

BOOK REVIEWS

Adam Smyth, ed. *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004. 214pp. Cloth. \$85.00. ISBN 184384009x.

This collection of twelve essays derives from a conference in July 2001 at the University of Reading entitled "Drink and Conviviality in Early Modern England." The topics covered in the collection range from the representation of conviviality by such writers as Ben Jonson, Robert Herrick, and Thomas Killigrew to medical and scientific theories about wine and beer during the period. Other areas of interest explored in the essays are the relationships of gender and sexuality to conviviality, the connections between conviviality and politics in ballads and anacreontics, and the roles of national stereotyping in early modern drinking cultures. The contributors to the volume offer expertise in literature, history, humanities, fine arts, and sociology to their studies of conviviality in seventeenth-century England, and the results are often impressive.

Broken into five general areas—Identity and Community, Politicized Drink, Drink and Gender, Improvement, and Excess—the variety of subjects covered in this relatively brief collection provide for engaging discussions of drink and conviviality. As noted in the collection's title, the "pleasing sinne" of alcohol consumption produced ambivalent responses in seventeenth-century drinkers. Smyth begins his introduction to the volume with a fine discussion of such ambivalence in one of the period's most famous drinkers, Samuel Pepys: Smyth records the dizzying array of drinks found in the *Diary* such as "ale, cider, beer, brandy, buttermilk, chocolate, gruel, elder spirits, julep, mead, metheglin, water, milk, coffee, orange juice, posset, tea, strong waters, whey, and many varieties of wine" (xiii). Overindulgence of the alcoholic beverages on this list induced, in Smyth's words, the "familiar Pepysian swing between delight and guilty regret" (xiii). Pepys's convivial pleasure attendant upon alcohol consumption is counterbalanced in the *Diary* by numerous resolutions to quit drinking, typically written in the grip of hangovers.

Such ambivalence toward the excess of pleasure and the dearth of abstinence finds expression in the subjects of the other essays in the volume and indeed, might be seen as the key conceptual point linking the chapters in the collection. This commonality provides a strong argumentative "backbone" for *A Pleasing*

Sinne that is much needed in discussions of the social and literary history of the period. Particularly in literary studies, the apparent sameness of the anacreontic literature of seventeenth-century England has led many critics to dismiss a vital thematic and conceptual element as derivative classicism. Stella Achilleos's essay on the *Anacreontea* offers a nuanced reading of its influence upon such noted poets as Ben Jonson and Robert Herrick and underscores the sociopolitical implications of their anacreontics for clubs of educated, upper class males in later generations. Cedric C. Brown's essay on the "Sons of Beer and Sons of Ben" explores similar territory by focusing on the construction of a community of drinkers organized around a poetic "father" figure. However, his discussion of Leonard Wheatcroft, a Derbyshire yeoman and poet who wrote as a "Son of Beer," exposes the class incompatibility at the heart of the convivial debate between beer and wine. In fact, Brown's exploration of the differing, polyvalent connotations of beer and wine can also be found in several other essays in the volume, particularly those by Marika Keblusek, Charles C. Ludington, Louise Hill Curth and Tanya M. Cassidy, and Charlotte McBride. Keblusek examines the political function of wine for Royalist exiles, finding it to have been a source of unification and nostalgia; Ludington looks to wine's changing nationalist role during the Restoration, linking changes in consumption to England's internal and external politics.

Wine's medicinal properties are the focus of the essay by Louise Hill Curth and Tanya M. Cassidy, which asserts that ambivalence about alcohol consumption impacted its prescriptive use by the medical establishment of the time. Wine was seen by doctors as an agent of both healing and harm, depending on the amount consumed. In the section entitled "Excess," Charlotte McBride describes how national stereotyping came to bear upon English males, whose drinking served to delimit their gender and national identity in a negative fashion. McBride's essay offers a bridge to later periods that would view drunkenness, especially during the nineteenth century, as a particularly "sinful" character type.

While the contributors mostly avoid restating similar conclusions about the changing roles of wine, one finds an often repetitive quality to the insights offered about its cultural function of class demarcation. With the exception of Brown's essay and Angela McShane Jones's study of popular ballads, there is little use of primary texts by working-class writers whose relationship to beer and wine is also of signal interest during this and later periods. Similarly, although the section on gender provides intriguing analysis of women's relationships to drinking cultures, it is limited to discussions of largely canonical dramatic texts. The level of engagement with theoretical analysis is also rather slight, and there is an unusually high amount of citation of sources that come from within the volume itself. A broader use of primary and secondary sources would have been useful in more strongly grounding the volume in the current critical discourse on conviviality. Particularly with primary texts, one wishes for more unusual speci-

mens such as *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees, Shewing the Manner of Grafting, Planting, Pruning, and Ordering of Them* and *Sylva, Or a Discourse of Forest-Trees* used in Vittoria Di Palma's essay on "the politics of fruit trees," an intriguing analysis of the debate surrounding the cultivation, production, and consumption of cider in the mid-seventeenth century.

