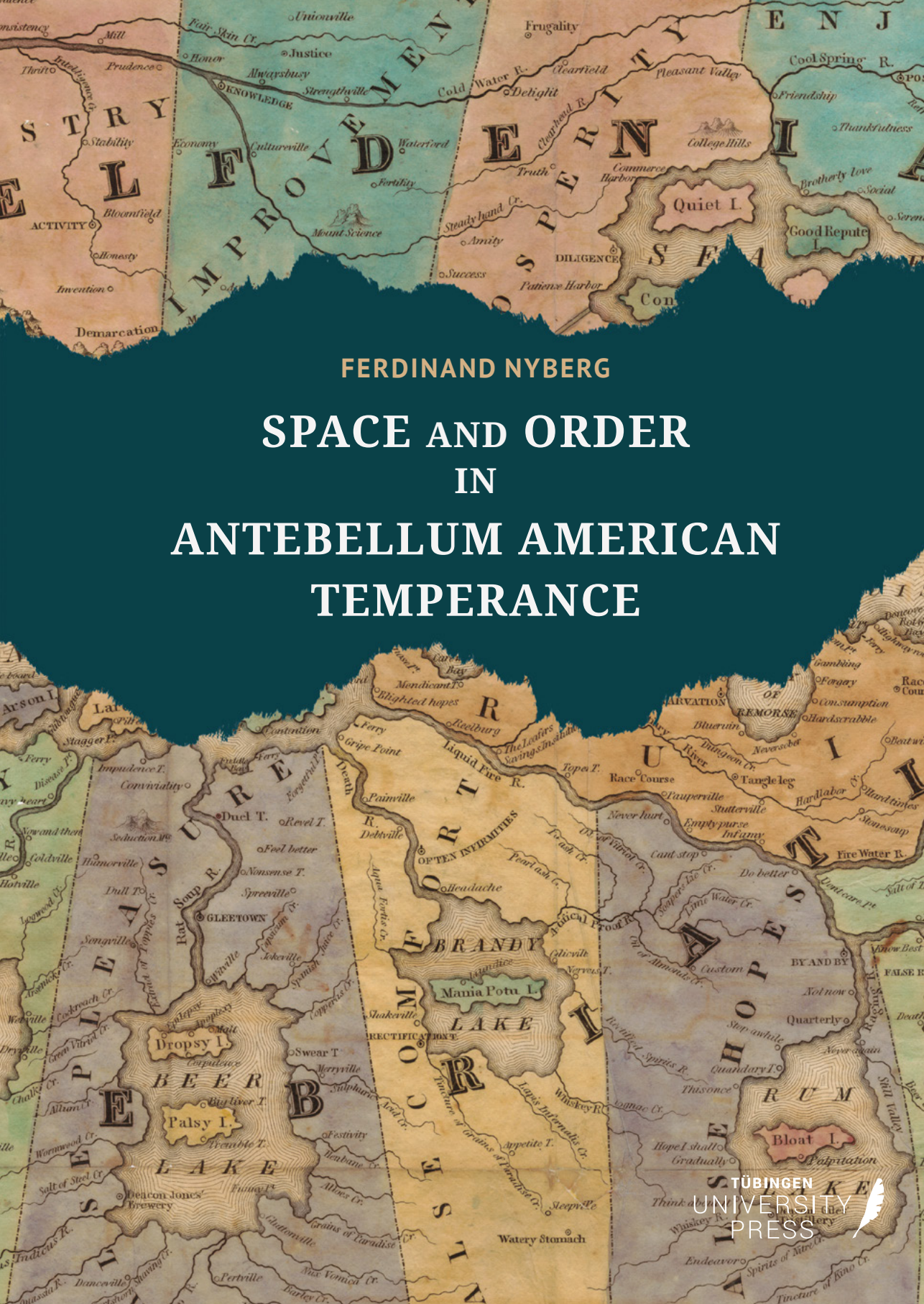
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Ferdinand Nyberg,
Tübingen, 2023

CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCING TEMPERANCE

A SENTIMENTAL SCENE

The year is 1850. Autumn has arrived and another cold night is descending over a village not far from Philadelphia. In this village we spot a wooden house along the road. It is painted a uniform white, as are many others in the village. Where only some years ago the front yard would have been left unkempt, we now find a lawn neat and prim. This change – 'this improvement!', our villagers would propound – reflects an increased concern with order and propriety throughout the country. Inside this house sits a family, its members warming themselves by the fireplace. Curtains cover the windows. These were purchased primarily, with winter's approach in mind, for insulation purposes, but our family, like so many others at this time, has come to appreciate the privacy which closed curtains afford.

Bedtime soon, announces the large wall-mounted clock. But Mary, aged nine, is not yet ready to go to sleep. She is lying belly-down on a carpet, enjoying its warmth, and busily leafing through a book, its pages illuminated by a gas lamp. The book is a temperance volume, slightly worn from continual reading. Yet the pictures inside still appear vivid and captivating. The book contains Mary's favourite story, an illustrated tale called 'The Bottle'.[1] What Mary sees fascinates her so: a family, much like her own, experiencing a terrible downfall. The tale begins with a husband jovially bringing

Image 1: George Cruikshank, The Bottle, Plate IV.: The family, destitute, loiter around the tellingly-named 'Family Wines and Spirits.' Available via the British Library, Collection items. https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-bottle--a-series-of-temperance-themed-illustrations-by-george-cruikshank-with-poetry-by-charles-mackay.

1 This story was reproduced innumerable times. Here, I refer continually to those images reproduced in George Cruikshank and Charles Mackay, The Bottle (London, 1847), Online via the British Library, Collection Items, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-bottle--a-series-of-temperance-themed-illustrations-by-george-cruikshank-with-poetry-by-charles-mackay.

out a liquor bottle, encouraging his wife 'just to take a drop.' As the tale progresses, the family becomes increasingly destitute; the father loses his job and begins to pawn household items in exchange for more drink. 'Executors' (Mary is not sure what these are) eventually arrive to confiscate furniture, including a wall-mounted clock. The family is soon demoted to begging outside a liquor store, tellingly named 'Family Wines and Spirits.' And all this, Mary ponders, because the story's father suffers from an ignorance and an innocence when it comes to the dangers of drink.

But she then recalls: the downfall is not due to the father's innocence! It is not! – Her father has loudly insisted on this during frequent informal speeches to the family: 'No, the downfall in the story happens because of our society's d—d dependence on drink! Because of our countrymen's constant demand for the bottle! Unless we all pledge allegiance to temperance, Americans' rotten demand for drink will lead to the country's downfall. Just as happens to the house in the story, our country is on path to gutting itself!'

Mary reaches that last and familiar illustration. 'The Bottle has done its work,' she carefully reads. (Thanks to her attending the village's one-room school, she has become an able, albeit slow, reader.) The father in the story has become a maniac, the mother and infant have died, and the children have been left orphaned. Mary puts the book aside. Still not ready for bed. She closes her eyes and thinks about the sixth illustration, the one that shows the father in a rage, assaulting the mother – all while the bottle looks on, haughtily, from its place up on the fireplace ledge. Eyes open now, Mary looks up at her own fireplace. There, on its ledge, stands an item her father recently brought home from the village store. It is a kaleidoscope. (Sounds scientific; it took Mary several attempts to master that word.) Holding the kaleidoscope to her right eye (left eye shut), she lets herself be captivated by those shifting designs – wondrous patterns, elicited by but a small turn of the tube. The pieces inside the tube are all the same, her father explained after returning from the store, but their different patterns – combined with variations in light – are seemingly never-ending.

Little might she herself have suspected it, but Mary's activities that evening relied on particular sets of historically circumstances which had formed in the past half-century or so. Moreover, Mary's apparently very personal experiences that evening were indeed shared by many others. The kaleidoscope

had been invented some decades earlier; it was patented by Scotsman David Brewster in 1817. Its invention reflected and furthered a contemporary interest in mechanics and innovation but also an interest in new ways of seeing, in entertainment, and surprise. Mary's father's purchasing this item from a village store, in turn, relied on an expanding network of trade and, more fundamentally, on innovations in mechanical production. These village stores catered to and furthered the market economy and tied rural locations and cities – and their respective markets – together.

The village store was a key location where Americans would gather to purchase goods, read papers and pamphlets, and discuss the news of the day. By facilitating such interactions while also offering commodities and entertainment in often sparsely-populated lands, village stores to an extent helped make a sense of community; even – in their mundane handling of products from afar – helped rural Americans 'think' the wider nation. But: many village stores made the bulk of their profit on drink. In an 1851 etiquette manual directed at an adolescent readership, we see two young women dismounting their horses in front of a village store, and we read: 'We hope [the village store] sells no strong drink. It is the sale of this which makes many a village-store a fountain of crime, poverty and suffering to the whole neighborhood.'[2] Evidently, here is a sense that the village store – which could provoke a sense of wonder and wholesomeness – was also a locus of chaos and confusion. If alcohol was sold inside, people gathered at the store to partake in dangerous, risky activities, to face and indulge in temptation and sin. Significantly and typically for the time, writers also sometimes expressed worries that public drinking places encouraged cross-racial commingling. And out of the village store's doors poured out – fountain-like – crime, poverty, and suffering, endangering the entire neighbourhood. In this manifest expression of anti-alcohol sentiment, we notice a spatial turn: temperance is not just promoted in and through space and it is not just performed in public spaces (or in published books on private floors). Rather, this example rightly suggests that writers and promoters of temperance in many ways thought alcohol through space. In the aforementioned etiquette manual, the logic of temperance had to go beyond behaviour: the danger of drink, in this village store, was the

2 'A Village Store', Common Sights in Town & Country (Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union [mid-1800s]), 3-4.

space itself. The very space of the village store, sometimes so fascinating – the space that brought local hams and exotic teas together – also corrupted. It was this space that enabled and made available threat. So here, the principles of temperance swept past moral suasion or sanctions on behaviour: the store itself told a story; it was the space itself that stored and produced threat, the space itself that needed changing.

Compared to today's numbers as well as to those of their contemporaries, Americans of the antebellum period tended to drink much alcohol. Namely, the average American consumed five gallons (nearly 19 litres) of distilled alcohol per capita in 1820 – greater, according to historian Gordon Wood, 'than that of every major European nation at the time.'[3] So widespread, indeed, was the practice of excessive drinking that historian William Rorabaugh termed the early Republic 'the great alcoholic binge.'[4] Although alcohol was consumed across demographic lines, adult white men were particularly heavy drinkers and as such became central targets of reform. That is, some Americans came to consider this excessive drinking quite improper indeed and so they convened to think hard: about bad spirits and about proper behaviour; about intoxication and about sobriety. And they formed a system around their thoughts – a system aimed at abstinence, at deliberate sobriety – and they called this system 'temperance.' At first, these temperance advocates believed that moderate drinking was the key to a better future; over time, they would become convinced of the imperative of total abstinence. As a rule, white men were the first subject of temperate critiques, and white middle-class men formed a central intended audience for early temperance ideas. By the 1820s, however, women were increasingly also openly subscribing and actively contributing to the propagation of temperance.[5] Moreover, many free African Americans would come to equate their own chances at socioeconomic improvement with the assumption of temperate attitudes.

