

BOOK REVIEWS

Diana L. Ahmad. *The Opium Debate and Chinese Exclusion Laws in the Nineteenth-Century American West*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007.

Reviewed by Guenter Risse, University of California, San Francisco and University of Washington, Seattle

Much has been written about the Chinese addiction to opium. This small, 90-pages of text monograph deals with opium smoking among those who arrived in the United States following the Gold Rush. The study primarily focuses on Western mountain states such as Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah with some references to Wyoming, Washington and Oregon. California, entry point for most Chinese immigrants, is barely mentioned. Such narrow focus, unfortunately, diminishes the value of this work. Its central premise is that opium smoking became a major contributor to the formulation and passage of exclusionary federal legislation in the early 1880s.

The early chapters describe the introduction of this practice into mining settlements and urban communities as part of a culture and lifestyle alien to Caucasian residents. Indeed, the “dazzle juice” became a prominent element in the racially tinged and stereotypical construction of “John Chinaman,” aided by a sensational and colorful literature printed in newspaper articles and short works of fiction. The author explains the distinctions between medicinal opium, with a long tradition stretching back to antiquity, and the smoking variety. The former, usually administered in the form of extracts from dried poppy sap, became the famous laudanum and later a more purified morphine, two successful agents widely employed in the conquest of pain. The crude opium to be smoked was often mixed with ash and shaped into pellets ready to be placed into the bowl of a pipe after being ignited. The tragic history of opium importation into China with its dramatic political and economic consequences is briefly sketched before the appearance of opium dens and spread of the practice among Caucasians of all ages and occupations.

A brief summary of nineteenth-century medical opinions regarding the alarming physical and moral effects of opium smoking follows. Among the more influential writers was Harry H. Kane, whose articles in popular publications such as *Harper's Weekly* and the *Atlantic Monthly* shaped public opinion about a drug habit that was deemed “filthy and disgusting.” Kane insisted that the addiction could cause moral degeneration and loss of religious beliefs. Moreover, as the drug also acted as an aphrodisiac, sexual mores were relaxed, venereal diseases would sap the body and racial purity was in peril. American manhood was at stake. Even the *Journal of the American Medical Association* chimed in, warning in 1892 that opium use had become a vehicle for illegal activities from prostitution to gambling, robbery to murder.

These negative views of opium smoking and addiction inspired efforts to stop the importation of the drug, an activity predominantly linked to the Chinese living in America. Ahmad's main point is that the anti-opium forces – including the medical profession – sought to diminish the drug's availability through a restricted admission

of new immigrants from Asia in the 1870s. Thus, they joined forces with other groups interested in Chinese exclusion for economic and cultural reasons. The spreading drug habit and its consequences were conflated and seen as part of the Chinese "problem." Here the author briefly reviews a succession of ordinances and statutes that sought to limit the admission and movement of the Chinese already living on American soil. Included were local opium laws that exposed opium sellers and smokers to fines, police arrests, and court appearances that failed to stem the availability of neither the product nor its widespread use. Finally, the 1880 Treaty on Commercial Intercourse between the US and China addressed the issue on a national level by including a reciprocal ban on opium imports between the two countries.

Yet, enforcement of this legislation in subsequent years remained lax, in part, according to the author, because of the substantial tariff revenue flowing into US Treasury coffers. After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the flow of illegal opium continued unabated while the number of resident Chinese gradually diminished, in large part because of the significant size of the addicted Caucasian population eager to continue indulging in their habit. Only another federal act passed in 1909 finally ended all imports of opium from all countries except for medicinal purposes, legislation that forced most addicts to switch to other drugs such as cocaine and heroin. The story ends with some comments about the subsequent recreational use until the end of the twentieth century, including opium smoking among the Hmong people who emigrated from Southeast Asia following the Vietnam War. Readers will be disappointed by the size and scope of this book, its reliance on a limited number of sources, and a terse prose that could have benefited from occasional samples of the florid rhetoric describing the nefarious Chinese opium dens of yesteryear.

Brooks McNamara. *The New York Concert Saloon: The Devil's Own Nights*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002; digitized edition 2007.

Reviewed by Peter Bailey, University of Manitoba

"First she danced upon one leg and then the other, and between the two she made her living..." Thus the droll and knowing commentary on a poster advertising the leading dancer at the What Is It, one of New York's more prominent concert saloons during their heyday from the mid 1860s to the mid 1880s. Sexual display, miscellaneous entertainments, gambling and strong drink were the up front attractions of these popular resorts, embodied in the ubiquitous figure of the "waiter girls," allegedly ready recruits to the scarcely sub rosa traffic in prostitution. Despite vigorous opposition from moral reformers and restrictive licensing regulations, the largely male oriented saloons flourished among locals and immigrants alike, before yielding to an increasingly respectabilised popular taste and displacement by more family friendly venues.

In a formula familiar to those acquainted with the parallel institution of the British singing saloon or proto-music hall, the concert element was there to fill the saloon as drinking resort, the entertainments and other attractions designed to attract and hold the prospective drinker. Though some of the larger of New York's concert saloons charged admission, the majority offered free entry or admission by refreshment checks exchangeable for drink. Alcohol sales were plainly the principal source of revenue. Beer was the prime drink of choice, much apostrophized in songs whose lyrics suggest the hand of the ad man as well as the sentimentalist. "Beer boys, beer, is the liquor we should stick to / Beer boys, beer, of a well reputed brand." At "six cents for a soak," "a

jug of honest swizzle” could not be beat, though a French visitor to one of the more ambitious premises noted the indigenous cocktails prepared by a bravura barman skilled in “the almost infinite number of beverages appreciated by the Americans.” The waiter girls were there to push the drink, extracting toasts to their charms (paraded in short skirts and high red boots) at inflated prices. Beer as the primary social lubricant was most obviously so at the numerous beer gardens that overlapped the concert saloons in function and clientele, anticipating the new ideal of the family resort. Promoted and patronized by the large German and Austrian population in the city – a third of its total number by 1880 – conduct and consumption at the beer gardens impressed the local press with “a thoroughly European regard for temperance and economy.”

