter of a century *after* the revolution, M. Blandeau was able to sing, in his *Empire du tabac*, the following lines to tobacco:

Amiable companion of all fortunes,
You follow mankind to all places, and you serve
Common souls as dutifully as great potentates
(1822, 6).

The newly-acquired benefits of liberty, equality, and fraternity were mirrored in the universality of tobacco-smoking; it is as if the French, suddenly liberated after centuries of class oppression, were searching the world for brethren in the pipe. Louis-Alexandre Arvers, in his thesis presented in 1815 to obtain a Doctorate in medicine, marvelled at the presence of smoking in all cultures:

Tobacco has seduced all nations: the Arab cultivates it in his deserts; the Japanese, the Indians, the Chinese use it; one can find it in the torrid regions of Africa, and the inhabitants of frozen climes cannot live without it. It pleases the Nigger, the Laplander, the American savage; it is, finally, fashionable with almost all the civilized peoples of the earth (p 12).

It was with the cultivation of tobacco, however, that the French were mainly preoccupied, and a strong spirit of patriotism animated the majority of these works, as the race was to compete with, if not to win over, the tobacco market which, up to the nineteenth century, was almost entirely in the hands of the countries of northern Europe, and with the United States as the main overseas exporter. F. de Villeneuve, in his 1791 *Traité complet de la culture, fabrication, et vente du tabac*, unlike his American

counterpart cited at the beginning of this paper, believed that the cultivation of tobacco, far from plunging the nation into indolence and apathy, was, on the contrary, the key to the French nation's rebirth. He criticized the city-dwellers who 'spend their lives in a state of infantilism rejected by the active character of the nation; food, amusements, very often comic clothes, children's toys, such is today their life' (p xii), and exhorted them to go back to the countryside and take up the cultivation of tobacco, as it is only there that the nation's future lies. Tobacco cultivation restores the virility and the usefulness of the French people who must 'become Romans' (p xiii). Citing Virginia and Maryland, Croatia and Debrecen in Hungary, the author observed that the French had lost their enterprising spirit and had become useless consumers.

In the same vein, Jean Le Royer Prade, in 1677, wrote his *Histoire du tabac*, in which the virtues of the plant are classified according to the prevalent notions of patriarchal societies where male and female biological sexes are conflated with masculine and feminine social genders:

There are three species of Tobacco, the Male or Big, the Female, and the Child. As diversity of sex is attributed to plants, those that are bigger, more fertile, and less agreeable in their external form are supposed to be of masculine gender; and those in

which the contrary are found will be of feminine gender' (p 8) (Figs. 5 and 6).

As to the origin of the plant, the author is keen to give it religious foundations: 'Tobacco in powder was once part of the cult of the Gods of America. The Indians used to put it on the pyre instead of victims, and placed it on the Altars, as if to authorise the adorations given to it' (p 34). The Indians, he writes, also used tobacco for more practical purposes: 'In their navigations, if they were in danger, they would throw powdered tobacco in the air and in the sea in order to appease the wrath of the Heaven and of the waves' (p 35). Prade also enlists the medical profession of his time to give tobacco sublime properties: 'Therefore, some Medical Doctors, to honour Tobacco, observe that it is received in the brain, and assign to it the same location as the soul. According to them, being attracted by the nose, it takes, as it enters the head, the same path they assign to the pituitary to exit it' (pp 35-36), and follows with a lengthy and detailed anatomical exposition of tobacco's journey through the glands, cavities, and bones of the head.

Prade's classification was known some fifty years earlier, and appeared in the *Traicté du tabac, ou nicotiane, panacée, petun: autrement Herbe à la Reyne*, in 1626, a treatise translated from Johannes (Jean) Neander's Latin



Figure 5: The French classification of tobacco, here the 'male' plant (*Histoire du tabac*, 1677, 8).



Figure 6: Further French classification of tobacco, here the 'female' and 'child' plants (*Histoire du tabac*, 1677, 12).

version by Jacques Veyras. Neander, a medical doctor in Leyden, meant his work to show tobacco as the mother of all cures, treating 'most of the indispositions of the human body' (p 1). Smoke, when received through the nose, 'fortifies memory' and 'purges the brain from all of its filth' (p 53), said filth produced, according to the author, by the secretions of the pituitary gland. Yet young smokers must exercise caution and moderation, since 'its too long and too frequent usage will negatively affect the good constitution of the brain, and will plunge it into a hot distemper, making it lose its good temperature which will readjust with difficulty; all the more so that this age [youth] requires some humidity in order to strengthen the whole body' (p 56).