3 Gordon S. Wood, Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 339.

4 W. J. Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 25.

5 Carol Mattingly, Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), xiii.

Alongside deliberating on drink and sobriety, these temperance advocates organised, founding temperance societies. Through such temperance societies they pronounced loudly the bane that was drink, convincing many listeners. Plenty Americans, in turn, stopped (or chose never to pick up) drinking. The practice of sobriety – a practice of not drinking – was reframed into a meaningful act: to refrain from drink came to mean actively improving one's lot in life and improving the future of the world as a whole. So many were convinced of the cause of temperance that by 1835, the American Temperance Society would claim a membership of one and a half million, representing roughly twelve percent of America's free population.[6] After some decades, enthusiasm for this temperate sobriety waned, though not before having radically altered Americans' drinking habits and attitudes towards alcohol. (And we might add that this early enthusiasm waned, yes, but America would suffer several later relapses into temperance, climaxing in early twentieth-century Prohibition.) In some sense, this is the full story and we might stop here. But, following author Vladimir Nabokov, we should recognise that there is always 'profit and pleasure' in a story's telling, and that 'detail is always welcome.'[7]

And we are left, anyway, with some questions. Not least, why did Americans of the time drink so much in the first place? And why did this drinking come to be considered problematic at this particular historical juncture? What, then, was it that led so many Americans to take the temperance pledge? To answer these questions, we must delve into ideas and worldviews presented by temperance and what made these convincing. In other words, we ask what the antebellum 'temperance imagination' looked like, and what the world as such looked like, according to supporters of temperance. What, in turn, was it that convinced so many to accept such temperance readings of the world? The development of this temperate worldview is largely what I set out to explore in this book.

I show that the antebellum rise and success of temperance to a large extent relied upon advocates recording the purported damages of drink. They did so by documenting alcoholic connections across space. Such documentation

6 Jack S. Blocker, Jr., American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), 14.

7 Vladimir Nabokov, Laughter in the Dark (New York: New Directions Books, 2006), 7.

could take many forms, but temperance advocates saw alcoholic footprints in manifold societal wrongs and problems, and often understood these to be based in or tied to distinct spaces. For instance, alcohol could be blamed for the flourishing southern slave system, for dangerous city neighbourhoods, for the putative proliferation broken homes, and for outbreaks of certain bodily disease. Advocates set out to document alcohol's role in such social issues, and they connected and compared various social issues to one another, ultimately assembling what I term an 'alcoholic order.' While this term is mine, numerous advocates did employ various phrases that notably correspond to mine in many ways. Some, for instance, were wont to refer to the alcoholic enemy as 'King Alcohol,' others calling it 'Prince Alcohol,' and others still – in the case the temperance grouping known as the Black National Convention – called this enemy the 'Rum System.'

Thus while they may not have used the term itself, many temperance advocates nonetheless did seek to prove the existence of an alcoholic order: a regime that at once governed, constituted, and threatened contemporary life. To these advocates, a central task of temperance would have to include the recording and demonstration of those damages caused by the reigning alcoholic order. Alcohol, to these temperance advocates, did not simply reflect immanent inequality or precariousness in society, but instead, the alcoholic order was in large part the producer of said inequalities.

This leads to another one of this book's chief concerns. Namely, I show that antebellum temperance advocates commonly expounded this aforementioned alcoholic order through descriptions of and engagements with social space and spatial connections. The term 'space' is here used to refer to a type of 'abstracted place.'[8] That is, while a place forms a discrete locality, a space, instead, amounts to a generic type of location – to employ a formulation by Claude Lévi-Strauss, spaces form a 'society of named places.'[9] In other words, the particular school which you, the reader, attended – and where you spent some of your formative years – is a place. A 'school' in general, meanwhile – not your own specific school, but a school-as-such – is best understood as a

8 Steven Earnshaw, '"The tavern is the centre of my city": Geoffrey and Geometry in Under the Volcano', presentation, Drinking Spaces and Places Symposium, University of Bristol, 23 April, 2016.

9 Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Savage Mind (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 168.

space. Such spaces help persons imagine and categorise geographic reality. In doing so, they influence how we interact with and understand the world. Yet importantly, a space is not to be understood as simply something pre-given, or as an extant 'container' in which history happens, or in which events are allowed to occur, and in which actors can act. Spaces, rather, must always be made; their boundaries, borders, and attributes must be contained. Therefore spaces, we might say, need to be thought in order to become realised – or, with Henri Lefebvre, that '[s]pace is never empty; it always embodies a meaning.'[10] So, on basic level, a filthy street might be a matter-of-fact reality, but for this filthy street to become a meaningful space, another step – one of description – is required. Through such description, filth might become a characteristic of the 'urban street' as a generic space; or, description might help characterise wider ideas of cities and urban spaces. For instance, as we will see in this Chapter Four, when Friedrich Engels described conditions in working-class areas of Manchester, he was at once describing circumstances he had personally observed but was also and equally contributing to wider discourses surrounding urbanisation and industrialisation – and as such co-producing Atlantic-wide fears of urban and industrial spaces.

Thus, in this embodiment of meaning, space forms and influences, produces and constructs understandings of the world; again, spaces help form a (geographic) reality. Yet conversely, the physical and intellectual boundaries we draw between spaces, the distinctions and definitions we position upon spaces, and the resultant behaviours and patterns we expect to find within spaces always-also constitute these spaces.

How a space is produced and what society construes from a space, in other words, impacts how persons and groups experience and deal with said space. Usefully, the adjective 'spatial' can nicely be collocated with the noun 'constellations,' producing the term 'spatial constellations': and 'constellation' encapsulates what I mean. A 'constellation,' after all, is any pattern we concoct around whatever number of visible stars. So the stars are really there but the patterns we assemble are not automatic, natural, or default. In like manner, spaces are about interplays between imagination and existence, and their mutual framing. And, as writer and critic Susan Sontag put it in *Regard-*

10 Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 154.

ing the Pain of Others, her book on photography: 'to frame is to exclude.' [11] In this exclusion-exclusion dynamic, spaces tell stories – ones which depend on how space looks, what we ask of it, who the interlocutor is, and what we make of the answers. As historian David Silbey has put it, '[w]ho is felt to belong and not to belong contributes in an important way to the shaping of social space.'[12] In temperance discourse, spaces consistently formed such meaning-makers and ordering-agents. Paying critical attention to the role of space in temperance provides an analytical lens capable of identifying those modalities which motived temperance, and those modalities around which temperance wished to understand and order society. Space as analytical angle, then, amounts to both an intervention into and furtherance of the genealogy of temperance, a genealogical effort viewing temperance on its own terms.

This book demonstrates that, through engagements with space, temperance advocates could make the reigning alcoholic order at once expressible and visible and generalisable. Rather than focusing on the experiences of individuals or on the circumstances of discrete localities, the tenets of temperance could be most successfully expressed through the at once concrete and general prism of space. Many advocates came to focus their complaints on alcohol's corrupting and corrupted spaces: taverns, homes, streets, cities, and so on. Spaces, evidently corrupted by alcohol, helped make the alcoholic order expressible and visible. That is, by pointing to broken homes and to corrupting city streets, advocates could make the threatening alcoholic order not just perceptible but, in many ways, feel common sense. Thus, I claim that temperance advocates, to borrow a term from Gaston Bachelard, came to be engaged in a poetics of space. That is, through spatial description, these advocates hoped to find – and ended up establishing – (alcoholic) realities about the world and realities about the world's inhabitants.[13] Namely, the threat of alcohol was not just 'simply-there'; the dangers of alcohol were not easily provable and manifestly evident in, simply and objectively high rates of consumption. I claim instead that the purported threat of alcohol had to be produced and

11 Susan Sontag, Regarding the Pain of Others (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 46.

12 David Sibley, Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 3.

13 Gaston Bachelard, The Poetics of Space (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994).

pronounced, and that this threat had to come to make sense and come to feel true. Temperance, in other words, had to generate and disclose a reality. A key historiographical contribution of the present work therefore lies in presenting the workings of temperance's own formation of an alcoholic common-sense, and the latter's expression of an alcoholic order.

Others before me have aimed to tease out the links between temperance practices, ideology, and geography. With especial regards to practices and ideology, sociologist Harry G. Levine as early as 1978 influentially argued that to properly understand the development and popularity of temperance, one must interrogate not merely statistics (say, surrounding alcohol use), but changes in ideas. Levine would argue that wide-scale changes in the conceptions of free will and volition had to be accounted for in temperance scholarship. Such intellectual changes, according to Levine, played a part in enabling temperance thought, just as did changing social conditions.[14] More recently, Mariana Valverde has argued along similar lines, claiming that early conceptions of addiction might profitably be seen as discourses on a 'disease of the will'[15] and as a 'slavery from within.'[16] Also placing an onus on the interplay between social history and changes in the landscape of ideas, Astrid Franke has emphasised the role that thoughts surrounding social control, civilisation and decivilisation, degeneration, and enslavement played in the development of a temperance imagination.[17] With particular view on African-American activists, Carole Lynn Stewart has shown that ideas surrounding freedom and mobility proved most significant in the establishment of African-American temperance ideas.[18]

14 Harry G. Levine, 'The Discovery of Addiction: Changing Conceptions of Habitual Drunkenness in America', Journal of Studies on Alcohol 15 (1978), 493-506.

15 Mariana Valverde, Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemmas of Freedom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

16 Mariana Valverde, '"Slavery from within": the invention of alcoholism and the question of free will', Social History 22, 3 (Oct., 1997), 251-268.

17 Astrid Franke, 'Drinking and Democracy in the Early Republic', in Christa Buschendorf, Astrid Franke and Johannes Völz (eds.), Civilizing and Decivilizing Processes: Figurational Approaches to American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 63-86.

18 Carole Lynn Stewart, Temperance and Cosmopolitanism: African American Reformers in the Atlantic World (University Park, Pennsylvania: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

I continue such discourse-centred explorations of temperance ideas, while also contributing to and drawing on scholarship that has taken into account the varied geographies immanent to and surrounding temperance. As example, Holly Fletcher has convincingly traced central connections and contradictions between the public and the domestic within American temperance discourse, demonstrating that even with a spatial purview, temperance's complex gender dynamics are evident.[19] Fletcher's insights find resonance with historian Amy Kaplan's influential study of the nineteenth-century domestic ideal as being spatially-bound to imperial conquest.[20] Together, the two show the close interweaving of spaces and ideas in nineteenth-century American temperance. A recent example of a regional study that does the same, is Sabine Meyer's research on midwestern temperance advocacy. Here, negotiations of American and immigrant identities are closely connected to not just alcohol consumption but to regional affiliations and circumstances particular to Minnesota.[21]

In a British context, James Kneale has shown that ideas around drink and orderliness played an important role in the historical conception of the (British) public sphere.[22] The British public sphere developed, Kneale shows, in conjunction with debates surrounding public order and conduct as well as ones surrounding drink, consumption, and sobriety. In conceptually similarly manner albeit with particular regard to Canada, Dan Malleck has highlighted that in post-Prohibition Ontario, ideas and debates surrounding societal control and self-control were directly tied to both the public sphere and to public spaces.[23] That a concern for control has also entailed state intervention and supervision is made most clear in David Beckingham's explorations of

19 Holly Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement in the Nineteenth Century (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2008), 26.