Adam Smyth's own essay on writing about drunkenness which closes the volume offers a compelling reading of primary texts which describe the state of drunkenness; as in his introduction, Smyth finds many examples of ambivalence about the sensation and experience of drunken pleasure, noting that texts which condemn conviviality "teeter on the edge of celebration and so illustrate the necessary and destabilizing proximity of censure to encomium" (210). Along with the many other fine chapters in *A Pleasing Sinne*, Smyth's essay points the way for further critical forays into the alluring yet destructive world of conviviality in seventeenth-century England.

COREY E. ANDREWS, YOUNGSTOWN STATE UNIVERSITY

Sarah W. Tracy and Caroline Jean Acker, eds. *Altering American Consciousness: The History of Alcohol and Drug Use in the United States, 1800-2000*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004. 414 pages. Paper. \$26.95. ISBN 1558494251.

Altering American Consciousness brings together a diverse group of scholars and topics in an enriching collection of essays on alcohol and drug use in American society. The edited volume developed out of a conference held in Philadelphia in 1997 and reveals the depth of the field in a wide range of approaches tied together with strong overarching themes. Substances examined include alcohol, "dope," LSD, anti-depressants, and cigarettes. Contributors rely on an equally varied set of methodological perspectives, including discourse analysis, sociology, media studies, legal, medical, political and social history. The resulting product offers a provocative set of case studies that collectively demonstrate a number of critical and recurring themes in the history of drugs and alcohol.

Together, these fourteen essays promote a synthesised understanding of substance use in the United States over the last two centuries and highlight the importance of "big picture" considerations. Studies in this field often concentrate on a particular substance, a treatment modality, or policy formation. While such approaches often provide a close analysis of specific subjects and events, the overlapping themes emerging out of this collection suggest an evidentiary base for a more comprehensive look at what Tracy and Acker call a "dynamic relationship between culture and chemistry" (22).

In defining this relationship, these essays reveal the historical tendency to establish boundaries distinguishing individual and social responsibilities. When substance use is construed as a "problem," debates often centre on locating the nexus of the problem within the user or as a product of forces beyond

her control. Hickman tackles this issue directly by deconstructing the language of “volition” embedded in addiction vocabulary of the nineteenth century. He concludes that addiction was defined along class lines. Middle-class “addicts” turned to alcohol or drug use as a result of overbearing social pressures. As a result they deserved sympathy, hospitalisation, and medical treatment. Lower-class “addicts” by contrast did not encounter the same social pressures, and therefore succumbed to addiction voluntarily. Accordingly, their behaviour invoked public scorn, incarceration, and criminalization. Tracy’s article echoes this theme in an examination of the contested medico-legal authority employed in the construction of appropriate alcohol treatment centres in Iowa. Medical and legal jurisdictions ran parallel systems for “victims” and “criminals” of addiction. These two articles offer poignant cases of how differing notions of volition have shaped cultural, medical and legal approaches to addiction.

Several authors in this collection demonstrate how medico-legal debates frequently operate in tandem with cultural perceptions of addiction. While Hickman stresses class differences at the turn of the century, Mancall, McClellan and Acker complicate this analysis by concentrating on addiction among “weak characters” or genetically-predisposed individuals. Mancall investigates a racialized concept of alcoholism as it pertains to North American Indians. McClellan compares images of alcoholic men and women to illustrate how the post-WWII disease concept of alcoholism relied on sexualized perceptions of effeminate men and masculine women. Acker carefully examines a family of morphine addicts and emphasizes the complex interplay of familial, gender and class identities that affected a user’s access to resources. These articles emphasize the significance of the social category of the user, however culturally constructed, in shaping addiction in a victim-criminal dichotomy.

Conversely, the articles by Baumohl, Weiss, and Roizen define the “problem” as an inherently social one requiring state intervention. Baumohl investigates medico-legal debates over morphine maintenance treatment in California in the 1920s, indicating a significant degree of resistance from the local medical community to the pursuant criminalization of morphine addicts. Weiss looks at an inverted situation, where the medical community (increasingly subverted by a less transparent pharmaceutical industry) tried unsuccessfully to treat depression as a clinical disorder with a psychopharmaceutical called Imipramine. In Weiss’s case study, the drug appeared before cultural acceptance of the “disease,” thus responsibility for both the disease and its addictive drug treatment is conceived in a social context. Roizen ties cultural responses to alcoholism with public policies regarding its treatments, reinforcing the formative role of the state for intervening in and maintaining a presence in this social arena. Each of these essays illustrates how addiction has been understood through a matrix of cultural sensibilities linked to ideals of responsible citizenship.