Brooks McNamara deftly reconstructs the complex genealogy of the concert saloon with its roots and borrowings from a wide range of complementary entertainment sites and genres: minstrelsy, variety, theatre, circus, medicine show, dime museum, dance house and early burlesque, as well as the beer garden. (Given such promiscuous hybridity, the concert saloon hardly seems “the unique and extraordinary” institution the author claims.) The entertainers were a mixed bunch too. Although a cadre of professionals played the saloons, the practice made licensing mandatory, a prohibitive toll on business. Thus a good deal of the entertainment, particularly in the smaller houses, was generated by the audience in the tradition of the free and easy. Acts in the big houses that boasted a stage and band featured a staple fare of comics, sketch artists, singers, dancers, gymnasts and occasional boxing events. Here the claims of the licensing authorities, backed up by the vigilantes of the Society for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquents (which pocketed a major part of all fees and fines) were contested as much as evaded. Though evidence of prostitution compromised proprietors’ claims to moral probity, there were informal controls on overtly bawdy elements in the entertainment, producing the more allusive, subterranean sexual freighting that became characteristic of popular entertainment under the press of respectability.

McNamara has packed a great deal into this slim but valuable study, a welcome contribution to the Cambridge series *Studies in American Theatre and Drama*. Successfully exploiting a difficult set of sources, the book works well as an exercise in historical recovery that admirably reanimates what is described as “an almost unknown theatrical institution.” The author expressly states the limits of his study but social historians will be nonetheless disappointed that what is recovered was not subjected to the fuller interpretive and contextual analysis found in much new work on popular culture. Thus there is rich potential for a follow up, relating the career of the concert saloons to the dynamics of the New York economy and the general and particular trajectories of a burgeoning entertainment industry. There is good material here on audience composition, but we might speculate more on the likely consciousness of a modern crowd amid the excitement of the setting, literally one of smoke and mirrors given a chiaroscuro effect by the light from the chandeliers, all adding mystery and glamour to social actors newly alert to the presentation of self (waiter girls handed out photos of themselves) and the watchful reading of others in what one contemporary noted as “a kind of anonymity found only in New York.”

Or perhaps the saloons held only what McNamara seems to endorse as their “seedy allure,” a scene dominated by beery, leery gents. He makes suggestive connections with advertising but it would be interesting to learn of the particular pitch of ads for beer – “a well reputed brand” – and tobacco, and their interpellations of contemporary masculinity, tied to the material of the songs on stage. There are instructive texts to hand: American cultural historians, notably John Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility* (1991)

have written compellingly of the changing interactions of the modern crowd; Lynda Nead in *Victorian Babylon* (2000), has provided an imaginative reading of big city entertainment and the magic – and devilry – of its transactions amid modern light and space at London's Cremorne pleasure garden, a part model for the New York dance house of the same name.

Ron Brunton. *The Abandoned Narcotic: Kava and Cultural Instability in Melanesia*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology no. 69. 1989. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Reviewed by Lamont Lindstrom, University of Tulsa.

Kava (*Piper methysticum*), the traditional Pacific drug, has gone global. Beginning in the 1990s, sales of dried kava root and kava products boomed. Customers in North America, Europe, and beyond began purchasing the drug for recreational and therapeutic purposes – in particular for the apparent efficacy of component kavalactones to relieve their stress and anxiety. But then, in 2002, two dozen heavy users in Germany claimed to suffer liver toxicity. One reportedly died and several required liver transplants. The Germans quickly banned kava sales followed by other European Union countries. Recently, Germany and several other governments (including Wales) have eased or modified restrictions on kava imports although sales figures have yet to rebound to early 2000 levels. This contemporary interplay of diffusion and restriction – of drug adoption and drug abandonment – rehearses some of the issues that Ron Brunton explores concerning the traditional distribution, and use, of kava.

Brunton first published this book, based on his Ph.D. dissertation, in 1989. Brunton since left anthropology behind for a successful career as newspaper columnist, political advisor, and conservative pundit and currently he is a member of the Board of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Cambridge University Press has now republished a “digitally printed version” of the book. Aside from a couple of photographs, more blurred in this edition, the reprint is a decent facsimile of the original, its fuchsia wraps included. The reprint is timely given kava's many new users (who found their way to the plant after the first issue of the book), and given ongoing debates about the healthfulness of kava that have been sparked by its growing popularity around the world. I should note that I co-authored a competing overview of kava (Lebot, Merlin and Lindstrom 1992) that challenged Brunton's main argument about kava's traditional distribution. Brunton also occasionally questions interpretations that I once offered about kava use, culture, and society on Tanna, an island in the southern part of Vanuatu in the South Pacific. Despite our differences in interpretation, I find Brunton's scholarship generally thorough and sound and I am pleased that Cambridge University Press has seen fit to reissue his book. Brunton's first four chapters present a useful overview of the distribution of the plant, distribution of various names for kava and related substances (although linguists might question some of these data), and distribution of the several technologies and traditions of its production, exchange, and consumption.

Kava is vegetatively propagated and only grows wild in abandoned garden sites where branches bowing off some abandoned shrub occasionally sprout new plants from internodes. Kava's presence, therefore, must signal fairly recent human cultivation and use. European explorers took note of the plant in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries discovering that its distribution was then discontinuous. While kava was known and used throughout Polynesia (except on low atolls where it does not grow),

it grew on only two Micronesian islands, Kosrae and Pohnpei in the northwest Pacific, and only in some regions of Melanesia in the southwest Pacific. Kava-using areas here included Fiji and most of Vanuatu, but not New Caledonia, and only a few northern and southern coastal areas of New Guinea. Brunton builds his problem mostly around the Solomon Islands “kava gap.” Kava was used in noncontiguous coastal regions of New Guinea to the west, but then was absent throughout the Solomon Islands (except possibly for a few villages on San Cristobal island and in the Santa Cruz islands), and then reappeared again throughout almost all of Vanuatu and the Polynesian islands as far north and east as Hawai’i and the Society and Marquesas archipelagoes. What might explain this discontinuous distribution?

Brunton explores three hypotheses. First, Islanders may independently have domesticated some precursor *Piper* species in various and scattered Pacific regions. Second, voyaging kava-using Islanders somehow managed to spread kava directly to several distant parts (such as the kava-drinking communities of coastal south New Guinea), bypassing regions in-between such as the Solomon Island chain. And third, kava previously was once contiguously distributed throughout the Pacific but was in some areas subsequently abandoned by farmers and drinkers. Brunton attempts to prove this third hypothesis – that onetime kava-drinkers across dozens of islands and hundreds of miles somehow came to abandon their use of the drug.