20 Amy Kaplan, 'Manifest Domesticity', American Literature 70, 3 (Sep., 1998), 581-606.

21 Sabine N. Meyer, We Are What We Drink: The Temperance Battle in Minnesota (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

22 James Kneale, 'The place of drink: temperance and the public', Social and Cultural Geography 2 (2001), 43-59.

23 Dan Malleck, Try to Control Yourself, The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-44 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

drinks-licensing in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Liverpool.[24] Here, temperance-related logics proved an important tool in conveying alcohol as a threatening entity that needed to be better understood and regulated. Caroline Lynn Stewart's aforementioned work on African-American reform sentiment already suggests a further spatial purview which has informed scholarship, namely the Atlantic. Working along similar spatial parameters, Fionnghuala Sweeney has shown how the Atlantic Ocean mattered to one reformer – Frederick Douglass – and how transatlantic journeys enabled him to personally better understand problems revolving both slavery and temperance.[25]

I have in the above highlighted the work of these seemingly disparate scholars because together they are examples of a novel range of alcohol- and reform scholarship that deliberately recognises and highlights the varied and central role of space within reform discourses, temperance practices, and moves towards alcohol regulation. They show the importance of spatial discoursing across time and region, and collectively they represent a growing historiographical appreciation of temperance as a complex and variegated system of space-related ideas, practices, and practices of governance. In contrast to older scholarship, which largely focussed on temperance groups' organisational manoeuvrings, successes, and political doings, in this new scholarship we see a form of temperance that negotiates with, helps express, and gives rise to new social practices and new social spaces.[26]

I contribute to this growing body of work, arguing that even at its antebellum-era inception, temperance advocates set out to present alcoholic dangers as comprising an order, always integrated in, composed of, and connected through social spaces. Such temperate claims at first jarred with the everyday experience and opinions of contemporaries; in colonial and early-Republic America, according to historian Joyce Appleby, the 'general public thought of

24 David Beckingham, The Licensed City: Regulating Drink in Liverpool, 1830-1920 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017).

25 Fionnghuala Sweeney, Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007).

26 This older form of scholarship – in terms of approach informed especially by new social history – has been referred to as the 'Class of '79,' because a host of new books on alcohol and drugs history was released in the year 1979. David T. Courtwright, 'American Alcohol Studies Matures: The Class of 1979, Thirty Years of Reflection', The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs 24, 1 (Winter, 2010), 39-41.

drinking [alcohol] as healthy.'[27] Still, with the gradual increase in temperate messaging, advocates found listeners. And more, ideas and discourses involving space proved important in antebellum temperance not just because spaces are easily perceptible and communicable, but also because spaces could help guide advocates towards more concerted reform efforts. That is, rather than just focussing on individual improvement or on moral instruction, advocates could, through thinking about alcohol through space, find potential avenues of material improvement. Ian Tyrrell has drawn a similar ideas-based link between industrialisation and reform practices, writing that the 'industrial revolution illustrated that men need not be passively subject to the dictates of environment; the environment could be reshaped to suit human purposes. The influence of this by now commonplace idea on early nineteenth-century social thought is difficult to overestimate.'[28]

American temperance advocates of the antebellum era continually voiced links between alcohol, threat, and space. Drinkers, many advocates held, were enabled by space but in reciprocal manner, these drinkers polluted space: 'The intemperate man,' wrote temperance advocate Eliza B. Runnels, 'as he reels through the streets under the debasing, paralysing influence of alcohol, knows not the wound'[29] he inflicts on the world. Through spaces, temperance advocates could identify the working units of alcoholic order. And, when spaced, the massive scale of this order became clear.

Just as the philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson would come to regard reality as a sequence of circles – one circle being encircled by a larger circle, ad infinitum – the aforementioned village store formed, to temperance advocates, but one node inside a massive order.[30] This node was enwrapped,

27 Joyce Appleby, 'The Personal Roots of the First American Temperance Movement', Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 141, 2 (Jun., 1997), 142.

28 Ian Tyrrell, Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 129.

29 Eliza B. Runnels, America Is Not Free (New York: Printed for the author, 1841), 22-23.

30 Emerson begins his essay on circles with, 'The eye is the first circle; the horizon which it forms is the second; and throughout nature this primary feature is repeated without end.' Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'Circles (1841)', in Robert D. Richardson, Jr. (ed.), Ralph Waldo Emerson, Selected Essays, Lectures, and Poems (New York: Bantam Books, 1990), 189-200.

first, by a practice of liquor consumption, then of liquor distribution, in turn enwrapped by liquor production, which was not least enabled by a capitalist pursuit of profit over concord. Through the identification of such associative chains, temperance advocates could hold that an alcoholic order reigned over the world. Drinkers, in turn – produced by alcoholic order – formed their own nodes, and indeed their own circles. Runnels, apparently-unwittingly channeling Emerson, would write that 'the drinker collects his circle, the circle naturally spreads; of those who are drawn within it, many become the corrupters and centres of circles of their own, every one countenancing and perhaps emulating the rest, till the whole neighborhood becomes infected from the contagion of a single example.'[31]

Thus spaces could tell of the massive scale of this alcoholic order, as well as of the eclectic nature of alcoholic threat. That is, if things continued – if this alcoholic order would be allowed to expand and live on – then society's downfall was not far. Far from simply an espousal of the virtues of moderation and far from constituting just the encouragement of individual improvement, the goal of temperance had to entail all-encompassing reform. The alcoholic order itself needed to be properly identified, archived, and subsequently arrested, altered. Alcoholic spaces would be reformed and this in turn would disrupt and ultimately destroy the alcoholic order.

KALEIDOSCOPIC VISIONS; OR, ABOUT THIS BOOK

In basic terms, much of temperance thought went like this: A man gets drunk, spends all he has on drink, neglects his family, his friends, his job. And falls ill. This is lamentable. But temperance asks further: Why does this man get drunk? Because drink exists. Because the bottle exists. Because the tavern exists. And the bottle and the tavern exist because the liquor industry exists. Suddenly, one man's drunkenness comes to stand in for larger, worldly issues. The man's getting drunk is evidence of a damaging labour system, perilous modern life, new modes of living, etc. – produced by and perpetuating an alcoholic world. George Cruikshank, cited in the *Fifth Annual Report* of the

31 Runnels, America Is Not Free, 6.

American Temperance Society, directly compared the trade in spirits to all society's evils, writing that,

> the spirit trade is the greatest bane to our country, but especially to its poor, that at present does, or probably ever did exist: it kills more people than any war in which we ever were engaged: it destroys more of the industry and consequent wealth of our country than all the other evils under which we labour; and as it respects crime, it maybe called Legion, for it either embodies in itself, or drags in its haggard and desolating train, every abomination which is tarnishing the fair page of our history, and blasting our yet lofty national character ; in the dens of intemperance almost every crime is devised; by the brutifying [sic] stimulus of intoxicating liquor almost every crime is perpetrated; and, oh! you who are employed in spreading liquid madness, with its attendants, misery, blasphemy and iniquity tremble while you hear it, – by your agency our age and nation groans under the shameful burden of such cruel monstrosities.[32]

All this evidences an order where dangers of drink have been for too long ignored, partly because powerful actors have vested interests in keeping this alcoholic order going. So in this way, by expressing previously unthought or unseen linkages, temperance advocates imagined, triangulated, even created an order. Archiving the world's relation to drink, an alcoholic order stood before them. Temperance came to be premised on this assembled order. Not just an assault on one man's drinking habit, temperance constituted a critique of and assault on a whole world order. And with this world order created, the threat and danger that alcohol poses would forevermore increase.[33]

As such, temperate solutions became spatial: men were to go home after work, bypassing street temptations; alcohol was to be regulated; taverns to

32 George Cruikshank, cited in Fifth Annual Report of the American Temperance Society (Boston: Aaron Russel, 1832), 10.

33 In some ways, temperance as such would correspond to a classic public-sphere framework: persons exchanging reasoned critiques regarding the state of society, and forwarding political measures necessary for improvement. Yet the point here is that the public which temperance critiqued first had to be identified, located.

close; alternative, sober, amusements encouraged; later, temperance advocates called for drink to be banned, for women to enter the public sphere, thus domesticating those wild, unregulated male spaces. Here we return, then, to spaces telling stories. How we deal with drugs and users – how we think about them, regulate them, treat them – has much to do with how space is treated and imagined; what or whom spaces reveal. And a spatial angle is profitable precisely because spatial dynamics are so apparently concrete, so really-there, so apparently common-sense.

Not surprisingly given its central subject, this book's chapters are sequenced along spatial lines. As with Mary's kaleidoscope, – where the turning of the tube and a change in lighting alters the way we see the objects in front of us – I will in the following treat temperance and temperance-related thought from different angles, allowing different patterns to come together.

The spaces covered in this book include ones featured currently in the journalism, prose, visual imagery, and oratory of temperance advocates of the era, and each chapter is dedicated to one such recurring space. However, some important spaces – the city, the home, the marketplace, and the tavern – are not accorded discrete chapters. This, however, should not be understood as a denial of their importance, nor even as an exclusion. Rather, these spaces have not been given full chapters themselves because they will be brought up continuously throughout the course of other chapters. While discussing the body, in Chapter Six, for instance, discourses surrounding the city and city life form a recurring point of analysis. Similarly, in discussions about the Atlantic, in Chapter Four, discussions of the marketplace will feature heavily. The state, or government, is another potential space without a chapter explicitly dedicated to it. As an important space of temperance lobbying and activity, however, it will prove an important reference point in discussions of other spaces. I have not included it in a separate chapter because good scholarship exists on the relationship between the role and idea of the state within temperance work, which I can here rely on.[34] Several of my chapters, particularly on the public,

34 Already in a review article on temperance and alcohol prohibitionism in 1984, Harry G. Levine portrayed the state and government as actors whose role increased in importance over time, culminating in twentieth-century national Prohibition. Harry G. Levine, 'The Alcohol Problem in America: From Temperance to Alcoholism', British Journal of Addiction 79 (1984), 109-119.

the country, and the Atlantic can be understood as working with and extending scholarship on the state, into other spheres.

In the chapter that follows the present one, I offer a discussion of the setting of antebellum temperance, arguing that a view on landscape can help us chart the course of temperance history in the period. Specifically, I discuss a painting by John Lewis Krimmel which depicts a scene from a village tavern, and I argue that a visit to this tavern proves exemplary in locating some of the cultural dynamics that will have mattered to the history of temperance. With this discussion, I also sketch out a broad sequential history of temperance, emphasising that changes within temperance activism shifted over time in terms of organisational logics, but that the purposes of temperance advocacy remained more or less the same: to convince Americans of the presence and ubiquity of an alcoholic order, and the necessity of this order's disruption and eventual destruction. The destruction of this alcoholic order would be done through 'temperance,' a term which I will divvy into four constituent parts: temperance as idea, temperance as ideology, temperance as social movement, and temperance as cultural product and producer.

Temperance advocates traced alcoholic order through a discourse surrounding the American public, which I account for in Chapter Three. By detailing some of the archival research I undertook for this book, I delineate how advocates of temperance employed archival logics – of recording and ordering facts and historical patterns – in sketching out conditions reigning in public space and the public sphere. Advocates held that this American public had been built on and around a foundation of alcohol; life as experienced in early-Republic America, held advocates, was steered by drink, and the public was wholly polluted as a result. Yet simultaneously, temperance critiques of the public had to be distributed through this public. Temperance advocates saw one way towards success, I claim, in their archiving the historical (and dangerous) links between alcohol and the establishment of a public. Through this archiving, a temperate future could take shape: temperance archiving could offer up new ways of public engagement and provide a view of new potential publics.