Reading these essays as a cultural history of American attitudes towards medico-social responsibilities provides one avenue for interpreting the collection's contributions to the "bigger picture". Other interpretive frameworks offer equally provocative possibilities. For example, many of these articles describe the importance of the race, class, gender and sexuality concerning addicts, the agency of individual users, medical definitions of disease concepts, and the influence of commercial interests. Speaker draws attention to the similarities between anti-alcohol and anti-drug campaigns, revealing a cyclical process for prescribing acceptable use. The cycle begins with the introduction of a substance, followed by increased consumption that provokes social fears. A resulting moral panic inspires medico-legal debates that more clearly define use in disease or criminal terms, which consequently affects commercial production. Brandt's examination of cigarettes, Weiss's article on first-generation anti-depressants, and Novak's investigation of professional responses to LSD suggest a re-ordering of this process, but rely on the same component parts. A comparison of multiple drug careers illuminates a broader set of historical cultural values in American society infused with ideas of individualism, gender, class, nativism, disease and commerce.

Tracy and Acker have packaged an otherwise eclectic array of case studies as a vivid illustration of the vitality of this discipline. While each essay demonstrates individual strengths, together this collection inspires broader analyses that combine substances and methodologies to get at a fuller picture of drugs and alcohol in American history. Perhaps such a collection also motivates us to move towards analyses that investigate the relationship between culture and chemistry across geo-political contexts.

ERIKA DYCK, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

David A. Bello, *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729-1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005. 361 pp. Cloth. \$50.00. ISBN 0674016491.

David Bello's ambitious, well written, and carefully researched book makes several significant and exciting contributions to the growing literature on opium and the efforts to control opium in China. *Opium and the Limits of Empire* analyzes the complex origins of China's problem with opium in northwestern Xinjiang and the southwestern provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou, where the bulk of China's domestic poppies eventually bloomed. By locating his research on opium prohibition outside "China proper" up to 1850, Bello compels readers to reconsider the traditional geographical, chronological, and cultural orientation that has long drawn scholars of the opium trade to China's southeast coast, where commerce in and conflict over the Indian drug necessitated a focus on western imperialism, foreign relations, and Qing weakness.

The bulk of Bello's discussion not only predates the first Opium War (1839-42), but also examines the growing dependence on the narcotic as a significant consequence of Qing territorial expansion. Bello's innovative approach generates a more comprehensive perspective on the opium dilemma facing the Qing state in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and illuminates the much-debated question of why the Qing government came to identify opium as a problem long before the British.

After a well-constructed introduction, Bello begins with an overview of British opium policies in India. Bello asserts that Britain's victory over China in the infamous Opium War was not a triumph of modernity over outmoded traditionalism, and that the failure to control opium production was a problem shared by both imperial powers and was largely a result of inadequate administrative controls over newly acquired territories and ethnic groups. The next chapter details the wide variety of administrative structures used by the Qing rulers to control their far-flung and ethnically diverse empire, and it reveals how the dynasty's tenuous hold on power in the hinterlands promoted the rise of opium production at the same time as and even prior to the rise of the coastal opium trade. The following chapter traces the evolution of opium policy as applied to the Han majority in the core regions of the Qing empire. Chapters Five and Six, which detail the growth of the opium trade in Xinjiang and the southwestern provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan, are the heart of Bello's research. The Qing approach was hampered by fear of ethnic conflict, the inaccessibility of much of the region, and the growing financial dependence on the drug. Finally, the concluding chapter explores the strong link between the expansion of Qing territory and problems with opium prohibition.

Bello's work rests on an impressive foundation of archival research conducted in Taiwan, Great Britain, and, primarily, in the First Historical Archives in Beijing, where his mining of opium-related materials proved particularly productive. His deft weaving of materials at the local, regional, provincial, and national levels allows him to construct an argument that is convincing and readable. At the same time, he actively engages the relevant secondary literature on opium and the formation and maintenance of empires.

In such a brief review, it is difficult to do much more than highlight some of Bello's most provocative conclusions. His main point is that the geographically remote, ethnically diverse, and administratively undermanned areas of China's northwest and southwest necessitated a flexible government approach and ultimately doomed early prohibition efforts. The expansion of the Qing empire incorporated regions the central bureaucracy could not effectively penetrate, and was thus compelled to administer through existing and more informal tribal governing structures. Bello points out that despite the traditional focus on the enormous influx of Indian opium through China's coastal provinces, the drug also flowed into Xinjiang across the Indian border in the northwest. Among his

more interesting findings are the unintended consequences of the Qing dynasty crackdown on opium-related offenses in the 1830s. The practice of exiling violators of the opium restrictions to regions with a less intensive administrative presence ironically contributed to the flourishing opium trade in the areas of Bello's study. At the same time, many officials were so uncomfortable with the harsh penalties for opium consumption—it became a capital offense—that they increasingly relied on an amnesty program for those who admitted wrongdoing, turned in narcotic contraband, and pledged to reform. Here, the irony is that the amnesty program enabled the dynasty to amass an alarmingly detailed record of the extent of opium use and sales.