M. De Truchet, in 1816, echoed these concerns about manliness in a *Mémoire sur la nécessité d'étendre la culture du tabac en France*, where he asked: 'Have the French become less industrious, less active, less enlightened than other nations?' (p 66) His belief was that the French, should they be able to equate the love of the nation with the pursuit of this affordable and little-demanding cultivation, may equal and even surpass Hungary in the cultivation and production of high-quality tobacco.

Hungary

The representation of the pipe smoker as it appears in the original Magyar language is better left to specialists, but quite an interesting image can be gathered from foreign travellers and from Hungarian authors writing for a foreign audience.

Because of Hungary's tumultuous history, its association with the Ottoman empire and with the Habsburg dynasty, as well as its use of a non-Indo-European language largely unrelated to most of the other languages of Europe, travellers have been keen on using this perceived outlandishness to cater to the exotic needs of their home readers and also to situate themselves advantageously *vis-à-vis* the Hungarians. Professor D. T. Ansted, in *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring of 1862*, was quick to assert that the Hungarian 'prides himself on his Tartar origin' (p 73), and none of this is more apparent than in 'his love of show; his sense of the picturesque in dress and equipment; his quickness and cleverness, leading to little practical result' (p 73), adding: 'Even in small matters he is more Oriental than Occidental. His pipe and coffee are luxuries enjoyed to far greater perfection at home in Hungary than among the ruling race in Vienna' (p 74).

Victor Tissot, publishing in London his two-volume *Unknown Hungary* towards the end of the nineteenth century, mentioned looking 'with the most envious eyes' at 'some magnificent old mouthpieces of pipes made of amber incrustated with turquoises and pearls,' along with 'cups and vases in silver gilt which had doubtless been profaned by the lips of some bandit, Turkish sabres with curved blades, and engraved with verses of the Koran' (1881, vol. 1, 148). These and 'old Oriental carpets' evoked

in him the impression of being above the 'starry heavens, under the sky of Smyrna or Bagdad, the city of doves and roses!' (vol. 1, 149). His second volume is replete with similar encounters, and the pipe smoker figures as a main staple in this orientalist fantasy where stereotyped images are jumbled together as in the following passage:

We met several villagers on horseback smoking their pipes with an air as grave and proud as that of an hidalgo. The costume of the peasant is, as it always was, picturesque; the sun-burnt face is shaded by a large felt hat, which shows off the pale and manly physiognomy, and the extreme brightness of the dark eyes (vol. 2, 144).

This Hungarian Hidalgo, straight from a Washington Irving tale, is furnished with a 'tobacco-pouch, and a short pipe of clay or red earth which is carried in the hat ribbon, or even in the cravat at the back of the neck, complet[ing] this Asiatic costume' (vol. 2, 144).

As with all orientalisms, the external effect is to titillate the imagination of the home audience, themselves the preys to a domestic oppressive system, and eager to find illusory comfort in faraway places where magic and reality commingle. The internal effect is, of course, to set up another image, parallel to the first, which subtly works at dehumanizing the Other and making him easier to understand, to categorize, and hence to subdue; this 'imaginative geography' which, to use Edward Said's terms, 'Orientalizes the Oriental,' became standard practice in the West's thirst for new territories (1995, 57) and can clearly be seen at work with Hungary, that country perceived to lay between the two worlds.

A certain 'Miss' (Julia) Pardoe, author of such romanticized travelogues like *Traits and Traditions of Portugal*, *The City of the Sultan*, and *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, devoted three volumes to Hungary under the 1840 title *The City of the Magyar*, letting loose streams of condescending and patronizing descriptions of, among other things Hungarian, pipe smokers. On a visit to Presburg, the ancient capital of Hungary and now present-day Bratislava (Slovakia), Miss Pardoe noted that although there were a number of fair youth on an evening at the Arena, it was:

much to be regretted that they [could] be seen only through a cloud of tobacco-smoke; for the fact of its being an al fresco resort permits the unlimited use of the meerschaum; and with a German or an Hungarian such a licence implies its uninterrupted enjoyment. Nor do they understand the elegancies of smoking, like the Turks, who exhaust the aroma of their chibouques without any accompanying habit which can excite disgust in their neighbours; for the effluvia of a German pipe is positively nauseous; and the scent hangs about your dress, and in your hair, long after the cause is removed, while the space immediately around the smoker is unapproachable for ladies who are at all particular as to where and in what they may chance to set

their feet (vol. 1, 24-25).