This temperance archiving frequently assumed an Atlantic lens. In Chapter Four, I explore such temperance engagements with the space of the Atlantic. I argue on one hand that if we read the history of the Atlantic through a temperance lens, we note that the Atlantic world was indeed in many ways

built on alcohol. More, temperance advocates maintained that those historical and material connections which were caused and created by alcohol in the Atlantic continued to shape and influence the present. The Atlantic showed the desperation and systemic subjugation which the alcoholic order necessarily produced.

Not least, such subjugation was seen in conditions reigning within the United States. In Chapter Five, I treat temperance engagements with the country, arguing first that temperance advocacy claimed to offer a new way of navigating the future course of America. And that temperance principles should be in charge of this navigation was justified in advocates' issuing an ideological critique on the inhabitants of America: the alcoholic order had shrouded Americans' worldview, had made them both victim and executor of the alcoholic order. Only temperance would allow Americans to see once more.

The alienation suffered by Americans, I argue in Chapter Six, was ably expressed through descriptions of alcoholic bodies. Temperance advocates held that drunkards had lost control of their bodies and that these drunkards had in some ways developed into a new type of human. More, these drunkards' bodies continued existence, reproduction, and mobility would come to threaten the body politic as a whole. I then offer a discussion of the cholera epidemic of 1832, an incident which seemed to substantiate many claims often made by temperance advocates: that alcohol composed an order, that bodies formed this order's moveable parts. Temperance, the diseased drunkard's body appeared to show, had to encompass wholesale reform – including a reform of the public, the Atlantic, the country, and, finally, of Americans' bodies.

The Epilogue, at last, brings the book's points together by zeroing in on an incident that occurred at Philadelphia in the year 1838. After rumours of racial and gender-based commingling at an events venue named Pennsylvania Hall had been spreading around the city, a mob formed during a conference dedicated to abolitionism and temperance. The mob got increasingly violent, and Pennsylvania Hall was eventually burnt to the ground. This dramatic event helps recall several of temperance's spatial parameters – not least, it brings forth the centrality of the public in temperance, advocates' continual recourse to the Atlantic as a space, narratives of national history and the future of the country, as well as the significance of the individual body in temperance reform.

CHAPTER TWO. ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN TEMPERANCE: A SEQUENTIAL HISTORY

In the previous chapter, I imagined a situation in the year 1850, in which a young girl named Mary was engaged in two activities before going to sleep: reading a temperance volume and gazing through a kaleidoscope. I hoped to show that these activities were connected – both with each other, and with larger social circumstances of the time. On most basic level, the act of reading a temperance volume, with its vivid pictures, and the act of looking into a kaleidoscope, with its colourful patterns, are two activities that invite the participant to wonder at situations and phenomena that are outside of one's own set of circumstances. Mary's activities that evening, I maintained, were highly personal and highly public at the same time, and I used her father's recent purchase of the kaleidoscope at the local village store as a suggestive example of the public nature of her activities.

The village store was a key location where people could purchase goods, learn of news, spread rumours, and revel in exotic wares or phenomena. The latter is significant because many of Mary's contemporaries shared a concern for and fascination with exploring differences, patterns, and social categories. Such concerns reached back several decades, and in the early Republic included a search for America's apparent national characteristics. As scholar of literature Russel Blaine Nye has argued, American independence from Great Britain had 'meant much more than political sovereignty. It meant a severance of ties with Europe and its conservative influences, as well as conversion from a colonial to a national psychology.'[35] In the early Republic, such a conversion was evident in writers increasingly commenting on the differences between American regions – differences in landscape, in manners, and in thought. The awe of America's nature, said some, had to finally be reflected in American intellectual output: transcendentalist philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson called in 1837 for American writers and artists to finally shed their colonial mentalities and produce authentically American

35 Russel Blaine Nye, The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 3.

work.[36] In New York, members of the Hudson School of painters produced consciously American landscapes, letting viewers marvel at the grandeur of the country's nature and the comparatively Lilliputian human body. Many contemporaries, moving west, experienced this landscape of massive proportions firsthand. Also in the west, between 1840 and 1841, painter John Banvard produced a 369-metre-long panorama of the Mississippi River and subsequently travelled around the country, displaying it to fascinated audiences. In Boston, this panorama was shown to large crowds in the prominent Armory Hall, 'admission 50 cents; children half price.'[37] Mounted on rotating cylinders which caused the monumental panorama to move horizontally, spectators gazed at the Mississippi before them, almost as if passing it in a moving train. The enthusiasm with which this panoramic spectacle was received evinces a general antebellum fascination with representation and with visual spectacle; for those who did not move west, such fascinating sights were beheld at travelling shows – Bavard's panorama is but one instance thereof. Novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne told of meeting an 'old Dutchman' at a roadside tavern in 1838 who charged 'respectable farmers' to see his exhibition, one consisting of dioramas showing famous sea battles, famous ruins, and cityscapes.[38]

The travelling show of P. T. Barnum, a pioneer showman and entertainer, remains the most famous of them all. Barnum's show, called the 'American Museum,' let viewers gaze and gape at exotic animals, at little people, at unusually tall or obese people, at foreign women or gender-ambiguous persons, as well as at acrobats, magicians, and other supposedly interesting sights. Barnum's show revelled in the fascinating and the strange, and prompted spectators to marvel at the boundaries of human abilities and the many possible varieties of the human body. While revelling in the mysterious, then, visitors could also in some sense, through negative identification, reach a clearer picture of what constituted the 'normal.' Barnum, furthermore, frequently put on theatrical temperance performances. One of these temperance plays

36 Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'The American Scholar (1837)', in Emerson, Richardson, Jr. (ed), Selected Essays, Lectures, and Poems, 82-100.

37 Dorothy Dondore, 'Banvard's Panorama and the Flowering of New England', The New England Quarterly 11, 4 (Dec., 1938), 818.

38 Jack Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840 (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 209.

presented by Barnum was William H. Smith's *The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved*, likely the most successful and popular American play prior to the premiere of the theatre version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[39] In these temperance plays, as in Mary's reading a temperance tale, audiences were also afforded a view into outré personal fates, probably more tragic than their own.

In ways similar to travelling shows, village stores – and, we might add, the village store which united the kaleidoscope with Mary – could also enchant their customers. These stores brought together products from all over the country, even from around the world, only to be collected and sold in one diminutive space. In the 1851 etiquette manual brought up in the previous chapter, we read: 'What a museum is a village store! Few things are more unlike than boots and hams; and who would think of finding tea so close a neighbor to powder and shot!' In other words, we are encouraged to admire the links made possible by things coming together in the village store, its altering our perceptions of space and its enabling a commingling of products from far and wide. The etiquette manual's musings correspond well with observations made by Karl Marx in *Grundrisse*, his unfinished 1858 work on political economy. Namely, Marx held that that the spatial distance produced by capitalist circulation cause products to lose their local identity, and that it is this distance which turns products into commodities.[40] But precisely because these commodities were gathered and curated in a village store – distant items juxtaposed – seem to afford them with a new identity in the etiquette book – a kind of enchanting aura. In like manner, by bringing together disparate rural populations, these village stores could also encourage broader deliberations on public behaviour and on how best to maintain harmonic relations. ('Be courteous!' advised the etiquette manual.)

Thus by facilitating interaction while also providing entertainment and a sense of the exotic in often sparsely-populated lands, village stores to an extent helped make a sense of community; even – in their mundane handling of products from afar – helped rural Americans 'think' the wider nation. That village stores carried temperance material and promoted temperance events

39 Ryan C. Cordell, '"Enslaving You, Body and Soul": The Uses of Temperance in Uncle Tom's Cabin and "Anti-Tom" Fiction', Studies in American Fiction 36, 1 (Spring, 2008), 4.

40 Karl Marx, Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 534.

would further point to this: temperance was in many ways a negotiation of public manners and of community, but it was also an expression of national sentiment and an effort of national improvement. Temperance satiated a general interest in patterns and in differences of experience, while also – through negative identification – providing a model for the normal.

Mary's lying on a carpet behind closed curtains, on the other hand, serves clearly to show the deeply personal nature of her activities. Indeed, they were also the result of a long process of individualism, begun some one-hundred years earlier. As the renowned Marxist historian Christopher Hill would write, in a work on 1700s England: 'All roads in our period have led to individualism. More rooms in better-off peasant houses, use of glass in windows … use of coal in grates, replacement of benches by chairs, all this made possible greater comfort and privacy.'[41] Yet while cordoned off in her family home, Mary was also contemplating the world outside and around her. Indeed, we might well understand Mary's activities as being abetted by wider contemporary discourses of individuals' role in the world, and a single person's role in the public – with themes revolving around the 'public' and of collective interdependency, cultivated in large part through an industrialising economic landscape. This sense of privacy, and of the domestic sphere, intermingling with public spaces and with the public sphere, was mirrored in practices pertaining to landscape. As we saw in my mentioning the increased care which Mary's fellow villagers took in maintaining and presenting their houses, Americans of the early Republic were in large part coming to be concerned with good appearance and good manners. Alongside such concerns, public discourse had turned towards questions of neighbourliness and common welfare; many organised in groups to discuss and to fight against perceived social ills – against poverty, against slavery and exploitation, against unhealthy diets, and, not least, against drink. Many of those who contemplated these apparent social issues saw them as deeply entangled; with drink being a central cause of crime, disease, poverty, violence, and much else.

This chapter offers a view into the spatial foundations of antebellum American temperance, suggesting first what a pre-temperate American landscape would have looked like, and then charting those antebellum landscapes

41 Quoted in Pertti Alasuutari, Desire and Craving: A Cultural Theory of Alcoholism (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), 154.

which would have mattered to temperance actors. This broad view on American landscapes will help explain in more detail what temperance what, and why spaces came to be so central in temperance's expression of the reigning, dangerous, alcoholic order. To understand a pre-temperate landscape, we must travel back in time to before Mary, to before temperance had properly entered the homes and bookshelves of Americans in a major way.

THE TAVERN: TIMELESS SCENES AND ALTERED STATES

> Every individual is part and parcel of a great picture of the society in which he lives and acts, and his life cannot be painted without reproducing the picture of the world he lived in.
> – Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Oldtown Folks* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869), 1.

Image 2: A proto-temperance scene? John Lewis Krimmel, 'Village Tavern' (1814). Out of copyright. Painting held here: https:// www.toledomuseum.org/art/artminute/oct-15-art-minute-john-lewis-krimmel-village-tavern.

The year is 1812. And I walk up to a tavern, annoyed that I did not remember to properly take in its outside surroundings before entering; doing so would have greatly aided my present illustration. (Was there grass or gravel – maybe even mud – at the yard in front? A spot for tying up horses? How many floors did the building have?) Perhaps the place looked similar to the tavern that Augustus Kollner, illustrator of everyday scenes, presented in the book *Common Sights in Land and Water*, with its generously-sized wooden porch, a large open doorframe, and several patrons lazily whiling away the day, both on the porch and by the bar inside. Perhaps, too, it resembled the Wayside Inn, as memorably and nostalgically described by poet and writer Henry Longfellow in 1863:

> A kind of Hobgoblin Hall,
> Now somewhat fallen to decay,
> With weather-stains upon the wall,
> And stairways worn, and crazy doors,
> And creaking and uneven floors,
> And chimneys huge, and tiled and tall.[42]

The tavern is rustic and slightly rundown. Like many others, it has a prominent sign outside, this one featuring a prancing red horse, 'half effaced by rain and shine.'[43] Instead I rush on and enter the premises. Inside, I find patrons engaged in various social activities. Two, standing on opposite table ends, appear embroiled in argument. Another patron, elbows resting on table, peers over a newspaper, while one more warms himself by the stove (newspaper also in hand, but face turned towards the table, towards the conversation). Two men are presently entering the premises: the first – sack flung over his right shoulder, basket in hand – might be a travelling salesman or postman;[44] the oth-

42 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Tales of a Wayside Inn (Boston: Tricknor and Fields, 1863), 1-2.