The implications of Bello's work are profound and far reaching. The volume reveals the disingenuous nature of the Qing argument that China's opium problem was entirely the result of western imperialist greed and immorality. The Chinese government was well aware of extensive domestic poppy cultivation, use, and trafficking in Xinjiang and the southwestern provinces, and of its own difficulties in controlling that commerce. In addition, many of the problems the state confronted in Xinjiang and China's southwest provinces presaged similar problems throughout the empire during subsequent anti-opium campaigns. For example, the reluctance of local officials to uproot poppies for fear of sparking violence, the problem of overlapping administrative jurisdictions, and the presence of "foreign" traffickers all required flexibility on the part of local and regional officials. And in his examination of the origins and consequences of opium criminalization, Bello's research indicates that despite moralistic rhetoric about the consequences of addiction, what may have been most problematic were local dependence on the opium trade and the challenge to state legitimacy presented by widespread flouting of existing restrictions in many regions.

No book is perfect, of course, although the shortcomings here are minor quibbles in an otherwise well-conceived volume. The second chapter, although possibly the most provocative in the book, is also the most problematic. Bello is right that in terms of opium policy, Great Britain was no more modern than Qing China, but the failure of China's outmoded military technology was decisive and goes unmentioned here. Also, although Bello concedes that the problems facing British administrators in India were often quite different from those confronting Qing authorities, he does gloss over these in his attempt to prove that the difficulties of controlling opium emerged from similar administrative problems.

Opium and the Limits of Empire is a welcome addition to the burgeoning sub-field of literature on opium and opium suppression that fulfills its goal of redirecting and expanding the scope of scholarly analysis.

JOYCE A. MADANCY, UNION COLLEGE

Marcus Boon, *The Road of Excess: A History of Writers on Drugs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. 239 pp. Paper. 2005. \$16.95. ISBN 0674017560.

Each of the five chapters of *The Road of Excess: A History of Writers on Drugs* presents a literary history of a particular class of drugs. The book is not concerned with alcohol and caffeine, which are dismissed, unconvincingly, as fundamentally different things (7). Narcotics, anesthetics, cannabis, stimulants, and psychedelics make up this world of drugs. Each chapter interrogates the relationship between drug use and creative literature. Biographical and historical anecdotes, a strength of the book, contextualize discussion of literary works. The majority of studied texts have appeared since De Quincey's *Confessions of an Opium Eater* (1822), and almost all appeared first in places that the book regards, conventionally, as "the West": America, Britain, France, and Germany. A prologue and epilogue attempt to unify the whole.

Touted on the back cover as the first "comprehensive" treatment of "the age-old association of literature and drugs," *The Road of Excess* examines a long series of "key" drug texts in biographical and historical contexts. The subtitle, *A History of Writers on Drugs*, might suggest a study of the history of creative writing on the subject of drugs. But the book focuses more narrowly on writers who wrote about drug use while or after taking drugs. The book rarely considers anti-drug or temperance literature. Minor drug-related scenes in major works receive little attention, and writers who are not known to have been drug users receive less attention than those who took a lot of drugs openly and wrote about drug use extensively.

In its survey of drug writings by drugged writers, *The Road of Excess* covers a wide range of literary production as well as a great deal of time and space. Poems, short stories, plays, novels, autobiographies—all kinds of creative literature—come under examination. *The Road of Excess* considers how certain drug experiences lend themselves to particular literary forms and styles. The book explains, for example, how Benzedrine influenced the structure of Beat novels (e.g., 197, 202). And the use of psychedelics, we learn, "often results in rapturous descriptions of luminous patterning and mystical experience that are highly lyrical" (121).

This selection of texts, however, may be too one-sided to comprise a usable literary history. After all, drug use has meaning to non-users, even when they are not profoundly affected by another's drug use. And the most indiscreet class of drug users do not experience drugs as do moderate users. And writers who self-consciously write "on drugs" are hardly ignorant of the meaning attached to drugs by casual users, non-users, and all varieties of the ill-informed. There are too many important pieces missing from this puzzle to declare it complete or solved. *The Road of Excess* focuses mainly on drug writings by drugged writers

in the vain hope that many small readings of literary works will aid in the “bio-chemical mapping” of transcendental experience (277).

The weakest parts of the book are the prologue and the conclusion, which generally fail to unify the digressive, speculative chapters. The prologue indulges a series of misleading digressions and manifesto moments. It is coy on the subject of the author’s own drug use, as though it were relevant; it seems angry that it must go unstated (2). It dismisses contemporary literature as a repulsive body of work that “smells funny” (3), an ironic assertion from a scholar with such stamina for drugged-up narratives of slumming depravity. It vaguely condemns recent directions in literary criticism to promote *The Road of Excess* as exemplifying a better methodology (5). It rants that drug literature has been ignored (6). It promises to shape an “amorphous” field through “reliable information” (8). It praises Bruno Latour (10). It hopes to open up “new realms of excess so that drugs no longer carry the whole weight of our legitimate desire to be high” (13). And it ends with the cloudy assertion that drugs are an unusual “hybrid artifact” in that their meanings are partially essential and partially constructed (14). Individually, none of these arguments do much to lend coherence to the work as a whole. Taken together, they promote confusion. The prologue is shorter.