Brunton’s analysis first reflects back on early twentieth century “diffusionism” – notably ethnohistoric theories put forward by University of Cambridge anthropologist and psychologist W. H. R. Rivers (Rivers 1914). Rivers, along with many of his generation of anthropologists, thought he could trace prehistoric migrations by inspecting the contemporary distribution of various cultural traits. He proposed that the southwest Pacific islands were originally settled by kava-drinking peoples who were then partly overrun by a second group of betel-users. (Pacific betel chewers combine the kernel of the areca palm (*Areca catechu*), lime manufactured by firing coral and shell, and the leaves, stems, or catkins of another pepper species, *Piper betle*. This drug tradition, unlike Pacific kava, is also common throughout the islands of Southeast Asia and on the Asian mainland.) Rivers suggested that some onetime kava-drinkers might have abandoned kava for incoming betel in that betel may be easier to produce and to use. Brunton questions this – as he may well given the very different physiological effects of these two substances, the one a stimulant, the other more difficult to classify but certainly a muscle relaxant and emotional leveler. Brunton agrees with Rivers that some Islanders did indeed abandon kava-drinking, here and there, but argues that they did so for religious/political reasons instead of simple convenience.

This brings readers to the second half of the book that offers a history and ethnography of Tanna Island in Vanuatu, and the changing significance of kava-drinking on that island. Briefly, Brunton argues that many Melanesians, because of a lack of legitimate political hierarchy, find it difficult to maintain social unity and order within their communities. As a consequence, they turn regularly to new “cultural packages” that promise new unities which themselves ultimately fail. Brunton uses twentieth century Tanna as a case study of what might have occurred prehistorically on other Melanesian islands. Teetotal Presbyterian missionaries and converts managed to abolish kava drinking throughout much of Tanna until this flooded back in the late 1930s in association with the eruption of a local syncretic religion – the John Frum movement – that revalorized kava drinking and the ancestral communication that kava provides to its users. Similar acts of abandonment, sparked either by religious frenzy or by desperate attempts to achieve social unity through the adoption of some new kava-free cultural

package, could well explain the absence of kava today throughout the Solomon Islands as well as in scattered other Pacific locales.

My co-authors and I (Lebot, Merlin, Lindstrom 1992) opted instead for Brunton's second hypothesis partly because of botanical and other evidence which suggests that Islanders first domesticated kava in northern Vanuatu rather than in the Bismarck Archipelago, as Brunton supposed. Kava then spread eastward and northward from Vanuatu and also reached coastal south New Guinea through rare, but not impossible, direct acts of transmission. Nonetheless, Brunton's exploration of a possible kava history that explores relations between drugs, religion, politics, and abolition is a useful story. There is much evidence, from 12-step programs and elsewhere, that religious commitment – either frenzied or sober – is indeed one of the most effective ways to abandon a drug at either the individual or social level. As abolitionists today tackle almost every social drug, including alcohol and nicotine, kava on Tanna remains a cautionary tale.

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Paul Dimeo. *A History of Drug Use in Sport 1876-1976: Beyond Good and Evil*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Reviewed by Neil Carter, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

This review was written shortly after the American athlete Marion Jones admitted that she had taken performance-enhancing substances in winning her five medals, including three golds, at the 2000 Olympic Games. Her tearful confession was followed by numerous newspaper articles condemning her as a “drugs cheat.” She is the latest in a growing line of high-profile athletes who have been caught taking drugs that have been banned by the sporting authorities over the past 30 years, the most notorious case being that of the Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson at the 1988 Olympics. What has been the story behind the relationship between sport and drugs, why have athletes been called drugs cheats and why is there an anti-doping ethic in sport? These are some of the issues that Paul Dimeo expertly deals with in this insightful and accessible study of drugs in sport between 1876 and 1976. The book is also a welcome contrast to the current – some might say bloated – literature on drugs in sport which has mainly focussed on current issues and have lacked the historical perspective that Dimeo provides.

Rather than a list of drug use in sport, the book sets out to explore the relationship in its wider context, including the role of science and how contemporary social and cultural values have impinged on the origins of anti-doping policies. Dimeo is also keen to point out that many previous accounts have lacked a rigorous historical analysis leading to the perpetuation of myths, such as the death of the Danish cyclist, Knud Enemark Jensen in 1960 and the unquestioned acceptance within recent research to find solutions to the “problem” of doping. In addition, the popular perception had been that totalitarian regimes had previously been at the forefront of the development of drug use in sport when in fact the USA had long played a leading role.

The book has a chronological structure and while the start date of 1876 may seem slightly arbitrary, it concludes at an important point in the story of drugs and sport.

By the time of the Montreal Olympics not only had a sophisticated test for anabolic steroids been introduced, but an equally complex ethical and bureaucratic system was now in place that sought to prohibit the use of drugs in sport.

There is a heavy reliance on scientific sources because, as the author acknowledges, evidence is difficult to gather due to the nature of the subject. Users of drugs have been rebels and athletes wanting to gain a competitive edge over their rivals, and, therefore, have been unwilling to reveal their methods. Although there is no doubt that drug use has always taken place and, as is set out later in East Germany, it could be systematic and state-sponsored, its extent is difficult to gauge in other sports and during other periods, and this sometimes comes across in the book. At one point it is stated that certain drugs became popular amongst German athletes in the inter-war years, but there is no evidence to back this up.

In the first chapter, Dimeo sets out his aims, pointing out that throughout history, athletes have searched for and used performance-enhancing aids. One of the book's main themes is to debunk the myth of the good-versus-evil image that has been built up concerning the work of the anti-doping authorities. The following chapter deals with the rise of modern sport and its increasing competitiveness, and demonstrates how athletes used drugs like kola and strychnine to improve performance. Importantly, there was little or no criticism of drug use by the authorities and anyway, these substances were looked upon as stimulants in the same way as alcohol and caffeine. By the inter-war period, there was a greater interest in sport from the scientific community, especially in Germany and the USA. The discipline of exercise physiology emerged, and along with it the use of pep pills in sport.

The Second World War provided the major catalyst for drug use in sport. The impetus of war had provided the need to manufacture stimulants for the military that enabled soldiers to stay awake, and their use filtered back into the sporting scene. While amphetamines were more commonly used in the period, it was the use of anabolic steroids that eventually became the most emotive issue within the debate, especially when seen in light of the sporting Cold War.