43 ibid, 2.

44 Because, as an article published by the Smithsonian National Postal Museum points out, few American towns in the early nineteenth century had specially-designated buildings to house a post office, taverns would frequently fill this void. The writ-

er – hat raised high – ostensibly brings news. A horse and carriage peers through the opened front door, suggesting this tavern forms a node in a budding stagecoach network.[45]

John Lewis Krimmel's 'Village Tavern', a genre painting from 1814, shows the scene that I have just described. It is a rendition of a rural Pennsylvania inn, one that suggests the importance of taverns in early-nineteenth century village life: these functioned as a place of rest, as meeting spot, as an instrument of social cohesion. This importance of taverns was nothing new; since colonial settlement, they had formed important spaces in American life. Thus in some ways, Krimmel's tavern scene is ageless; yet changing, temporally- and spatially-specific circumstances are, too, present in the scene – circumstances which relate to greater (national) changes. We are provided with hints of change through the presence of newspapers, the evident existence of a national postal system, and the implication of long-distance travel. A setting in the process of change, in other words, stands before us, from a time when many Americans were increasingly conscious and wary of changes occurring around them. Amongst other things, the War of 1812 and the concurrent embargo had caused many Americans to experience economic dislocation and hardship. Not coincidentally, the first temperance societies were founded in this period.

Thus on one hand, 'Village Tavern' shows clearly the consistent significance of the tavern, and of alcohol, in early Republic America. But on the other hand, we notice changing circumstances, including hints of temperance thought – which flourished in the decades immediately following. Certain

ing desk situated at back on far right in Krimmel's Village Tavern likely indicates that the tavern-keeper doubles as village postmaster, 'the only representative of the federal government ordinary Americans would likely meet.' '1808,' Systems at Work, Smithsonian National Postal Museum, https://postalmuseum.si.edu/systemsatwork/1808.html. (Accessed 10 December 2018.)

45 Blocker, Fahey, and Tyrrell have identified three rough 'eras' of the American tavern – colonial, saloon, and modern. The colonial-era tavern functioned primarily as local gathering spot, commercial centre, and hotel, and this era lasted until roughly the mid-1800s. As such, it is quite logical that taverns should form important stations in stagecoach networks. 'Saloons and Taverns (United States)', in Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, Ian R. Tyrrell, Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia (Denver: ABC-CLIO, 2003).

dynamics portrayed in the painting, furthermore, help introduce certain key aspects of the history of temperance activism and advocacy.

Image 3: Timeless, or: with time on their hands? Augustus Kollner, 'The Tavern Haunters' (1852). Out of Copyright. Free Library of Philadelphia Digital Collections, https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/63688.

Aforementioned changing circumstances notwithstanding, something about this scene appears quite timeless indeed. It would certainly have struck a familiar note not just with many of Krimmel's contemporaries, but also with members of preceding generations. Since European settlement, the tavern had formed a central institution in what would become eastern United States, to such an extent that American historian Robert Earle Graham once observed that many local-colonial histories might best open by saying, 'In the beginning, there was a tavern.'[46] The institution travelled across the pond with the European colonists, who also brought along their drinking habits. That is, as was the case in Europe, North American taverns came to function as important gathering places, resting stations, and places of business. More, as had been the case in Europe since at least the early 1500s, alcohol not only formed a social lubricant but an important source of nourishment.[47] English colonists in particular believed that water was unclean and dangerous, so – coffee and tea still being luxury items – the production and consumption of alcohol was a priority for early settlers. At first, beer prevailed as the staple alcoholic drink, but by the late 1600s – as a result of extensive trade with Caribbean colonies – manifold distilleries were founded in the American colonies (especially in New England), rum replacing beer.[48]

46 Robert Earle Graham, 'The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia,' Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 43, 1 (1953), 318.

47 Rod Phillips, Alcohol: A History (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 87.

48 The rum trade replaced beer to such an extent that by the time of the Revolution, in the words of G. Thomann, 'scarcely a vague recollection of [beer's] former flourishing conditions lingered in the minds of the people.' G. Thomann, American Beer: Glimpses of Its History and Description of Its Manufacture (New York: United

Too, by the first half of the seventeenth century, alcohol had not only become a major ersatz-currency amongst colonists themselves,[49] but was also used in transactions between colonists and indigenous populations.[50]

Unsurprisingly, then, alcoholic drink was, as historian Sarah Hand Meacham has argued, 'one of the few items that colonists could not live without.'[51] Indeed, in context of new settlement, the tavern's role in cementing fledgling communities may have made it an even more important institution than in Old-World settings. So important was it deemed by inhabitants of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, – founded in 1740 – that these 'asked church elders to build a tavern before they set about building a church on the grounds that a community without a public house was like Hamlet "without the Ghost."'[52] Taverns were, in other words, constituent parts of community, and were heralded as such. These institutions did not enjoy a monopoly on drink, – grog shops, coffee houses, homes, and the great outdoors variously served as alcoholic spaces, too – and Americans drank during most hours of the day (wake-me-ups for breakfast, pick-me-ups at work, fortifiers during and after dinner, nightcaps before sleep, celebratory libations, and so on). Still, taverns formed a distinct and central space in which drink and community merged.

Drinking in taverns was 'normal,' as was getting drunk – but drunkenness, in the colonial frame of thinking about alcohol, remained a choice,

States Brewers' Association, 1909), 51. By the early Republic, with increasing immigration from Central Europe, a beer revival occurred. David Gottlieb Yuengling, of Aldingen in nowadays Germany, established the Philadelphia-based Eagle brewery in 1829, the oldest American brewery still in operation. Jay R. Brooks, 'Yuengling, David G.', in Garrett Oliver (ed.), The Oxford Companion to Beer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 864.

49 Because Great Britain had prohibited the export of silver coins into its colonies, these were 'chronically short of money.' This led to the free circulation of Spanish, French, and Dutch coins, but also to a widespread system of barter. New England rum became a de facto colonial American currency. As Richard Foss has written, rum 'filled the vacuum' caused by this colonial shortage of hard currency. Richard Foss, Rum: A Global History (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 37, 38.

50 Phillips, Alcohol: A History, 147.

51 Sarah Hand Meacham. Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 1.

52 Peter Thompson, Rum, Punch & Revolution: Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 3.

however sinful.[53] Thus, throughout the colonial period, those in power aimed not so much at a wholesale reform of behaviour, but did worry that an over-abundance of taverns might lead to disorder. For instance, William Penn, founder of Krimmel's hometown of Philadelphia, hoped that just a 'handful of taverns in the city would speed the work of development'[54] and wished to prevent a proliferation of taverns. By 1693, however, 12 licensed taverns operated in Philadelphia, and many others unlicensed. By the mid-1700s, the city sported over 100 licensed taverns,[55] accompanied at end of century by hundreds of unlicensed drinking establishments – approximately one for every twenty-five adult males.[56] Moreover, in spite of limited licensing and regulation efforts, few in the colonial period had the mind to ban the tavern as such (let alone to ban alcohol). There was a recognition that taverns and alcohol served important functions, that they, as it were, made community, emplaced community.[57] This unwillingness to discuss harder regulation would change with temperance – by the early 1800s, numerous inquiries into tavern licensing were launched; the high number of unlicensed taverns coming to reflect and reinforce temperance assumptions. (Tellingly, one such inquiry into licensing which I came across in my research was signed by the 'father of American temperance,'[58] Benjamin Rush. The volume was given to him by one of its authors: friend and fellow temperance advocate Thomas Eddy.[59])

53 This division – of contrasting a 'colonial' way of thinking alcohol with a temperance way of doing the same – is borrowed from Levine, 'The Discovery of Addiction'.

54 Thompson, Rum, Punch & Revolution, 9.

55 ibid, 27.

56 Billy G. Smith, The ''Lower Sort'': Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), 22.

57 This would reflect Thomas Bender's writing that 'community is where community happens.' Thomas Bender, Community and Social Change in America (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 6.

58 This honorific has been awarded to Rush by temperance advocates and historians alike. cf. Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia, 32.

59 Thomas Eddy, Peter Augustus Jay, John H. Hobart, J. Morton, A Report of a Committee of the Humane Society, Appointed to Inquire Into the Number of Tavern Licenses; The Manner of Granting Them; Their Effects Upon the Community; And the Other Sources of Vice and Misery in This City; And To Visit Bridewell (New-York: Collins & Perkins, 1810). Copy in question is archived and stored at the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia.

In some respects, Krimmel's tavern – with its regular patrons, its comfort, and deliberate joviality – seems to provide visitors with a rare respite from the world 'out there.' It appears to function like a third space: something not-quite-public yet not-quite-domestic. This is especially suggested by the patrons crowding the table: one guest, dressed in a green coat and sporting a blissful expression, seems pleased with his surroundings indeed. Yet while the painting portrays a centuries-old institution, and while it harks back on an older tradition of such scenes, this village tavern also, as I have intimated, evinces novel circumstances.[60]

In emphasising such changing circumstance, it is important not to present a simple modernisation narrative. As historian Timothy Hickman reminds us, feelings of societal change are hardly unique to one era, and 'the sense that we are hurtling along an arrow of time – the sense of modernus – has been reasserted under various names, in various guises.'[61] But, and here I follow Hickman, change can still be, in certain circumstances, an appropriate analytical lens. What matters to Hickman (and to myself) is whether contemporaries had a 'sense of modernity' and how their sense of change was expressed.[62] And indeed, by the nineteenth century we not only see people increasingly self-identifying as 'modern' or 'moderns,'[63] but numerous nine-

60 Krimmel clearly owes much to seventeenth-century genre painting. A prominent vein of the latter included depictions of vrolijk gezelschap (merry company); typically showing persons socialising in a tavern, or otherwise engaged in drink and celebration. Numerous Dutch and Flemish masters – including the two Brueghels, Rembrandt, Rubens, Vermeer, and others – contributed to this tradition. Abraham van den Hecken's A Merry Company in a Tavern (1640s) and Jan Steen's Interior of a Tavern with Card Players and a Violin Player (1665) are at once representative examples of said tradition and are also two paintings to which Krimmel appears immediately indebted. Over time, artists would increasingly come to lump alcohol together with 'a host of illicit yet potentially semicomic vices,' reaching an apotheosis with Hogarth's dual prints Gin Lane and Beer Street (1751). Quote from 'Art, Representations of Drinking in', in Blocker, Fahey and Tyrrell (eds.), Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History, 60.

61 Timothy A. Hickman, The Secret Leprosy of Modern Days: Narcotic Addiction and Cultural Crisis in the United States, 1870-1920 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 6.

62 ibid, 7.