Strong arguments and observations can be found in the various lines of thought presented in the drug-specific chapters. At times, these arguments are weakened by overblown conceits, hyperbole, and clumsy, deferential gestures toward various philosophers and writers. On the whole, however, the chapters provide many entertaining and impressive interpretations of the material they cover. When they ramble, they often sparkle. As they consolidate, they can be trite. The cannabis chapter, for example, finds surprising significance in “the great tradition of stoned bungling” (149). Another paragraph, attempting to unify this history of cannabis literature, concludes that devoted cannabis users typically “form social groups” (163). And we learn that cocaine novels often focus on “how to seduce someone” (193). But we are also treated to the observation that cocaine “is a social drug,” and that “wherever people gather together to take a substance, they like to talk about its qualities” (177).

The cannabis chapter contains the most compelling of unifying arguments: “The use of cannabis has been framed in an extraordinary number of ways,” begins the conclusion. “What if cannabis’s ability to trigger relational shifts, and a doubling up of consciousness, is fundamentally meaningless, and therefore value neutral? That is to say that the mental states triggered by pot have no particular meaning, but that meaning is added by the user in his or her particular set and setting” (166). I wonder if this could have been the thesis for the whole work. It would free the project from the necessity of unifying the meaning of various classes of drugs to the writers who took them and wrote about them. And it would better support the method of presenting only “key texts.”

The book will be most valuable as something of a reference work. Certainly any scholar interested in the history of thinking about particular drug experiences must consult *The Road of Excess*, if only for the bibliography contained with each chapter. But as a reference work, *The Road of Excess* will frustrate as much as it will serve. A chronology would show off the depth and breadth of the bibliography, for example. The index is poor. The psychedelic chapter contains memorable anecdotes about the Columbian drug yage, but “yage,” like every other drug the book studies, is nowhere in the index, which includes mainly a list of authors. The book also formats names and titles of works inconsistently. Some authors, for example, appear with dates of birth and death, in parentheses, on first mention. Others do not. Some writers are introduced with last-name-only status. Other names, equally famous, are always written in full. Some titles appear in the original with a translation in parenthesis; others merely appear in translation. More important, many of the dates provided with titles are of unclear significance. While they appear to signify the work’s initial publication date, many express that information mistakenly or ambiguously signify something else. At least one text is quoted but never named or cited (102). And there are too many typographical errors. *The Road of Excess* is not the *Oxford Companion to Writers on Drugs*, to be sure, but describing it as the next best thing does justice, I think, to what it offers the community of scholars working on the social history of drugs and alcohol.

JON MILLER, THE UNIVERSITY OF AKRON

Kolleen M. Guy, *When Champagne became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. xi-245pp. Cloth. \$39.95. ISBN 0801871646.

Kolleen Guy’s prize-winning book addresses a number of issues, beginning with the role of wine and particularly champagne in shaping a French identity at the turn of the past century. It is a story of how a dynamic campaign involving *négo-ciants* (merchant-producers) and *vignerons* (peasant vine growers) from a specific region could impose a regional product as a national treasure to be patriotically defended. Champagne was the first territory to stake a privileged position as a unique product and one that was typically French.

Champagne succeeded in becoming identified with France only after a series of struggles culminating in legislation that limited the labeling of sparkling wine from Champagne as “champagne” through the now famous AOC (*appellation d’origine contrôlée*) system of designating the geographic origins of French wines. Kolleen Guy demonstrates the way in which *terroir* emerged at the heart of the debate. In this debate, the Champenois found support in the way that geographers such as Vidal de la Blanche and the historian Maurice Barrès cele-

brated the regions of France and gave an almost mystical importance to the way in which the identity of France was literally rooted in the soil.

A crucial issue was delimiting the boundaries of Champagne's wine-growing region, the *terroir* that gave the particular qualities that set champagne apart from the sparkling wines of other regions. To do so required skillful political maneuvering and the creation of historical myth about champagne and what it represented. The argument was that only grapes grown in Champagne could be used in the production of champagne. Anything else was fraud. This enabled *vignerons* and *négociants* to join in a common, patriotic defense of the French patrimony, despite the fact that the imported grapes they wished to exclude were from other French regions such as the Midi or nearby Aube. Self-interest and national interest combined successfully to lobby the French legislature to protect a product that was at once regional and national.

The image of champagne was carefully crafted to link its consumption to a graceful, sophisticated, French-bourgeois lifestyle with aristocratic overtones. Champagne became the drink for special occasions and family-oriented celebrations such as marriages, baptisms, birthdays, anniversaries or graduations. Consumption in fashionable Parisian restaurants, such as Maxim's, associated champagne with a life of pleasure, prosperity and success. Internationally, champagne became identified with a specifically French *joie de vivre*, providing an international *beau monde* with a taste of French luxury. Champagne became a way of crowning success in the industrial world, such as in launching of ships, associating champagne with progress and modernity. It also became part of a general effort by the wine lobby in France to promote wine as the *boisson hygiénique* that brought longevity and good health. Promoters of wine distinguished wine (but also cider and beer) as a naturally fermented product from distilled beverages that caused alcoholism and moral decay. Wine consumption was good for the consumer and good for France.