The growth of the anti-doping movement was the result of a combination of factors. It was reflection, for example, of how doctors perceived their role in society with anti-doping arguments framed in rational scientific terms. Importantly, the science was now in place to provide tests to detect drugs. Some of the leading doctors took a moral line, especially those from Britain who were imbued with a sense of fair play based on Victorian amateur sporting values, prompting a nostalgia for sport's "golden age" which, as Dimeo points out, never took place. There were also growing concerns over the use of drugs more generally in the post-war period. Health emerged as an issue, especially the issue of addiction, and the dangers of drug use in sport were illuminated by the death of a British cyclist, Tommy Simpson, who was found to have amphetamines in his system. These developments were complemented by organisations like the Council of Europe and the International Olympic Committee taking the issue of drugs more seriously and, in 1967, the IOC set up its own Medical Commission. Consequently, a greater stigma was attached to drug use in sport than there had been previously, and anti-doping policies were wrapped up in a language that bore the hallmark of a pseudo-religion.

In the final chapter, Dimeo reflects more widely. Drug use, for example, was not universal across nations, while anti-doping was an exercise in power and a moral panic. He attempts to get to the centre of the story with a critique of elite sport, arguing that the changing nature of sport has "institutionalised" athletes. He concludes by arguing

that ethics and sport have changed and that modern debates on drugs have tended to be based on the past. Hopefully, this book will have rectified this view.

Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt, eds. *Consuming Habits: Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define Drugs*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2007.

Reviewed by Alex Mold, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

First published in 1995, Jordan Goodman, Paul Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt's edited collection *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* will no doubt be familiar to many readers of the *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*. This updated version includes some revised material and also a subtle shift in emphasis. There are two completely new articles not included in the first collection: one by James Mills on cannabis, trade, and the British Empire, and another by Axel Klein and Susan Beckerleg on the role played by khat in work and leisure. Some authors have also taken the opportunity to rework their original essays, most notably Eric Hirsch on betelnut chewing in Papua New Guinea, and Kathryn Meyer on Japan and the narcotics trade. The introduction of this new work adds greatly to the richness of *Consuming Habits* and also serves to further underline the global nature of the production, distribution and consumption of psychoactive substances. Indeed, "the global" features much more prominently in the revised edition, something that is reflected in the book's new subtitle. This change mirrors a wider move within historical studies to consider topics in a global context, an approach certainly offered by *Consuming Habits*. Essays cover a wide geographical range; including the Americas, the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Europe, a vast time period; from pre-history to the present, and an array of psychoactive substances; including opium, coffee, cocaine, tobacco, kola, alcohol, cannabis and khat.

Tying the analysis of such a diverse range of drugs, times and places together might seem like an impossible task, but one of the book's key ideas is that psychoactive substances, of whatever type, and wherever they are produced and used, have much in common. Indeed, the book is a plea to consider substances together that are often examined apart. As Andrew Sherratt argues in his perceptive introduction, "drug" is a term that has often served to isolate the history of psychoactive substances from the history of foods and from the history of consumption. There is, he suggests, much to be gained from considering psychoactive substances as commodities embedded within cultural and social practices. Yet, there is still something that remains "peculiar" about the category of substances we call "drugs" not simply because of their psychoactive effects, but also because of "the propensity of psychoactive substances to acquire social meaning" which has "given them a special social role" (7). How psychoactive substances acquire meaning, and how this meaning changes over time and space, is, therefore, a central theme of *Consuming Habits*. The essays by Woodruff D. Smith on coffee and tea, Paul Lovejoy on kola, Eric Hirsch on betelnut and Axel Klein and Susan Beckerleg on khat demonstrate that substances with fairly similar properties are often used in different ways, and can attract contrasting systems of regulation and control. What separates these drugs from one another is a series of constructed categories such as licit/illicit, soft/hard and harmless/harmful. Such distinctions are often unrelated to the effects of the drugs themselves, but are instead connected to the social and political context in which psychoactive substances are produced and consumed.

Equally intriguing is the way in which some psychoactive substances were quickly transferred from their indigenous context and into wider use and others were not. Jordan Goodman shows us that from the sixteenth century onwards coffee, tea, chocolate and tobacco became part of the lives of many Europeans whereas khat, for example, was unheard of in Europe until the end of the twentieth century. For khat to become a global commodity, as Beckerleg and Klein demonstrate, changes in both supply and demand were required. Air transport has allowed khat (the psychoactive properties of which decline rapidly after it is picked) to be supplied to Somali refugees and migrants living in European cities, who now provide a market for it.

A similar process has been repeated many times. Migration, trade and empire lie at the heart of global drug production and consumption. This can be seen in the case of cannabis. James Mills argues that British imperialism during the nineteenth and early twentieth century helped to globalise cannabis consumption as Indian labourers migrating to other British colonies brought their cannabis habit with them. But, as Mills recognises, the picture is complicated by the fact that in some places, such as the Natal in Africa, there was some previous indigenous use of cannabis, suggesting that the drug was already a global commodity. If patterns of cannabis use and distribution were complex, so too were imperial attitudes towards the drug. In Trinidad the British attempted to tax the cannabis trade, in Egypt they prohibited it. Even as psychoactive substances such as cannabis became widely traded commodities regional and cultural variations in the ways in which this substance was regulated and consumed clearly persisted.

By drawing attention to these differences as well as the many similarities found in the production, supply, consumption and regulation of psychoactive substances across a large range of time periods and places, *Consuming Habits* continues to be a key text in the history of drug and alcohol use. A minor complaint about the revised edition is that it seems a shame that Goodman and Lovejoy did not update their Afterword, as some of the gaps in the literature they highlight have since been filled by more recent scholarship. It is inaccurate, for example, to state that nothing substantial been written on the history of cannabis, particularly when the revised edition of *Consuming Habits* contains an essay by Mills on this very topic. Overall, however, this does not detract from what is an extremely useful and stimulating book.

John Hailman. *Thomas Jefferson on Wine*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006.

Reviewed by Noelle Plack, Newman University College.

This is the first detailed study of Thomas Jefferson and his lifelong passion for wine. Based on a close reading of Jefferson's numerous letters, journals and travel notes on the subject, John Hailman has produced a lively and highly readable book. Jefferson was an incredible individual and this book showcases his eloquence, intellect and curiosity through the prism of wine. Chronological in nature, the book charts Jefferson's interest in wine throughout his long life. Hailman argues that in his approach to wine, Jefferson was remarkably modern in his breadth of tastes. He liked dry and sweet wines, both red and white; he also liked wines from France, Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal. Hailman does a good job of bringing to life Jefferson's world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by describing how challenging it was for him to actually pursue this passion. While there were wine merchants in the major

ports, shipping the wines across the Atlantic and then up the Potomac and James rivers in Virginia posed real difficulties. If Jefferson was able to secure the passage of his beverage of choice, for which he often used his diplomatic position, the wine still had to survive the thieving pirates and boatmen, who would drink the barrels and refill them with water.