63 A famous pronouncement of such identification is Thomas Carlyle's essay 'Signs of the Times' from 1829. In it we read: 'Were we required to characterise this age of

teenth-century commentators saw their historical moment in terms of radical change. Author Harriet Beecher Stowe considered her lifetime 'a transition time in society,' while English traveller Frances Trollope described Americans as a 'busy, bustling, industrious population, hacking and hewing their way' to improve their condition.[64] Contemporary reformers identified, reacted to, and charted changing societal characteristics and patterns, causing historian Paul Boyer to characterise these reformers 'the first tentative explorers of modernity.'[65]

One of the most major changes of the time was the geography of the United States as such. As a consequence of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the United States had by 1814 grown to become nearly twice the size it had been following its political independence from Great Britain.[66] Already an enormous country at independence, and composed of 13 seaboard colonies, it was now organised into 18 states and five territories, and its land spanned well beyond the Mississippi River. The year 1814 would see the climax of the War of 1812, key events being the Battle of New Orleans (a city 1,700 kilometres removed from Washington, DC) and the British burning of the White House. Aside from the human and economic toll of this war, it also had geographical consequences: Britain pledged to end its support of In-

ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word.' Thomas Carlyle, 'Signs of the Times [1829]', The Victorian Web: Literature, History, & Culture in The Age of Victoria, http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/carlyle/signs1.html. Some twenty years later, Baltimorean businessman would declare that, '[t]he world is now entering upon the Mechanical Epoch. There is nothing in the future more sure than the great triumphs which that epoch is to achieve.' Quoted in Anselm L. Strauss, Images of the American City (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1976), 135.

64 Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, xvii, 1.

65 Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), viii.

66 Land area increased from about 2.2 million square kilometres (864,746 square miles) to about 4.3 million square kilometres (1,681,828 square miles). 'Area and Population of the United States: 1790 to 1970', Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 1 (Washington, DC: United States Bureau of the Census, 1975), 8.

dian raids on settlers, thus easing continued American western expansion; yet the war also contained and bordered the country: its northern borders became clearer and more rigid (war with or annexation of Britain's Canadian colonies becoming seen as less likely), and thus future expansion would have to happen south- and westwards. Florida was ceded to the United States from Spain in 1819 while American settlement in the Mexican territory of Texas would contribute to the 1848 Mexican-American War. Western expansion came to be seen as an integral part of the American spirit ('manifest destiny,' later 'frontier spirit'[67]). At this same time, American politicians began thinking and acting hemispherically: the 1823 Monroe Doctrine effectively claimed the entire western hemisphere as within America's protective sphere.

In 1814, America's population amounted to just over seven million – an increase of about four and a half million since independence. But the country was on the verge of a population boom: by 1820, the ten-million mark would be reached, and at the start of the Civil War, the number would rise above 31 million Americans.[68] By the 1820s the natural birth rate was complemented with higher immigration rates, increasing especially between the 1830s and 1850s (not least due to the Irish Famine of the 1840s). Krimmel, our artist, was himself an immigrant – migrating from Ebingen in Württemberg, he settled in Philadelphia in 1809. A frequent depicter of scenes from urban life, his own biography is itself indicative of an eastern seaboard witnessing increasing immigration, increasing seaward traffic, and expanding urban centres. These urban centres of the east were the first stops for European immigrants, and

67 That is, a version of the concept of 'manifest destiny' – renamed the 'Frontier Thesis' – entered academic circles through Frederick Jackson Turner's famous 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1893, 197-227. Available via American Historical Association Online, https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/historical-archives/the-significance-of-the-frontier-in-american-history.

68 In 1810, the population of the United States was 7,224,000; in 1820, 9,618,000; in 1860, 31,513,000. 'Area and Population of the United States: 1790 to 1970', 8. The colonial population in 1770 was 2,148,076; just after independence, in 1780: 2,780,369. 'Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics', Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 2 (Washington, DC: United States Bureau of the Census, 1975), 1168.

they sprawled as a result. The population of Krimmel's hometown of Philadelphia, as was 'typical of urban areas during this period,' experienced massive population growth – from 44,000 in 1790 to 388,000 by 1850.[69] New York City would overtake Philadelphia in population in 1820, becoming the country's largest city.

Changes in the centres of population were enhanced by extensive internal migration; in the east, this especially took the form of migration from rural areas into urban ones. Aside from cities, so-called mill towns or company towns (viz. industrial towns built around a factory) sprang up as the boom in southern cotton production stimulated the development of a New England textile industry.[70] These mill towns attracted multitudinous individuals, and sometimes entire families, from nearby rural areas.[71] In these towns, new industrial patterns of work – ones characterised by rigid hierarchies and dependence – replaced older ways of working. In his treatment of similar labour shifts in England, E. P. Thompson memorably termed this development 'work-discipline.'[72] Factories required regular working hours and a tight system of discipline; historian Jack Larkin has described it as such: 'the ringing of the factory bells summoned women and children into a world of precisely structured hours, close confinement and the noise of machinery.'[73] Partly as a result of this discipline, these mill-town workers – much like their rural equivalent, the farmhand – formed a highly mobile population. Namely, seeking better working and social conditions, they

69 Quote and numbers from Matthew Walter Osborn, Rum Maniacs: Alcoholic Insanity in the Early American Republic (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 8.

70 Innovations in the processing of cotton, including Eli Whitney's 1793 cotton mill, caused southern cotton production to skyrocket in the decades following.

71 Different companies had different 'systems' of employment and labour relations: Samuel Slater pioneered the so-called Rhode Island System, which encouraged entire rural families being recruited to move into company towns – children, too, would work in the factories. These families lived in company housing, were paid in company credit, with which they could purchase goods at the company store. The so-called Lowell System, on the other hand, paid workers in standard currency. Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 56.

72 E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', Past & Present 38 (Dec., 1967), 56-97.

73 Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 56.

rarely stayed in one town for more than a year. In short, a budding American working class was developing.

A central and formative debate within the historiography of temperance has revolved around the rise of these class conditions and how to connect this to the rise of temperance. In an influential work, sociologist Joseph Gusfield argued that the antebellum period was one during which traditional ways of social control were becoming difficult to enforce. Consequently, temperance began as a way for old elites – worried about their seemingly declining status – to distinguish themselves from the lower classes.[74] This elite sobriety, eventually, translated into something that carried mass appeal. Temperance-guided sobriety, according to Gusfield, became a viable entry into respectability, and as such workers – emulating elites and pursuing greater status – ensured, in Gusfield's view, the success of antebellum temperance. Other scholars have emphasised top-down enforcement: historian John J. Rumbarger, for instance, characterised temperance as a way of life imposed onto the working classes by an increasingly business-oriented elite.[75] Temperance, in this reading, was an effective albeit repressive way of regulating the behaviour of the country's growing working class (a working class on whose hard work the business-oriented elite increasingly had to rely). With particular view on the middle class, historian Scott C. Martin argued that embracing temperance was one way for physicians, who at the time were aspiring middle-class actors, to ensure their growing professional respectability in the first half of the nineteenth century.[76] By contrast, arguing against such status-political interpretations, historian Norman H. Clark placed the history of antebellum temperance in the wider tradition of American social reform, positing that temperance was not a top-down tool for maintaining social control or distinctions but that it was, instead, a genuine way for Americans to escape loneliness produced by modern

74 Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

75 John J. Rumbarger, Profits, Power, and Prohibition: Alcohol Reform and the Industrializing of America, 1800-1930 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

76 Scott C. Martin, '"He is an Excellent Doctor When Called Sober": Temperance, Physicians and the American Middle Class, 1800-1860', The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs 24, 1 (Winter, 2010), 20-36.

circumstances.[77] To Clark, then, the success of antebellum temperance lay in its ability to provide a sense of belonging and purpose in a changing world.

The above concerns and controversies feed into a related historiographical issue, namely the 'politics' of temperance activism. Broadly speaking, temperance can be seen as either a progressive or a conservative force. In the former interpretation, temperance's insistence on sobriety and on sober workers would tie it closely to the marketplace and to capitalism. By this account, temperance worked with capitalism, attempting to 'modernise' Americans' habits and make Americans into more effective workers. Workers, in turn, could – when sober – better handle the increasing dependence and confusion (and financial burden) brought on by modern life under capitalism. In the alternative view – of temperance as a conservative force – advocates were attempting to stall fast-changing national circumstances, to remind Americans of the importance of community, hierarchy, and piety, and to preserve a sense of decency in an evidently increasingly chaotic world. Gusfield's aforementioned work fits in fairly well with this latter explanation. Much recent work has, instead, come to recognise nuances and ambiguities contained within this dichotomy: Ian Tyrrell has emphasised that there were in fact several temperance movements in antebellum America, with its members voicing different politics. What united temperance advocates, according to Tyrrell, was their status as 'improvers': people wishing to see better contemporary conditions, in the workplace and in society as a whole.[78] In showing changes in temperance, Tyrrell thus argued against Gusfield's contention that temperance advocates were basically a conservative and elitist group aiming to preserve its own class-specific privileges and power.

What these historiographical interventions have in common, however, is a recognition that social class and new labour patterns played a role in the rise of temperance, and (if sometimes implicitly) that changing American landscapes also proved a determining factor. Central patterns here include the aforementioned growth in cities, the rise of the factory town, westward expansion, and – related to all these – an increasingly dynamic market, causing changes in consumption patterns and social relations. Namely, alongside

77 Norman H. Clark, Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976).

78 Tyrrell, Sobering Up.

and with this growth of the American working class, American consumers were turning much more towards industrially-manufactured rather than handcrafted goods. The transportation and circulation of these manufactured goods and of these workers was abetted by an extending system of roads and, by mid-century, railroads.[79] This dual revolution in the marketplace and revolution in transportation was beginning to thoroughly colour and shape American life. A naïve folk painting from the time, by an anonymous Pennsylvania Dutch artist, depicted a landscape (let us imagine it is not far away from Krimmel's tavern) of rolling hills and blue skies, but also – quite matter-of-factly, towards the back – railroad tracks with a train passing through, the locomotive's exhausts leaving behind a cloud of smoke.[80] In Massachusetts, the transcendentalist philosopher Henry Thoreau – who went to live in the woods around Walden Pond to learn how to to live independently and 'deliberately' – noted frequently the noise of trains passing through the landscape. More, he noted that these trains transported ice from Walden Pond to faraway lands: 'Thus it appears that the sweltering inhabitants of Charleston and New Orleans, of Madras and Bombay and Calcutta, drink at my well. … The pure Walden water is mixed with the sacred water of the Ganges.'[81] Global trade and consumption, evidently, had already seeped into even the seemingly remote and timeless forests surrounding Walden Pond.

The improvement of the condition of existing roads, too, was remarkable: in 1786 it took around four days to travel from Boston to New York (assuming good weather conditions); in 1840, half a day. 'As the country's territory expanded,' Larkin has argued, 'the felt size was decreasing – especially as news travelled faster and faster.'[82] These transport networks connected the country's cities and industrial centres and ensured the ready transportation of agricultural products. Along rivers, steamboat traffic flourished, and with the

79 The first railroad was the Baltimore-Ohio, constructed in 1827 and operative from 1830. By 1849, 5,325 kilometres (3,328 miles) of track had been laid. 'Railroads', in Peter Thompson, Cassell's Dictionary of Modern American History (London: Cassell, 2002).

80 To my knowledge, this painting has not been reproduced. 'BF1164; Landscape—Train', Barnes Foundation Museum, Philadelphia.

81 Henry David Thoreau, Walden; Or, Life in the Woods (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1854), 318, 319.