The promotion of champagne was clearly gendered. Images of elegant women adorned posters that promoted champagne, and Guy notes that long after Madame de Pompadour decreed champagne appropriate for ladies, it continued to be a proper drink for women. The linkage also reflected a republican and patriotic association in which women as consumers of champagne were seen as mothers of families and mothers of the country (35).

Although champagne consumption became associated with an upper bourgeois way of life, its production depended upon an uneasy relationship between *vigneron* and *négociant*. The inherent tension in this relationship became serious in the years of the phylloxera epidemic and the subsequent *mévente*, or decline in wine prices at the turn of the century due to post-phylloxera overproduction. Champagne was the northernmost and last of the French wine growing regions to be touched by the phylloxera devastation. *Vignerons* and *negociants* differed on how to deal with the crisis. The latter preferred a scientific approach

in the application of expensive chemicals. *Vignerons* preferred uprooting the vines and replacing them with California rootstock that was resistant to the disease. Ultimately the *vignerons* prevailed, but at the price of transforming viticulture in Champagne. The replanted grape varieties produced a monoculture that was geared to champagne, making *vignerons* dependent upon sales to the larger firms. The replanting was in rows, enabling more efficient, modern methods of harvesting the grape and producing greater yields. Many smaller *vignerons*, lacking the publicity and distribution facilities of the great firms, in effect became agricultural laborers.

Falling prices produced social conflict within the champagne viticole, revealed in the dramatic events that shook Champagne in the revolt of 1911. Between 1900 and 1910 the *vignerons* and *negociants* had a common cause in appealing to the government for protection of champagne as a national treasure. This moment of harmony collapsed when *vignerons* feared exclusion from the champagne delimitation following the AOC laws and their application within a defined boundary. At issue was a fear of monopoly by a few large firms as hard-pressed *vignerons* faced financial ruin. In their struggle, these protesting *vignerons* received sympathetic support from local railway workers. While the 1911 protest clearly had overtones of class struggle and anti-capitalism, Guy argues that the issue was more complex than simple class division. The *vignerons* saw themselves engaged in a defense of what was national, authentic and not fraudulent. Their nationalism reflected the language of Barrès that expressed an “organicist” and racist (anti-German, anti-Jewish) conception of what was truly French (181).

By 1914 the system of geographic delimitation, or the *terroir* of champagne and other wine-growing areas (Bordeaux, Banyuls, Clairette de Die) was taken over by a government system of classification that linked region with a national identity. With the outbreak of war, though, the defense of champagne became more than the defense of a name; it would be a military defense of the French nation wherein the physical landscape of Champagne became a deadly battlefield.

In the broader sweep of history, the prewar struggle over champagne and its designation created the parameters for French viticulture when over the next several decades many French regions received AOC status as a guarantee of authenticity and quality. But the recent globalization of the wine industry has challenged the French definition of a French exception based upon *terroir*, which remains at the heart of the debate as it was with champagne prior to 1914. Perhaps in the context of the current French struggle to preserve wine and wine culture as part of what makes France distinctively French, a lesson might be found in the gracefully written pages of this fine book on how champagne became French.

Mark A. Noon, *Yuengling: A History of America's Oldest Brewery*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2005. x + 221 pp. \$ 39.95. Cloth. ISBN 0786419725.

Mark Noon's *Yuengling* is the story of America's oldest brewery, located in Pottsville, Pennsylvania since 1829. D.G. Yuengling, a German immigrant, founded the company, and it has remained in the hands of his descendants to this day. It is obvious that writing such a book requires the co-operation of the owner family, and Noon did have "full access to the historical records on file" as well as numerous occasions to interview the current owner (ix). The reader can only speculate about how this source dependence and the relationship between the author and the Yuengling family may have influenced the book's content; this topic is not discussed or even mentioned in the work itself. What is clear is that what we have before us is not critical social inquiry as much as a light and often superficial business history with elements of social history thrown in rather haphazardly.

The author is a composition instructor and former journalist, not a professional historian. Unfortunately, this cannot be considered a valid excuse for the replacement of fact with literary pretension. Consider the first two sentences of Chapter One, describing the day of D.G. Yuengling's funeral: "Early in the afternoon of Saturday, September 29, 1877, a melancholy mood slowly descended upon the people of Pottsville, Pennsylvania. Even a visitor would have sensed that many of the city's residents had been touched by something, something beyond the rich, colorful changing leaves on Sharp Mountain and the surrounding hills."⁽⁵⁾ This is vague, banal, largely unverifiable, and an example of the regrettable trend toward outpourings of middlebrow sentimentality in historical writing.

The first chapter examines the life and times of D.G. Yuengling, the brewery's founder and an immigrant from Württemberg. The business, first named the Eagle Brewery, was started during the "rush" to the anthracite coal region in the late 1820s. Noon is eager to conclude that the eagle, used as a symbol by many other German brewers as well, was to represent immigrants' allegiance to America. However, this overlooks the centuries-long tradition of the eagle as a symbol in Germany. The fact that Yuengling took part in creating a Sunday school where no language other than German was to be spoken seems to suggest that preservation of national heritage was at least as important as assimilation and accommodation.