During his student days in Williamsburg, Jefferson drank mostly Madeira and Claret, but his tastes were really transformed when he became American Commissioner in Paris in 1784. He would become American Minister the following year, succeeding the ailing Franklin, who was also a wine-lover. The real turning-point came in 1787 when Jefferson embarked on a tour of France, stopping in all the major wine regions. There were many reasons for this trip, including the aim to view regional classical architecture as a model for American public buildings. However, one of his main goals was also to learn about the French wine industry, which Jefferson hoped could also be replicated in the new republic. In one of the best sections of the book, excerpts from Jefferson's journal and travel notes are reproduced. These are valuable historical sources for they not only give us Jefferson's impressions of regional France, but also a portrait of the country on the eve of revolution. In Burgundy "the people are well-clothed, but it is Sunday" (105) and in Paris we get a sense of Louis XVI losing control (and not really caring?): "the king hunts one-half of the day, is drunk the other, and signs whatever he is bid" (121).

It was also during these trips that Jefferson really began to appreciate the differences and subtleties of European wine, for he also went to Italy in 1787 and Germany in 1788. He met the *négociants* (merchant-producers) and *vignerons* (peasant vine growers) and learned much about vine-growing and wine-making. Jefferson formed a particularly close relationship with the Burgundian *négociant* Etienne Parent, who served as his guide through the vineyards and cellars of this esteemed region and from whom Jefferson ordered his Burgundy for the rest of his life. It was also on the 1787 trip that Jefferson travelled to Bordeaux and created his classification of its wines. The 1787 Jefferson Bordeaux Classification, written in just four days, is still the standard when discussing these wines for the late eighteenth century. When the 1855 official classification appeared, many of the same *chateaux* were ranked, although some of them had moved up or down the quality hierarchy.

Jefferson returned to the United States in 1789 forever changed. When he was elected president in 1801, he was paid just \$25,000 per annum, but spent an average of \$3,200 a year on wine alone during his first term. Hailman argues that "the White House... has never seen as many good wines since" (255). Jefferson spared no expense and wanted to introduce Americans to fine wine and turn them into a nation of wine drinkers as opposed to a nation of whiskey and spirit drinkers. Thus, wines from Champagne, Bordeaux, Sauternes, Hermitage, Burgundy and Tokay of Hungary, as well as the finest wines from Italy and Portugal and the finest Sherries and Madeiras flowed at the lavish dinners Jefferson hosted while in office. When he retired to Monticello, where his finances were more modest and restrained, he drank less glamorous wine, mostly from southern France, including Ledanon, which is today in the Costières du Gard (Languedoc).

Thomas Jefferson on Wine is a fine book; it is very detailed and beautifully produced with many colour photographs of Jefferson memorabilia and places of interest in his life. But it is not an academic history book and the author, who is a law professor and wine columnist for the *Washington Post*, sometimes seems ill at ease with the vast historiography and the intense historical debate about Jefferson. Some of the writing

also seems inappropriate and misplaced. The superfluous sub-headings are often frivolous and trivial, for example, “Was Thomas Jefferson Addicted to Alcohol?” Hailman concludes that Jefferson did not “abuse” alcohol, although how this verdict is made is anecdotal, and the author does not even acknowledge that these are very contentious and debatable terms. So there is not much engagement with contemporary polemics or critical analysis of Jefferson and his times, but to be fair to the author that is not his purpose, as he states that the book is for the general reader. And it is an interesting portrait of a man through the comprehensive examination of one of his passions – it makes one want to learn more about Jefferson and more about wine.

Mark Simpson, Tracy Shildrick and Robert MacDonald, eds. *Drugs in Britain: Supply, Consumption and Control*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Reviewed by Susanne MacGregor, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

This lively collection canters briskly out from the Social Futures Institute at the University of Teesside, noted for its work on youth transitions and social exclusion. It also includes contributions from recognised experts in other universities and organisations. It is oriented to a target audience of sociology and criminology undergraduates, subjects representative of the editors’ main areas of expertise. It covers the ground at a good pace and will succeed in introducing new students to the main features of the contemporary issue of drugs in Britain. Since “drugs” are now popularly framed through the link with crime, the ten chapters review evidence on the distribution and consumption of illicit drugs and on policing, control and care. Key themes discussed are the “normalisation thesis,” recreational versus problematic drug use, harm minimisation versus abstinence, users and dealers, voluntary or coercive treatment and the respective roles of education and punishment. The core eight chapters are topped and tailed with the editors’ clear introduction and a thoughtful concluding discussion.

It is quite remarkable that so much attention is devoted to illicit drugs nowadays and that “hard drugs” are seen as the root cause of so many social problems, given that only about one per cent of adults have ever used heroin. This is partly because it appears that large proportions of crimes such as shoplifting and burglary are carried out by heroin and crack addicts. Another reason for what some see as an emerging moral panic is that use of all illicit drugs has increased seven-fold since the 1960s, and Britain is at the top of the league in Europe on this measure. But in spite of the growing interest and greater volume of research on the subject, fear and stigma continue to characterise discussions of drugs, along with stupendous ignorance, particularly in the worlds of politics and the media. This remains the case even though higher proportions of people in responsible positions have encountered drugs at some point in their life. This collection is valuable therefore for providing a highly reliable and competent overview of the most relevant evidence on key topics. There is also a useful collation of references put together at the end of the book. One tiny flaw is that a final proof-reading seems not to have been carried out, producing rather too many minor, but irritating, errors.

Russell Newcombe expertly analyses trends in the prevalence of illicit drug use in Britain and Shane Blackman unpacks the cultural context of recreational drug use. Even though the 1980s is seen as the point when an upsurge in the supply of drugs began, influenced partly by events in Iran, there were other steep rises in the 1990s. In parallel, since the mid-eighties, there has been a ten-fold increase in “stop and search” for drug offences. In his chapter, Toby Seddon asks pertinently “why is heroin the

most demonised drug?” Is it particularly addictive or are the problems associated with it largely to do with it being criminalised? Geoff Pearson reports on recent studies of drug markets and dealing and McSweeney, Hough and Turnbull make sense of the increasing volume of data on drugs and crime, pointing out that the link between the two is not just unidirectional. They also note the fact that “most drug users are – and remain – in control of their use” (97).