In another instance, Miss Pardoe is travelling along the Danube on board a ship—aptly-named the *Árpád*—and, at various points of the journey, the boat goes to the shore and the passengers, mostly rich Europeans, are able to gauge the human loads of other boats:

Half a dozen floating mills occupied the sweep of the bay, and one of their broad, flat-bottomed barges had been put into requisition for the transport of the crowd which thronged the deck; and I never shall forget what a Noah's ark she seemed when she touched the shore (vol. 2, 48-49).

Not content with dismissing the common Hungarians as mere 'live stock' (vol. 2, 50), Miss Pardoe found herself also obliged to cater to her home readers' anti-Semitic proclivities as a 'filthy Jew with a mysterious package folded in a dirty cotton shawl' (vol. 2, 49) completes this exotico-picturesque *tableau*. Yet the colonial mythography continues as the Europeans, with Miss Pardoe as their spokesperson, are so different from the masses of Magyar-speaking people thronging around them that they see themselves in a 'desolate spot on which [they] had thus become involuntary Crusoes' (vol. 2, 49), and one can only be left guessing who their Friday(s) is/are. As the various ships continue their trip towards Komorn (half of the town is present-day Komárom in the north of Hungary, half of the town Komarno is in Slovakia), the scenes on the shores are revealing: 'some were sleeping, some conversing, a few reading, and a great number—smoking—but all looking patient, and tranquil, and resigned' (vol. 2, 50) for, obviously, pipe smoking can only be the sole occupation of a passive, numb, apathetic nation dumbed down by its own sterile reveries; indeed, they were 'very unlike what a party of our own active countrymen, or a bevy of 'go a-head' Americans would have looked under such circumstances' (vol. 2, 50-51).

Dirtiness is a companion to indolence and, in accordance with the best practices of orientalism and cultural imperialism, the Hungarian is pictured by its American and European observers as a good-for-nothing, though quite placid, individual. Another self-styled traveller, Nina E. Mazuchelli, author of *The Indian Alps*, and writing under the name of 'A Fellow of the Carpathian Society,' saw herself saddened, in her *Magyarland*, by the moral and bodily debilitation of the Hungarian people, a weakness evidently caused by smoking:

A group of men were here engaged in the construction of a new line, and as we watched them we marvelled that anything was ever completed in this land of slow workers. Every man was smoking. Leisurely taking up a small shovel-full of earth he deposited it on the heap; then leaning on his implement he paused to take a whiff at his pipe to enable him to gather the needful strength to take up another shovel-full; after which followed another pause, and so on. These slow but strong, broad-

shouldered, and muscular Hungarian navvies would soon drive an English engineer absolutely mad (1881, vol. 2, 88).

The only image of Magyar peasants worth recording to her, it seems, is that of idleness (Fig. 7).



Figure 7: Magyar pipe smokers (Magyarland, 1881, 200).

W. B. Forster Bovill, writing in 1908, will strike the contemporary reader, in his *Hungary and the Hungarians*, as probably one of the most naïve, if not outright ridiculous, propagators of colonializing myths about Hungary. In his preface, Bovill is bold enough to say that the 'Hungarian point of view ought to be presented to English readers in a picturesque form,' and even if the 'unbounded hospitality of the Magyars, and their almost over-accentuated desire to appear to advantage before Englishmen,' was seen as an asset, this 'has not blinded [the author] to their defects,' reassuring his readers that he had 'unsparingly criticised them' whenever possible (p vii). From his lofty pedestal, Bovill is capable of such sweeping statements as 'The Hungarian is also a great smoker. Sometimes I wish he were not' (p 245), and recounted a pipe story he had heard while in Budapest. The account, described as 'pathetic,' was that of an old Magyar peasant who, upon having his grandson accidentally break his favourite pipe, hanged himself. Bovill's comment on the story is shocking: 'To some the element of exaggeration may seem to appear, but to me it is quite within the limits of possibility, for this is a land of suicides' (p 246). One is reminded here of Mussey's association of smoking with suicide cited above.

Nor were the French free from these absurd generalizations, as they showed themselves, while abroad, as incisively superior as their Western counterparts. F. S. Beudant, self-styled 'Member of many Learned Societies,' allowed himself, in true colonizing vein, to write, in his 1823 *Travels in Hungary*, these telling words: 'In respect of [sic] the diversities of its people, no country whatever can be compared with Hungary. They form an heterogeneous assemblage of nations, some of which descend from the primitive inhabitants, others from the different hordes that invaded them' (p 1). The Wallachians are, 'of all the tribes

in Hungary,' 'the most remote from civilization,' and their men 'are naturally slothful' (p 7), and while their women are taking care of the household, they are indolently smoking their pipes. Expectedly, vice and degeneration are their lot: 'Their national character is that of crafty, vindictive, pilfering, and superstitious, with no fixed principles of morality or religion' (p 8).

