

driven by mistakes and misunderstandings, along with the regular appearance of salacious reports involving exotic foreigners and helpless provincial girls in British newspapers, rather than by well-informed debate, let alone expert opinion. Similar concerns led the Pharmaceutical Society to include the drug in its Poisons Schedule in 1924, thereby imposing a set of controls on who could buy and sell cannabis substances.

In sum, the book convincingly demonstrates that, in the case of laws and regulations governing cannabis, assessments have been formed on the basis of political and moral agendas rather than informed debate and well-established policy models. To its credit, Mills also does this without focusing on an existent rich harvest of cannabis conspiracy theories. Given that British governments since 1928 have regularly appealed to precedent in order to bolster their stolid stance in relation to cannabis only makes this study more relevant outside the field of history. Should the next volume turn up as many episodes of political misjudgement and misunderstanding, it will make for equally-compelling reading, even if the laws governing hemp drugs were to be relaxed in the meantime.

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Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Nineteenth-century Americans easily recognized the tale of the young man full of promise who took one sip of demon rum and slid into an abyss of despair and depravity. In novels, plays, poems, pamphlets, and lawsuits, the drunkard's story appeared again and again. Elaine Frantz Parsons argues in *Manhood Lost* that this familiar story led to increased emphasis on environmental influences as the root causes of drunkenness

and its associated ills of poverty and moral corruption. Unable to function as a proper man, the drunk also opened the door to state intervention in the form of Prohibition and the increased involvement of women in public life.

Parsons begins with the sad life story of Andrew Faivre, a typical protagonist of the drunkard's tales of the nineteenth century. In 1878, Faivre married a young woman named Louise, who had no idea that her beloved was a drinking man. The couple moved westward to Sioux City, Iowa, and produced four children. As time passed, the little money that Andrew earned as a low-skilled tailor went towards his saloon bill. Louise had to take in washing and the oldest daughter became a live-in domestic servant. The two women tried to keep the family's money away from Andrew while Louise begged the city's saloonkeepers to stop selling alcohol to her husband. On a cold day in 1899, Andrew went on a drinking binge. He passed out and spent the night outdoors. When he was discovered the next morning, frostbite had so damaged his fingers and toes that a doctor had to amputate most of his hands and feet. The question that bedeviled Victorian reformers was how exactly men like Faivre became such wrecks.

In chapters devoted to volition, manhood, contentment, seduction, invasion, and resolution, Parsons explores the answers developed by temperance reformers to explain the appeal of alcohol. Drunkards' tales, such as Faivre's, first appeared about 1830 and remained central pillars of the temperance movement throughout the century. The narrative remained strikingly consistent across regions, decades, genres, and socioeconomic classes. The account included an explanation of why the drinker fell and how his family suffered in consequence with similar language and metaphors used to describe the drinking man.

Such stories contributed to a weakened belief in individual volition. Moral suasion had long been the preferred method of dealing with problem drinkers but even John Gough, the most famous example of the success of moral suasion, lost faith in the

drinker's power to resist alcohol. Gough and other reformers turned to the metaphor of slavery to describe the relationship between the drinker and drink. However, to imagine adult white males as lacking individual responsibility for their decisions posed a radical challenge to the social system, especially the privileged position of white men within it.

As temperance reformers became a more powerful force, the doubts that they expressed about the volition of drunkards began to shape how these men were treated under the law. Prohibitory legislation, such as the Maine Laws, reflected the public's increasing willingness to hold brewers and saloonkeepers responsible for the making of drunkards and for the consequences of inebriety. Civil damage or dramshop laws were passed in a number of states to give those injured by drinking, such as Louise Faivre, the right to sue saloonkeepers for damages.

As the laws recognized, women and children depended upon husbands and fathers for sustenance and protection. The majority of drinkers, certainly the ones targeted by drunkard's tales, were male. A failure of volition caused a failure of manhood. Unable to earn a good living and too besotted by drink to control the affairs of their own families, men like Andrew Faivre forfeited their masculinity. This theme of lost manhood would be key to the logic of the drunkard narrative.

Temperance reformers stepped up their rhetoric on the coercive power of saloons and used this rhetoric to call for even more ways to save drinkers from enslavement by alcohol. The movement's success in destroying the premier male space of the nineteenth century depended not so much on attacking as on exploiting contemporary ideologies of manhood. To drink was to risk becoming drunk and thus incompetent to mind one's business. Such incompetence invited other men and women to intervene in a drunk's affairs.

Drunkards lacked contentment and, with their drinking, removed contentment from their families. Nineteenth-century

Americans referred to the balance of desire, volition, and reality as contentment. Plaintiffs in civil damage lawsuits often began their declarations by emphasizing the relative comfort of their lives before the breadwinner of the family turned to the heavy consumption of alcohol. To reformers, alcohol represented the social forces that made it impossible to remain content.

Why did men like Faivre become so discontented? Reformers were in nearly unanimous agreement that drunkards were not entirely responsible for their fates. Seduced by a slick young man, a group of peers, a saloonkeeper, or the glitzy saloon itself, drunkards were persuaded to take that first drink by the power of seduction. After imbibing, alcohol became a man's irresistible seducer. The logic of seduction further supported the need for Prohibition. Removal of alcohol would remove temptation.

In the last three decades of the century, a shift occurred in the discourse. A drunkard's fall, once the result of a seduction, now became the result of an invasion of his essentially pure body and will. Alcohol attacked and poisoned. A defense against such an aggressive force could only be achieved through extreme measures such as coercion.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the drunkard's narratives had led to a greater role for women in public life. Men lacked the power to resist the seduction or assault of alcohol. To protect the family from male incompetence, women were forced to assume male privileges and invade male spaces. With males no longer able to justify a monopoly on decision making, women mounted successful challenges to traditional gender roles in business, law, and politics.

Drunkard's tales are quite familiar to anyone with even a passing knowledge of the history of alcohol and it is about time that someone devoted a book to this topic. Parsons' work is also notable for its inclusion of the voices of working-class men and women. Although temperance reformers spoke often about protecting the less advantaged, immigrants and common workers

have rarely been heard. In short, much is commendable about this book despite the author's tendency to repeat arguments. It would be a good choice for advanced undergraduates studying gender or intellectual history.

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Anne-Marie E. Szymanski, *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Political scientist Anne-Marie Szymanski has taken a fresh look at the prohibition movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States. Her analytical study focuses in particular on the waves of temperance agitation of the 1880s and the Progressive Era (1900-1920). During the former period, prohibitionists fought nineteen state prohibition referendum campaigns, winning six (31.6 percent). In the latter, prohibitionists won twenty-two of forty contests (55 percent). The successful campaigns of the Progressive Era gave a powerful impetus to the drive for national prohibition. Szymanski's closely argued book presents an explanation for the greater success of these Progressive Era battles.

In Szymanski's view, the key to prohibition's gains lies in the movement's growing moderation, brought about by the accession to leadership of the Anti-Saloon League (ASL). During the 1880s, prohibitionists, led by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Prohibition Party, focused their efforts on forcing enactment of statewide prohibition, eschewing local efforts to obtain lesser restrictive measures, such as high license, limitation of saloon numbers, or local option. This stance Szymanski dubs "radicalism." "Moderation," in contrast, is defined by a willingness to embrace localism and gradualism. Advocates of statewide prohibition believed that local defeats would discourage