For many young people growing up in Britain today, drugs form part of the landscape in which they live, along with cars, motorbikes, sex, school and work. For deprived young people, like those in the north-east of England and studied by staff at the University of Teesside, the landscape is particularly bleak. Drugs and crime may for a time provide a pleasurable buzz, but later the processes of delinquency and drift lead some into dead-end alleys. Not all succumb however. The old questions of sociological explanation remain – there may be associations between risk factors and certain behaviours, but only a minority actually become unemployed, or criminal, or drug-dependent. Why? The various authors attempt to explain what is going on using sociological concepts and theories. A different type of explanation, absent from this book, would refer to emotional factors, issues of trauma, as well as questions of mental health and wellbeing. A complete answer might need to draw on both approaches.

I particularly liked the chapter by Crowther-Dowey on police and drugs. Rather than being an overview of secondary data, it reports on a case-study of Brixton and its cannabis experiment, placing this in the context of developments in policing practice since the inner city riots of the 1980s and continuing debates about the classification of cannabis. These occurred alongside an increased supply of heroin and crack cocaine, culminating in today’s lethal turf wars. McInnes and Barrett provide a useful overview of drugs education and Colin Webster offers a distinctly different discussion of treatment, written from the perspective of a criminologist rather than a psychiatrist – as is more commonly the case. He identifies changes following New Labour’s re-election in 2001 and the influence of managerialism on policy and practice. He anticipates some current critiques of drugs treatment, pointing out that targets have emphasised merely increasing the numbers in treatment with insufficient attention being given to outcomes.

The main conclusion which emerges from this valuable collection of high quality essays is that discussions of drugs and related policies in academia, the media or politics should avoid simplistic categorisations and overly broad generalisations. What we have is a complex social phenomenon which should not be reduced to simple dichotomies. The context is one in which there has been and will continue to be an increased supply and availability of drugs, and individual choices about whether or not to use drugs, how many, how, where and when, are made in limited and constraining environments. The backcloth is one of rising inequality and social exclusion, mass consumer capitalist culture and a crude and misleading media debate. Better public policy would aim to shape this environment and not focus solely on ideas of the market and individual choice. The hope is that future opinion leaders, perhaps enrolled in courses organised around books like this one, will be better prepared to make rational, humane and sensible decisions.

James H. Mills and Patricia Barton, eds. *Drugs and Empires: Essays in Modern Imperialism and Intoxication, c. 1500–c. 1930*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Reviewed by Jesse S. Palsetia, University of Guelph

Drugs and Empires examines the role drugs have played in the history of empire, and the writing of that history. Its authors examine the historical impact of alcohol, tobacco, and narcotics in various global contexts. The book is a collection of essays that emerged from a conference on “drugs and empires” in Glasgow in 2003. This was the first major gathering devoted to the subject of imperialism and intoxicants, and reflects the increasing attention being paid to the subject in drug and imperial studies. The book is divided into three sections, which detail themes in the historiography of drugs: the consumption, control, and the “high” politics of drugs. Attention to the three themes reflects the desire on the part of the editors and scholars to re-examine the historiography of drugs and empire away from interpretations that have emphasized imperial efforts: to traffic in drugs and foster regional and global drug cultures, to dominate drug supplies and markets, and to reshape regional societies and diplomatic and international relations through imperial drug policies. Towards this end, the book highlights the “demand-side dynamic” of drugs in empire, noting continuities between pre-colonial and colonial administrations in drug policy, the indigenous role and agency in drugs, and colonial narratives in influencing global protocols on drugs.

In the Introduction, the editors note the place of drugs in historical studies and the centrality of drugs in shaping empire. The emphasis on drugs as a distinct category of imperial studies is long overdue, though yet to be fully embraced by imperial historiography. Indeed, drugs no less than race, gender and social class have been central to the economic, political, and cultural characters of empires. At the same time, the editors’ argument that “it was consumers that ultimately could decide the fate of a new product rather than suppliers” (12) will generate considerable debate in drug and imperial studies. Whereas the reclamation of the colonial’s story is essential in the story of empire, attaching agency to colonials in adhering to and fostering drug cultures remains contentious, and resembles the older historiographical narrative of the non-European foundations of European imperialism. *Drugs and Empires*, however, for the most part balances this by noting the complex nature of drug regimes and attaching responsibility to non-Europeans under imperialism in fostering drug cultures.

In Part 1, Chapters 2 through 5 examine opium and tobacco in empire, and the relationship between indigenous drug cultures and imperial policies. Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann and Xun Zhou re-examine the historical interpretation of a British-made “opium plague” in China. George Bryan Souza examines the role of the Dutch East India Company in the maritime trade in opium and tobacco in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Richard Newman examines the British East India Company’s attempts to devise a drug policy in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and John Richards examines the historiography of the British creation of a drug culture in India. The articles all note or suggest the organic place of opium in indigenous culture, as a cultural and social pattern of accepted behaviour. In light of this indigenous culture on drugs, the articles argue, imperial administrative and economic policies were limited in their abilities and effects and, indeed, drug policies were shaped by the local circumstances. Laws on “opium eating” in India, for example, were eased as the

British became better acquainted with the more liberal Indian attitudes on drugs, and regulation of drugs was regarded as inimical to the Indian domestic economy. The chapters are significant in highlighting early imperial-colonial culture contact and raise the important theme of how indigenous “information” or facts about colonial societies shaped European “forms of knowledge” or the understanding and representation of those societies. Most importantly, the articles demonstrate that value judgments in the historiography of drugs in empire must be tempered by the contemporary evidence, attitudes and motivations. At the same time, the tendency to see imperial drug policies as well as cultural perceptions as products of regional pressures discounts the tremendous impact of imperialism on regional societies that disturbed traditional patterns of behaviour and fostered other inimical ones. Under imperialism, “information” was ultimately transformed into European “knowledge” that placed colonials within an economic, political, and cultural framework that served imperial ends.