Reverend B. F. Tefft, an American traveller during the Hungarian revolution and writing in 1852, mentioned what he calls the 'settlements of the Saxons,' in the north of Hungary, who, although they are 'the best farmers' in the country, are 'immeasurably inferior to the Magyars,' for they 'have not the first indication of delicacy about them,' and 'aspire to nothing better than the animal, or brutish life,' with men going about 'with their dirty pipe-bowls hanging a foot below their mouths' (p 53). Tefft's comments, obviously, can only mirror and, by the same token, strengthen his countrymen's guilt-ridden feelings towards their unrelenting campaigns to decimate the indigenous Indian nations under the pretext of raising them from their savageness.

Some Hungarian scholars, like Professor Arminius (Ármin in Hungarian) Vámbéry (born Hermann Bamberger/Wamberger, 1832-1913), an orientalist at the University of Buda-Pesth, associated tobacco with violence in his history of Hungary in the English-language series *The Story of the Nations*, published in New York in 1886. In the chapter on the Austrian rule of Hungary, he recounts how the Viennese government 'assailed Stambul with letters requesting the sultan not to allow Transylvania to be the place of refuge of certain 'thieves,' but to no purpose' (p 357). That period, known as the first part of the *Kurucz-Labancz* era, from 1672 to 1682, saw a power contest between the insurgents and their enemies the Austrians, in which 'there was no end of the horrors the contestants were guilty of in the course of their hostilities against each other' (p 357). What is of interest here is the strange use of tobacco as a tool for humiliation:

To cut tobacco on the enemy's bare back, or to cut strips from his quivering skin, to drive thorns or iron spikes under the finger-nails, to bury him in the ground up to his head and then fire at him...in a word, to perpetrate tortures at which humanity shudders, these were the every-day courtesies exchanged between the two belligerents (p 357).

His book is also replete with illustrations of Hungarian peasants and gypsies smoking the pipe (Fig. 8).

Other Hungarian writers have, however, attempted to portray the pipe smoker as a manly and proud person. Theresa Pulszky's *Tales and Traditions of Hungary*, published in New York in 1852, contains the story of Yanoshik, a 'mighty robber' living 'in the mountains of the counties Lipto and Arva' (p 52) when King John Zapolya, in the sixteenth century, was waging war against the Habsburgs. Described as a 'fine fellow' (p 52), Yanoshik was loved by the poor and by women, and exercised his

authority over the region. A kind of Hungarian Robin Hood with an axe instead of a bow, Yanoshik had, like Samson, a secret Achilles' heel, his belt. Finally captured, he was hanged 'with an iron hook between his ribs' and 'hung three days and three nights without uttering a complaint' (pp 63-64). Curiously, he is said to have 'smoked one pipe after the other, until at last exhausted by the loss of blood, he breathed his last' (p 64).



Figure 8: Hungarian gypsy (The Story of Hungary, 1886, 425).

On a more pleasant note, the *Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, collected by János Kriza and others, translated and published in London in 1889, offers a comic, though good-humoured image, in the tale entitled 'The Wishes,' of the pipe smoker as a domesticated and, if not indolent, at least peaceful and pacified man who keeps his pipe to his private realm. After helping a fairy stuck in the mud in a carriage, a poor man is offered three wishes, the last two being annulled by the man's awkward lighting of his pipe amidst constant quarrelling with his wife. Although the opportunity of wealth evaporates, the couple learn to refrain from squabbling in the future, and all ends well (p 217-19).

Conclusion

From panacea to poison, from a mind-uplifting herb to a debilitating weed, from a God-given natural product to a Satanic ploy to lure mankind, the representation of tobacco and pipe smoking has run the gamut of the fears and desires of humanity; it has served as a tool to free

society from its shackles, and equally as a tool to exclude, ostracize, dehumanize, and bestialize one's enemies and one's victims, rendering them invisible in reckonings and statistics of the 'healthy' and 'sound'. Tobacco and its use has served, in more than one respect, as a mirror in which humans were—and still are—able to position themselves in relation to ethnic, historical, cultural, medical, and technological transformations affecting them for the last five centuries, and a careful study of the attending iconographic constructions of the pipe smoker, both private and public, both national and colonial, will undoubtedly offer much-needed insight into the prevailing complex images of the self and its relationship to the Other.

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