In general, immigrants play an important part of this book, primarily as beer consumers. German, Irish, and Slav immigrants filled the coal mines and the saloons in the Pottsville area, and there is much sympathy in this book for these common toilers and their thirst. It is conspicuous, however, that the people who worked in the actual brewery are afforded very little space in *Yuengling*. Indeed, even the present day is viewed almost exclusively through the eyes of owner and

management. A true social history would have required much more attention to the people who labored in the brewery and whose families depended on it as much as the Yuenglings did. True insight into the lives of immigrants would also have required far greater familiarity with the historical literature on immigration and ethnicity in the United States.

The story of the brewery's survival through Prohibition is more competently told. Yuengling endured by producing relatively successful near-beers and diversifying into other enterprises. However, the brewery soon faced other dire challenges: the decline of the regional economy and the rapid consolidation of the American beer market, leading to the dominance of a small number of large corporations with nation-wide distribution. This time, Yuengling managed to stay afloat by retaining a loyal local consumer base and participating in the "microbrew boom" which joined beer choice with social pretension, consumerism with social identity.

Yuengling, then, is a story of relative success; it is even a heroic story of the underdog's survival against the odds, if one harbors the romantic notions about regional brewers so fashionable among contemporary beer snobs. It is a popular history which might attract the academic or casual reader interested in local or regional history, beer and brewery history, or the history of labor and immigration. This reviewer, however, suspects that the academic specialist will find little that is new or enlightening.

KNUT OYANGEN, IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY

Janet Golden, *Message in a Bottle: The Making of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005. 232 pages. Cloth. \$25.95. ISBN 0674014855.

Janet Golden's *Message in a Bottle: The Making of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome* makes a vital and interesting contribution to our understanding of how a medical diagnosis evolves from discovery to social phenomenon. By examining the intersection of policy, addiction studies, and public health, Golden, a professor of history at Rutgers University, traces the construction of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome from its naming in the 1970s to its current place in the popular discourse. Most people know at least one woman who stops drinking (even one glass of wine with dinner) the moment she realizes she is pregnant. This is proof of the tremendous success of a public education campaign, which, Golden argues, impacted those who needed it least.

The term "fetal alcohol syndrome" (FAS) was coined in the 1970s, when scientists realized that children of women alcoholics often possessed unusual facial characteristics including a "flat midface, short nose, and thin upper lip" (58). Later studies found that children with FAS often suffered from behavioral problems including a lack of impulse control. According to Golden, FAS was con-

strued initially as a medical condition. Eventually, however, it was “demedicalized;” control of the meaning of the condition was wrested from the medical community and “shaped by cultural concerns, legal debates, medical authorities, media analyses, and political decisions” (10).

Golden’s concise historical review of the problem reveals that medical doctors, scientists and observers had noticed a link between women drinkers and their children’s mental and physical problems as far back as the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier. But, as is often the case for medical conditions primarily afflicting the poor, those problems were ascribed to the moral sloth and misbehavior of the lower classes. Ambivalent attitudes through the mid-twentieth century toward drinking, gender and class also figured into the construction of FAS. While the visibility of male alcoholism led to the temperance movement (and eventually Prohibition), reformers discounted the existence of female alcoholics. Medical doctors held contradictory views about alcohol and pregnancy, some recommended light drinking to mothers, others forbade it altogether.

As experts re-defined alcoholism from a moral affliction to a medical disease, removing guilt from the victim, most experts denied that alcohol had any impact on fetuses. This would change by the 1970s, when alcohol, along with thalidomide, DES, and other substances, was found to be a “teratogen,” posing grave risks to the fetus. By the 1980s women who gave birth to FAS children were derogatorily called “FAS mothers,” paradoxically placing the guilt back onto the mother. Within a short time, the issue was hijacked from scientists by the media and government. In conjunction with the “growing cultural interest in fetal protection,” FAS became “part of the national discourse” (65).

Golden taps a variety of sources including medical journals, congressional and court transcripts, editorials, and television reports to show how FAS permeated popular culture. The media and judicial system provided staging areas for raising the level of awareness about FAS. The media found the subject especially compelling, presenting the story of little Melissa, who had FAS (102). In Chapter 7, Golden details the one court battle against an alcoholic beverage manufacturer for failing to warn a pregnant woman that consuming alcohol could harm her child, bringing to the forefront the social problems underlying the tremendous concern about FAS: “ongoing fights about fetal rights, [the fight over placing] alcohol warning labels, and the beginnings of a moral panic over drug abuse in pregnancy” (121). In 1989, Candance Thorp, the mother of a four-year FAS child, sued the Jim Beam Distilling Company, claiming that the company had contributed to her son’s FAS. Had the bottles been labeled, Thorp’s lawyers argued, she would have been aware of the potential harm to her child and thus ceased drinking.