In Part 2, Chapters 6 through 9 examine the theme of the control of drugs. The articles seek to demonstrate that the control of drugs was diffused in empire, whether between imperial and colonial parties or among imperial actors. Amar Farooqui notes the compartmentalization of the Malwa opium trade among Indians and British in Western India in the early nineteenth century, and the rise of an Indian smuggling network that circumvented British control of the internal Indian opium trade. Chima Korieh examines the colonial state’s attempt to control the alcohol market in Nigeria. The articles reinforce a theme in imperial historiography, also observable in other cases than drugs, of the “limitations” and “constraints” of imperial power and policy. The chapters highlight colonial agency and the number of actors who had a hand in the control, distribution, and use of drugs. They provide further information and nuance to the understanding of “opium regimes” and the part of colonials in the formation of drug cultures. Indeed, the suggestion that a British lack of control of the internal Indian opium trade spurred imperial expansion and the opening of markets in Asia is noteworthy. Also in this section, Marc Jason Gilbert details the collision of British administrative and humanitarian interests over opium in India in the latter nineteenth century, and Patricia Barton examines the scandal of adulterated quinine distributed by the British in India and the cleavage between a government that downplayed the “adulteration” of quinine in India, and scientists and medical professions who agitated for regulation. The articles reflect that imperial drugs policies were not uniform. The British excise policy on intoxicants incurred the opposition of temperance and anti-opium campaigns both in Britain and India, and that came to form an influential critique of imperial rule. The last chapter reflects on not the lack of effective “control,” but the lack of attention to the issue, as government energies were occupied in the quality control of opium for export.

The book’s last four chapters examine drugs controls at the international level. That by James Mills examines the international regulation of cannabis up to 1925, while William Walker examines the role drugs played in the diplomatic rivalries between Britain, Japan, and the United States in East Asia in the first decades of the twentieth century. William McAllister examines “intra-imperial drug relations” up to World War Two; and Elizabeth Kelly Gray details the ambivalent history and perceptions of drugs in the United States. The chapters highlight how the process of international drug regulation can not be divorced from the historical experiences of countries under imperialism. For example, South Africa and Egypt, out of differing historical circumstances,

agitated for the regulation of cannabis on the international agenda. The chapters also detail the interesting phenomenon of how international conventions, protocols and laws on drugs emerged from diplomatic rivalries of the drug empires, and the divided interests within imperial administration. The contention that demands for greater control of drug policy and separate international representation by colonies from empires, in part, contributed to the decline of imperial power in the twentieth century is a germane point; though, this theme cannot be overstated, as the birth of international drug regulations form a small part in the absolute decline of imperialism in the twentieth century. And, as the last article implies, changing perceptions of drugs could contribute to new global patterns. The evolution of American commitment to drugs regulations fostered a sense of American “exceptionalism” and power in the world by the twentieth century, as the United States condemned other Western nations for involvement in drugs. This is a thought-provoking collection of articles by a group of scholars dedicated to the field of drugs, history and empire. Whereas aspects of the individual works have been presented in other publications, the combination of works constitutes a noteworthy statement and interpretation of drugs and empire. All the chapters highlight the complexity of the drugs trade and the historical interpretations and judgments which surrounding it. The articles reclaim the story of drugs from solely being an imperial monologue and one-sided history by noting the impact of indigenous cultures, colonial agency, and the division of imperial interests in drugs policies. The articles highlight that non-European colonials did have “choices” in empire, including where drugs were concerned: to resist or circumvent, to adapt, or to affect imperial drug policies. The theme of how non-Western cultures and peoples operated under the hegemony of imperialism, and how to regard the “choices” they had continues the debate.

Pamela Pennock. *Advertising Sin and Sickness: The Politics of Alcohol and Tobacco Marketing, 1950-1990*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007.

Reviewed by Amy Mittelman, independent scholar.

Pamela Pennock's book, *Advertising Sin and Sickness: The Politics of Alcohol and Tobacco Marketing 1950-1990*, is a well-written study of marketing control movements against cigarette and alcohol television advertising. Despite the title, it is not an examination of advertising campaigns for these products, nor does it investigate the inner workings of the advertising companies that produced these campaigns. Rather it is a study of legislative struggles to limit or ban advertising of cigarette and beverage alcohol on television. Pennock's study addresses the remnants of the prohibition movement in the early post war period, the new public health oriented critics of smoking in the 1960s, and returns to alcohol and the struggle for a warning label and advertising restrictions in the 1970s and 1980s.

Pennock looks at these three distinct movements and explores their similarities and differences. She also examines the differences between anti-alcohol and anti-tobacco activists. However, she regards all three movements against the two products as representing “a fundamental challenge” to American consumer society. Although the constituencies of the movements changed over time, the arguments of the industries remained fairly consistent. Both the alcohol and tobacco lobbies maintained their “right” to advertise and cautioned against limiting television access as the beginning of a “slippery slope.” Spokespeople for the broadcasting industry also emphasized the economic importance of these industries. For the liquor industry, their economic contribution via

taxation has always been a mainstay of its arguments against Prohibition, for Repeal, and against curtailing of access to marketing venues.

Beginning with the attempts of the remaining prohibition movement to ban television advertising by the liquor industry, Pennock's work broadly outlines the transformation of the anti-alcohol movement following WWII. The temperance movement went from a societally-based critique prior to the enactment of Prohibition to individualization of alcohol problems via the alcoholism movement back to a more societally-based opposition in the guise of public health. Although this is not a new story, she does shed light on the ongoing nature of the prohibition movement and places the religiously-based opposition to alcohol within the larger contact cultural conflict over modernization and a growing consumer society.

Although Pennock treats alcohol and tobacco separately, she is aware of the linked nature of the two products and similarities in advertising campaigns. Both blatantly sell a lifestyle. She also analyzes the role of science and its uses in the debates over marketing access and control. Because of her emphasis on advertising, she does not deal with other legislative attempts to place limits on the industries, such as attempts to decrease drunk driving and the enactment of the Uniform Minimum Age Act.

Pennock establishes the first campaign against alcohol television advertising in the 1950s as setting the tone for the subsequent marketing control battles. This first battle revealed that there was a cultural conflict – a clash of values – which never disappeared. Because much of the debate in this first campaign, as well as the two subsequent ones Pennock explores, focused on young people and the effects of advertising on them, these campaigns were part of a larger ongoing conversation about youth, mass culture, and consumerism. These cultural debates are also part of the larger “culture wars” over issues such as abortion, Christmas, and the flag, which have been part of the political landscape in the United States since the 1960s. Although Pennock does not connect her movements to this larger discussion, she does a very good job of examining the politics of the marketing control struggles and makes interesting points about how the issue often fell on party lines, particularly in the tobacco fight.