82 Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 205.

opening of the Erie Canal in 1821, trade and transportation between east and west became much easier. One Boston newspaper marvelled in 1828, that '[t]here is more travelling in the United States than in any part of the world. … Here, the whole population is in motion, whereas, in old countries, there are millions who have never been beyond the sound of the parish bell.'[83]

Too, the population of western settlers grew dramatically, not least following Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830 which secured white settlement of all land east of the Mississippi.[84] As a result, western cities sprung up and grew (Cincinnati was the eighth largest city in the country by 1830; it would soon be rivalled by St. Louis and, later, Chicago). These changing patterns of everyday life – factory work, financial dependency, shifting hierarchies, and increased mobility – led many contemporaries to express an unease about the uprooted present and to express insecurity about the future, terrifyingly uncertain.

We may detect some of these changes within the premises of Krimmel's tavern. For one, as Richard R. John and Thomas C. Leonard have pointed out, the notices and newspapers posted on the wall behind – and the newspaper readers themselves – suggest a scene 'saturated in information, even as it is awash with drink.'[85] Namely, here is a scene in which the communications revolution following the Postal Act of 1792 – which established the United States Post Of-

83 ibid, 204. Wolfgang Schivelbusch has written precisely of this enlarging and shrinkage of space through railroads, that on one hand, 'the railroad opened up new spaces that were not as easily accessible before; on the other, it did so by destroying space, namely the space between points. That in-between, or travel space, which it was possible to "savor" while using [more] slow, work-intensive … form[s] of transport, disappeared on the railroads. The railroad knows only points of departure and destination.' Wolfgang Schivelbusch, The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1986), 37-38.

84 I write that Jackson's Removal Act led to increased western settlement, but this was a development that had begun much earlier. Jackson spoke to Congress in December 1830, declaring, '[t]he waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward,' suggesting that he saw himself as reacting to a process already in motion. Quoted in Howard Zinn, A People's History of the United States (New York: Harper Perennial Classics, 2005), 140.

85 Richard R. John and Thomas C. Leonard, 'The Illusion of the Ordinary: John Lewis Krimmel's Village Tavern and the Democratization of Public Life in the Early Republic', Pennsylvania History 65 (1998), 87.

fice Department as a permanent part of federal government – has changed the spatial delimits of a tavern. The Postal Act helped instigate, also, a commercial revolution across America, altering social circumstances in the hinterland. With the notices, newspapers, and open door in mind, the tavern – forming a locus in a budding expanded, national setting – comes to appear expanded, its walls porous.

As art historian Elizabeth Johns has noted, genre paintings as a form, in America and Europe alike, flourished especially during times of rapid social and economic change.[86] And Krimmel's contemporaries – perhaps even these tavern patrons – were beginning to search for ways to cope with change. They began asking in which direction their 'Extended Republic' was heading; how to maintain a sense of community in a seemingly evermore impersonal world; and, most basically, how to sustain oneself financially in context of ever-increasing market dependency. Some, at last, found the culprit behind the problems facing the country in the tavern and in the drinks that were served served at the tavern. By the early 1800s, taverns were part of a wide-ranging liquor trade that included rum from New England and, increasingly, whiskey from the western frontier. More, the number of taverns increased alongside and with the growth of a nationwide stagecoach business; much profit could be made in tavern-keeping.

A boom in the tavern business also meant that the 'enforcement of restrictions on the sale of liquor [became more] difficult,'[87] precipitating a decline in the respectability of taverns as an institution and of tavern-keeping as a vocation. Greater mobility, too, meant that social mores surrounding alcohol saw a gradual loosening. As Joe L. Coker has written, 'early Americans soon discovered that what happened in a distant roadside tavern stayed there. … The solitary binge became more prevalent than in colonial and revolutionary days, when drinking had primarily been a communal activity.'[88]

At this juncture, it makes sense to pay closer attention to Krimmel's scene. Drink and sociality evidently go hand-in-hand in it – though, rather than forming the central point of the tavern, drink more helps frame the scene, comple-

86 Elizabeth Johns, American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), xii.

87 Tyrrell, Sobering Up, 26.

88 Joe L. Coker, Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 2007), 14.

menting a variety of other activities. Of the two men apparently arguing, the one on left, dressed as a minister, holds his palm up as if in protestation (perhaps abstaining a drink offer?). The one on right, instead, has his hand raised, Hamlet-style, as if enwrapping one of the mugs or decanters placed behind the bar.[89] (His other hand, too, is fixed on a newspaper notice. News of yet another alcohol-induced crime?) Perhaps these two, in other words, are talking about drink.[90] Perhaps they are saying: 'How wondrous, how dreadful: that this place, these objects, these mugs, and these drinks, should cause at once such joy and such misery.' Two further guests, sat around the centrally-located table, hold drinks containers in their hands; one drinking, the other one – plump and jolly – raising a glass. On the table next to him: carafe, half-full (or, if you wish, half-empty).

The drinker on left, with the carafe placed on table, faces pleas from a woman and child. The woman, hand placed tenderly on the man's shoulder, looks pale, concerned, tired of this. The blond child – barefoot, innocent – has her right hand on her father's knees, grasping mother's shawl with the other.[91] They are likely urging him to, at long last, come home – or, perhaps, pleading that he return to work (his workman's clothing would support either reading). In other words, we might see here, in this scene-within-a-scene, changing circumstances of a different sort: while temperance had not yet emerged as a fully-fledged national issue by 1814, some later commentators have characterised this familial dynamic as a (proto-)temperance scene.[92] It can only be described as a 'proto-temperance' scene because temperance's pre-

89 The mug (or is it a pitcher? – unlike the others, it is turned right-side up) at once appears shelved behind him, and awkwardly in his grasp.

90 I like to imagine the man on right as quoting Hamlet. ('To be, or not to be, that is the question' etc. etc. Or maybe he's had one too many and is confusing Hamlet for Macbeth – worrying how he shall feel 'Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow'?)

91 The child's gender is speculation from my end. Prior to undergoing the rite of passage known as breeching (a rite which persisted until the twentieth century in some circles), boys and girls during this period would typically sport similar dress and hairstyle. Contemporaneous images, however, do point to some sartorial gender differentiations amongst young children in America. For instance, Rembrandt Peale's painting Boy From the Taylor Family (c. 1811-1812) shows a young boy wearing a suit designed specifically for boys.

92 Janet Marstine, 'John Lewis Krimmel: America's First Painter of Temperance Themes', Rutgers Art Review 10 (1989), 111-134.

scriptive message – to stop drinking, to not visit taverns – is not immediately evident. Once temperance entered full swing, and especially with the rise of the Gothic-inspired 'dark temperance' mode, more gruesome depictions of intemperance would become de rigueur.[93]

Temperance sprung up in context of rapidly changing societal circumstances, and advocates forwarded a new way of dealing with drink and sobriety. As we will see in the remainder of this book, it was in large part through engagements with spaces that temperance could make sobriety in the antebellum period seem inherently meaningful and good, while drunkenness could come to seem so threatening. This inherent goodness of sobriety and this threatening nature of drink would stand in stark contrast to earlier attitudes, in which drinking alcohol was generally considered a healthful practice. Having in the above sketched out the changing landscapes of antebellum America, and suggested that the development of temperance had much to do with such changing circumstances, the next chapters will engage directly with some of the discrete spaces which played a central role in temperance. Before moving further, however, it makes sense to unpack and define the concept of temperance itself.

FOUR ASPECTS OF TEMPERANCE

Krimmel's depiction of a family in trouble reflects a growing wider societal concern surrounding drink, intoxication, and sobriety – a concern which

93 And while Krimmel has been described as an 'American Hogarth,' his Village Tavern is a far cry from Hogarth's Gin Lane – the latter featuring classic anti-drinks tropes of chaotic streets, degenerated motherhood, death, and disease. The phrase 'American Hogarth' is a reference to Joseph Jackson, 'Krimmel, The American Hogarth', International Studio 93 (1929), 33-36. 'Dark temperance' is how David S. Reynolds characterises one of the four prevailing modes of (antebellum) temperance literature. The other three modes include 'conventional' (characterised by straightforwardly didactic narratives), 'ironic' (characterised by temperance men drinking 'on the sly'), and 'transcendental' (characterised by a rejection of organised temperance and a simultaneous embrace of sobriety as a means towards true individuality). David S. Reynolds, 'Black Cats and Delirium Tremens', in David S. Reynolds and Deborah J. Rosenthal (eds.), The Serpent in the Cup: Temperance in American Literature (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 22-59.

would morph into organised temperance. As a body of thought, temperance can be roughly divided into four interrelated parts. It was, first, an idea. In this sense it was largely an outgrowth of contemporary medical thought, which was beginning to see alcohol as an isolated chemical that impacted the human body, a human body that was increasingly being seen as prone to a loss of control, as prone to becoming addicted.[94] Benjamin Rush's well-known 'Moral and Physical Thermometer' shows this concern with a loss of control clearly: the higher the alcohol volume, the higher the risk of disease and misfortune.[95] Thus, water and milk but also beer, so the 'Thermometer,' ensures 'Serenity of Mind.' But, move further down the scale, towards distilled drinks, and your misfortunes are sure to increase: you will end up an idler, a fighter, a prisoner, and – eventually – a corpse. Over time, temperance would become tee-total, dispelling the idea that some alcoholic beverages were more harmful than others. Lyman Beecher Stowe's influential *Six Sermons on Intemperance* was amongst the first texts to dispel and ignore the distinctions in harm between fermented and distilled beverages and to propagate total abstinence.[96] The idea of temperance, thus – that alcohol is harmful to the body – merged into a stipulation: abstain from drink and your own health and wellbeing will improve.

This idea of temperance – and the claim that intemperance leads not merely to disease but to misfortune – relates to the second aspect of temperance, namely to temperance as an ideology.[97] Generally, this temperance

94 Levine emphasises how important it was for medical thought to develop the idea that humans can lose control of themselves for temperance to appeal to a wide audience. cf. Levine 'The Discovery of Addiction'. This medical view on temperance will be further discussed in the chapter on the body and passim.

95 The thermometer was published in Rush's An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body and the Mind (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1790); it is widely available online, e.g. via 'A Moral and Physical Thermometer', U.S. National Library of Medicine Digital Collections, https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/catalog/nlm:nlmuid-101449121-img.

96 Lyman Beecher Stowe, Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance (New York: The American Tract Company, 1833).

97 With 'ideology,' I here follow a standard dictionary definition: ideology as a more-or-less 'comprehensive and mutually consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world' and which guides social and political practice. 'Ideology', in Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan, Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

ideology regarded alcohol as the root of and as tangled up with all of society's problems. Poverty, homelessness, domestic abuse, crime, murder, bad parenting, dirty streets, unhygienic neighbourhoods and unhygienic bodies, bad manners, dangerous working conditions, outbreaks of disease, and so on: alcohol was related to – and was at the base of – everything bad in this world. In a published tract on temperance, based on one of his speeches, Frederick A. Whitney voiced a representative expression of such temperate convictions: 'We know, from tables carefully prepared, that four fifths of all the paupers, that two thirds of all the imprisoned debtors, that something more than one half of all the lunatics and maniacs, that three fourths of all the criminals, are the direct, well ascertained consequence of intemperance.'[98] It was temperance's role to call attention to the societal evils that were so closely wound up with alcohol, and to change harmful relationship towards drink. A third and related way to look at temperance, then, is in the form of a social movement. By the early nineteenth century, people began associating in groups promoting abstinence.