As Golden shows, however, that the company mounted a savvy “blame the victim” defense, putting Mrs. Thorp’s parenting style and personality on trial. Her binge drinking, sordid details about her life, and her questionable parent-

ing style would link FAS forever to poor mothering in the public eye. And while Beam won the case, they lost the battle against alcohol labeling, instituted by the federal government in the late 1980s. Finally, Golden examines what she argues was the natural outgrowth of the discovery of FAS, the “abuse excuse,” where identifiable characteristics of FAS including impulsivity and lack of remorse were increasingly used to excuse criminal behavior. Golden shows, again, how linking FAS to criminality reflected a contemporary concern, the loss of “moral order” (156).

Accessibly written and well argued, *Message in a Bottle* is an excellent case study for classes on public policy history, particularly those concerned with women’s issues. There is one weakness, however. Golden acknowledges that the book does not address the experiences of those whose lives led to these policies—alcoholic women and their children—although she does urge us to read their “informative Web sites” (15). She argues that the politicization of FAS has harmed alcoholic women, discouraging them from seeking help for fear of being punished. But without the voices of these women, it is difficult to assess the strength of this argument. Despite this, *Message in a Bottle* is a challenge to historians to examine the way in which other diseases have been framed to reflect public concern, particularly those impacting the poor. Is it inevitable, for example, that these conditions become politicized and used to punish victims? And, if so, do victims have any agency or recourse? The book leads us to ask these questions, providing a valuable and necessary addition to public policy history, the historiography on women and deviance, and how the framing of a condition, FAS, reflected (and continues to reflect) social concerns.

LEE S. POLANSKY, POPULATION CONNECTION

Rita Elizabeth Rippetoe, *Booze and the Private Eye: Alcohol in the Hard-Boiled Novel*. New York: McFarland and Company, 2004. 207 pp. Paper. \$35.00. ISBN 0786418990.

I find Rita Elizabeth Rippetoe’s *Booze and the Private Eye: Alcohol in the Hard-Boiled Novel* to be of little worth as a study of either booze or the private eye. The book examines the work of several of the genre’s founding fathers (Dashiell Hammett, Raymond Chandler and Mickey Spillane) and other later writers. It looks for evidence of drinking in the texts and examines this against possible contexts taken from the fields of alcoholic studies and social history.

The author finds much drinking in some texts, little drinking in others; some main characters are confessed or suspected alcoholics, others are not; some minor characters offer drinks, some do not. Dashiell Hammett’s Nick Charles is firmly in control despite enormous liquid intake while his Continental Op is not. The author can find the drinking behavior in a single book (like *Red Har-*

vest) to be inconsistent; she can even find critical black holes—We are simply expected to accept that an afternoon spent downing highballs can culminate in brilliant detective work as soon as the vital clue is rediscovered while groping for a cigarette—but no discovery leads to any critical activity.

“My belief,” the author writes, is “that detective fiction is a deeply moral art form.” By this she means that crimes are solved and criminals are captured. The morality in question is a momentary pose, a morality as porous as a sponge, as detectives break the law and engage in criminal activity of their own. Is Spencer moral? Does he provide us with an ethical norm? He is kind to certain characters, snotty to others. And the fiction eventually declares the former characters to be good, the latter to be morally corrupt. But how can such a glib, self-enclosed system be anything but a moral fantasy?

The author presents a popular genre driven by something called a “code” of masculine integrity. When it is forcefully expressed, as, for example, by Sam Spade in *The Maltese Falcon*, it speaks not of morality but of the outrage of being made a fool (“a sucker”). The author has nothing to say about infantilism in the genre, although she quotes a critic who, himself uncritically, describes the code as “one predicated on fundamental values of which a boy scout could approve.” The corresponding use of the code of masculinity in a work like Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* (where the code is pathetic and all relationships are betrayed) provides strong evidence for concluding that the code is a code. The detective novel that comes closest to expressing the code, Hammett’s *Glass Key*, is ignored because Ned Beaumont “is not a professional detective.” The author ignores the tradition of *noir* (book and film) which throws a backward light on earlier hard-boiled fiction, particularly on the anxious masculinity on display (and the fear of sexuality).

Prior commentary, of which there is much in this book, goes into the mix unsifted and unreflected upon. She even quotes Tom Gilmore’s statement that “Alcoholism in an author destroys the honesty of the work” and finds that applicable to Hammett, Raymond Chandler and others, but this subversive truth never leaves the faintest impress on the discussion that follows. This results in a kind of reading stupor. What does get through in the introduction, largely due to the sheer weight of quoted commentary, is the unabashed adoration felt by male critics for these hard-boiled fantasies.

Although the author is fond of finding things to be ambiguous (when discrepant observations are too sharp to be ignored) there is no critical reflection. If “part of the toughness is the ability to hold their liquor; they can drink inordinate amounts and still function,” this is either true or a fantasy. If true, it corresponds to an early stage of alcoholism. Why then do the writers valorize it? If fantasy, why should these writers exaggerate in just this way? What is it about the masculinity of their heroes that the genre is trying to conceal?

The author writes off the last quarter century of critical thought. But apart from this, there is no focus and no argument in her pages. They consist of summary and reference to every associated topic. Thus her book resembles critical grazing or magpie criticism—the collecting of shiny details.

MARTY ROTH, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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