Historiographically, Pennock's work is an important contribution to the field of alcohol history. Most historical work has focused on the pre-prohibition temperance movement; much less has focused on the post-Repeal history. Pennock also tells the story of both the anti-alcohol and anti-tobacco activist and the response of both industries. Most books on liquor fail to do this. Finally, her emphasis on federal legislative action is also unusual. The part of her story that addresses tobacco places the debates over the product in the 1960s in the forefront of the newly emerging consumer movement. This is an important insight since most of the late twentieth century and early twentieth first century debate over public health remains framed in the same terms. The current debates over obesity and unhealthy eating habits are the direct descendants of this first debate over the effects of smoking.

In the 1950s, when liquor spokespeople argued against limiting access to television advertising as unfair, they often mentioned smoking. Why, most asked, only focus on the drinking habit? Of course, by the 1960s, smoking came under attack in a way reminiscent of the pre-prohibition onslaught against alcohol. Because Pennock ends her story of tobacco in the 60s and focuses on alcohol for the later period, she does not discuss the current cultural disapproval of smoking and what a sea change in attitude that represents. However, her interesting and well-illustrated book does provide us with a roadmap for analyzing those changes and what will surely be future debates over the place of alcohol, tobacco, and other potentially “unhealthful” practices, in

our society.

Robert Greenfield. *Timothy Leary: A Biography*. Orlando: Harcourt, 2006.
Reviewed by Erika Dyck, University of Alberta, Canada.

I met Tim Leary in 1994 when I was an undergraduate student and an employee of a campus-run movie theatre at the University of Saskatchewan. Leary was on a speaking tour and my job was to familiarize him with our facilities and talk with him while the attendees poured in to hear his lecture. At the age of eighteen, a native of Saskatchewan, and the daughter of parents who were only nominally part of the 60's generation, I had no idea who Dr. Timothy Leary was. Standing in the projectionist's booth listening to his presentation, which was part lecture and part light show, I grew even more confused by Leary's references to psychedelic drugs, space and love. From my 90's perspective, this aging gentleman with blotchy liver spots appeared to me as a burnt-out hippie. While I have since studied the role that Leary played in proselytizing the virtues of drug use for mind expansion, Robert Greenfield's detailed biography helped to put my personal encounter with Leary in perspective.

In an exhaustive chronological account of Leary's activities, Greenfield describes the spectacular adventures of a self-absorbed cultural icon whose life in many ways captured the recklessness of an era and the indulgences of the American middle class. The biography begins at Leary's Irish-Catholic upbringing with an alcoholic father and virtuous mother; it proceeds to his incomplete military training at West Point, his spotty performance in university and then his arrival at Harvard. There, he met other researchers, particularly ones interested in exploring mind-altering substances. Although, as Greenfield points out, alcohol was Leary's ultimate drug of choice, he gradually overcame his surprisingly entrenched reservations towards psilocybin, LSD, and various mushrooms only to later expand this diet to cocaine, heroin, ketamine, Quaaludes, DMT, hashish, marijuana and finally nitrous oxide. Indeed, Leary appears to have survived on a steady regimen of alcohol, cigarettes, drugs, and women.

Greenfield skillfully weaves Leary's biographical narrative into a tale of the rise and fall of the counterculture in the United States. Leary himself first appears as a rather conservative figure as a young man in military college and university, during a period in which he met his first wife, Marianne. He later blossomed into an idolized liberal martyr figure when he and Richard Alpert were dismissed from the Psychology Department at Harvard University for conducting "unscientific" research. He later suffered repeated arrests for marijuana possession from an uncaring state while mourning the suicide of his first wife and struggling to care for his two children. At this point, Leary adopted a liberal persona as he turned his back on the state and embraced psychedelic drug use as a means of extending consciousness; he also encouraged others to follow his lead.

During the next phase of his life, Leary flirted with the law, sexual promiscuity, drugs, and parenthood. While he may have embodied many of the aspirations (and fears) of late 1960s America, Greenfield is careful to stress that Leary is in a unique position as a charmer with an ever-expanding network of friends in high places. Through a host of financially-lucrative connections and an overwhelming dose of charisma, Leary inherited an estate in upstate New York, Millbrook, from which he continued his drug exploits and entertained a steady stream of America's intellectuals and any one else who would make the trip, including Ken Kesey and his band of Merry Prank-

sters.

The peak of his career coincided with the fracturing of the counterculture and, in 1970 after the Diggers declared the “death of the Hippie,” Leary was seeking asylum in Algeria with Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver after escaping from jail for more marijuana possession (this time with his third wife, Rosemary). Returning to the United States in FBI handcuffs in 1973 marked another change (along with another wife, Joanna), as Leary shed his libertarian outlook in prison and now collaborated with the state. He cooperated with the FBI and CIA in an effort to free himself while exposing the underground drug trade, which meant revealing the illegal activities of former friends, including members of the Weathermen. Even in jail, however, he encountered followers; Charles Manson resided in the adjacent cell in Folsom Prison and praised Leary for inspiring him to “turn on.” Working closely with government officials, Leary became a living contradiction as one who had once embraced the counterculture, to one who exchanged friendship and principles for his own freedom. Once free, Leary tried unsuccessfully to settle down in a witness protection program, but he soon left wife Joanna and sought the spotlight once again; even his daughter’s suicide and his son’s estrangement did not seem to affect his drive to experience the high life.

As an aging man in his sixties and seventies, Leary’s unquenched desire for the spotlight brought him back to California where he married again, and resumed his fast-paced, intoxicated lifestyle. Although Leary had previously managed to generate some income with his publications, his writing suffered and he concentrated instead on selling the rights to his movie. Ever seeking media attention, and plagued by financial woes, Leary spent several years touring North America on a lecture circuit, adapting his message to suit a new youth generation; those who came of age during the conservatism of Reagan, however, regarded Leary as more of a relic than a guru. Leary died in 1996 while surrounded by an assemblage of computer-savvy youth who nearly convinced him to commit suicide on the internet for yet another media flashpoint.

Greenfield’s account of Leary offers a sobering antidote to some of the more sympathetic versions of his escapades. Greenfield’s former position as associate editor of *Rolling Stone* magazine (London) put him in contact with Leary in the 1970s and helped him to identify a staggering number of interviewees; Greenfield uses these opportunities to emphasize many contradictory interpretations of events. This book offers a critical appraisal of Leary, with revealing insights into the elite countercultural networks of the 1960s and will be of interest to anyone keen to revisit this historical period, and particularly for those prepared to demote Leary from his guru status.