There is some disagreement as to which group should be considered the first temperance society. The Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland, established in Saratoga Country in 1808, is one chief contender.[99] The first statewide organised temperance group, however, is generally recognised as the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (MSSI), founded in 1813. Before the establishment of the MSSI, however, diverse other local groups had already sprung up across the country.[100] Initially, these early temperance societies were not tee-total, and their efforts were spearheaded by elites motivated by paternalist logics. The American Temperance Society (ATS) – the first national temperance group – was founded in 1826, and between its founding and the late 1830s, 'temperance moved from being an elite concern to a mass movement.'[101] Like the MSSI before it, the ATS, in the words of historian of temperance Jack Blocker, believed that 'it

98 Frederick A. Whitney, An Address on Temperance (Boston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1846), 14.

99 Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 125.

100 Jack J. Rohrer, 'The Origins of the Temperance Movement: a Reinterpretation', Journal of American Studies 24, 2 (August, 1990), 228-235.

101 Levine, 'The Alcohol Problem in America', 111.

was best to let the present generation of drunkards die and [to instead] focus on preventing a new generation from growing up intemperate.'[102] *The Fifth Annual Repor*t of the ATS wrote wishfully that,

> There is reason to believe that a great proportion of the youth and children in the United States, and of the young men under thirty years of age, are acting on the temperance principle. Those who drink, and those who vend or manufacture the poison, are generally over thirty years of age. Their bodies will soon fall in the wilderness; … a new generation who have not been slaves in Egypt, will rise up and enter a land flowing with what is better than milk and honey.[103]

In spite of such uncouth and evidently paternalist stances, the ATS wished and managed to reach a mass audience and it wound up becoming 'one of the most successful' reform groups in American history.[104] During its reign as the primus inter pares of temperance societies, many Americans would learn to take for granted the purported dangers of alcohol, and drinking patterns also went on the decline. Yearly per capita consumption of absolute alcohol went down from nearly four gallons (about 15 litres) to about two gallons by 1840, the 'most precipitous decline in American history.'[105]

By the late 1830s, the targets of paternalistic reform sentiment – 'artisans and lower class folk'[106] – began to take charge of temperance action.[107] The most prominent such challenge came from the Washingtonians, a 'common

102 Blocker, Cycles of Reform, 12.

103 Fifth Annual Report of the American Temperance Society, 4.

104 Blocker, Cycles of Reform, 12.

105 Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, 14.

106 Tyrrell, Sobering Up, 8.

107 With this 'taking over' came also tensions: 'conservative supporters [worried] that … one portion of the community [would be pitted] against another. As early as 1830, some "ultra-temperance men" began to call for municipal regulation of the liquor trade. Their call alienated grocers who continued to traffic in hard liquor.' John S. Gilkeson Jr., Middle-Class Providence, 1820-1940 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 30.

man'-led movement that began to challenge the supremacy of the ATS by the early 1840s. It recruited members from the working classes (made especially vulnerable by the financial recession following the 1837 crash), but would grow into a movement with a diverse membership base.[108] Abandoning the disinterested stance of earlier temperance, Washingtonian advocates emphasised that they knew the plight of the drunkard because they had lived it.[109] To this end, they pioneered the practice of the experience meeting (a modern version of which survives to this day in the form of AA meetings). This more intimate confessional mode of temperance propagation stood in contrast to the earlier temperance method of moral suasion, namely the idea that to change Americans' drinking habits 'required acting upon the hearts and minds of citizens, not forcing them into submission by law.'[110] Moral suasion gradually gave way to restrictive and prohibitionist sentiment. From 1833, the ATS promoted the prohibition of alcohol. At this time, legal efforts began with restrictive measures. Namely, as opposed to attempting to enforce total bans, efforts were made, for instance, to regulate the quantity of alcohol sales. The so-called fifteen-gallon law, passed in 1838 in Massachusetts, forbade the sale of distilled alcohol in quantities amounting to less than fifteen gallons (about 57 litres). This law could thus effectively remove bottles of hard liquor from the shelves of taverns, and also prevent poor people from buying spirits.[111] The passing of this fifteen-gallon law provided temperance activism with further motivation; legal antebellum efforts would culminate in the prohibitive Maine Liquor Law of 1851.[112] This law prohibited both the production and sale of alcoholic drinks within the state of Maine and was in place until 1858, after which Maine authorities allowed limited sales of alcoholic beverages.

The ATS estimated that women consumed just one-sixth the quantity of alcohol that men did; as a result, temperance action remained directed

108 Tyrrell, Sobering Up, 282.

109 John W. Crowley (ed.), Drunkard's Progress: Narratives of Addiction, Despair, and Recovery (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 5.

110 Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement, 22.

111 Walters, American Reformers, 135.

112 Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, 52.

towards and against male drinkers.[113] Leadership, too, stayed mostly male. While women may not have been the central object of reform, many did embrace the cause with enthusiasm, signing the temperance pledge and joining groups together with, before, or even without their husbands and male family members. Between 35 and 65 percent of the members of ATS was female.[114] Moreover, many temperance historians have correctly noted the centrality of women and gender within temperance, in spite of women not forming a central object of reform. Barbara Epstein placed temperance activities in context of a growing notion of separate spheres, arguing that the politics of temperance is ably seen as a result of growing gender-related antagonisms within the middle class.[115] Ruth Bordin, whose work has focused chiefly on postbellum temperance history, sympathised with this focus on the middle class but argued that temperance was more than just a result of existing antagonisms. It was instead, to Bordin, a progressive vehicle for women to gain a voice in the public and to extend the perceived virtues of femininity and motherhood into the public sphere.[116] In a similar vein, Jack Blocker dismissed the relevance of status politics in the case of female activism: what motivated female advocates, in Blocker's view, was not the preservation of middle-class values but instead those really-existing problems which many women faced and which could be easily be linked to alcohol abuse: domestic violence, neglect, poverty, etc.[117] Thus the moral authority which was ascribed to women in antebellum America benefitted the claims of legitimacy of temperance. Moreover, women could be potent symbols of the dangers of intemperance, portrayed as helpless victims, trapped in a marriage with abusive and non-providing husbands. This thematic, in turn, would associate temperance with critiques of coverture (and women's legal rights

113 Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement, 16.

114 ibid.

115 Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

116 Ruth Bordin, Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

117 Jack S. Blocker, Jr., "Give to the Winds Thy Fears": The Women's Temperance Movement (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

more generally) and, later, with the idea of suffrage (and women's political rights more generally).[118]

More recent scholarly interventions – especially work drawing on perspectives from the field of Gender Studies – have made these gender-related political tensions within temperance more explicit, highlighting especially ambiguities inherent to temperance. Holly Fletcher, for instance, has shown that temperance advocacy, in its pursuit to reform men and to curtail domestic violence, functioned in some ways as a self-regulating tool for middle-class men interested in retaining the patriarchal status quo. But on the other hand – in bringing female-specific complaints into the public sphere and in inviting discussions on coverture and divorce laws – temperance advocacy could also subvert patriarchal logics.[119] Such ambiguities provided the basis for much of Scott C. Martin's work, which has stressed how 'intimately connected' temperance and the evolution of the American middle class were. That is, Martin maintained that the rise of temperance activism cannot be read as separate from, or as a subsequent outcome of, the development of nineteenth-century middle-class values. Temperance, instead, provoked conversations about gender, status, and about people's relation to the marketplace; these conversations ultimately contributed to the formation of a nineteenth-century middle-class consciousness.[120] As such, in noting that temperance both reified and subverted societal characteristics, Martin again emphasised political ambiguities. Temperance's popularity, then, can in part be explained in its facilitating a forum and space in which contemporaries could contemplate societal circumstances in general, and contemplate their own place within these societal circumstances in particular.

The growth of the American middle and working classes was intimately tied to socioeconomic changes taking place in the American northeast and it was also here that temperance groups first formed. Too, the northeast was the only part of the country with significant numbers of free Blacks, meaning a person of African descent who was not enslaved. Black interest in temperance

118 ibid, 24.

119 This is shown persuasively in Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement.

120 Scott C. Martin, Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-class Ideology, 1800-1860 (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008).

arose as early as the late eighteenth century, and by the nineteenth century, numerous Black temperance societies were founded.[121] In temperance activism, historian James Brewer Stewart has argued, 'black leaders found a national cause that was also popular with white reformers, which held personal meaning and community promise.'[122] Thus aside from a concern for health, – including the belief, shared with other temperance societies, that alcohol is bad for all humans – Black temperance societies stressed the importance for free Blacks to nurture an especially sober and respectable comportment. In other words, Black temperance activism, just as its white counterpart, was imbued with status-political concerns. Black temperance activists, in the view of historian Donald Yacovone, were largely driven by a hope and a wish that sobriety would prove their rightful place in society. Black spokespersons for temperance emphasised again and again that if African Americans were ever to be accepted as full members of the American public, they would first have to develop and display a public comportment more righteous than that of the white population.[123] Yet internal status politics, too, played a factor in antebellum Black temperance. Patrick Rael has shown that different levels of sobriety were expected of different classes within the free Black population: 'Elite black leaders may have considered true temperance quite appropriate for unelevated black urbanites with suspect self-control,'[124] while aforementioned members of the Black elite would have allowed themselves much more leeway.

Reflecting this Black ambition of respectability and uplift, Frederick Douglass warned an African American audience, 'that every impropriety committed by one of us, is charged to the account of our whole people.'[125]

121 Yacovone, 'The Transformation of the Black Temperance Movement', 282.

122 James Brewer Stewart, Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 126. Carole Lynn Stewart has reflected this emphasis on community promise, writing that temperance was 'vital' for African Americans, both enslaved and free. Carole Lynn Stewart, 'Slave to the Bottle and the Plough: The Inner and Outer Worlds of Freedom in George Moses Horton's Poetry', Social History of Alcohol and Drugs (Autumn, 2007), 51.

123 Donald Yacovone, 'The Transformation of the Black Temperance Movement, 1827-1854: An Interpretation', Journal of the Early Republic 8 (Autumn, 1988), 281-297.

124 Patrick Rael, Black Identity & Black Protest in the Antebellum North (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 68.

125 Quoted in Rael, Black Identity & Black Protest in the Antebellum North, 60.

As sobriety became associated with ideas of dignity, equality, freedom, and rights, temperance and abolitionism found common ground, and numerous abolitionists joined temperance societies. These links grew so strong that during race riots (the 1830s saw a spate of them), temperance groups were often targeted.[126] The slave, and the idea of slavery, recurred in temperance literature. Unlike women, who were the passive victims showing why alcohol endangered social order, the slave was a warning: drink alcohol and you will enslave yourself to drink.[127]

Ian Tyrrell has characterised the antebellum thrust towards social reform and improvement as a national one, observing that, '[southern] reformers echoed the northern view that moral and material improvement would come to the temperate, the frugal, and the industrious.'[128] In the same vein, although they remained strongest in the eastern states, temperance societies proliferated throughout the country in the antebellum period.[129] Southern temperance efforts, according to historian of southern temperance Joe L. Coker 'were not merely the northern movement in miniature,'[130] although, according to Ian Tyrrell has argued that '[t]he South as a whole failed to compete'[131] when it came to the ardour of temperance feeling. In the South, regional magazines published original pieces of writing, and organisations took pains to distance themselves from any association with abolitionism. Temperance literature from the South 'spoke to the issue of race indirectly and the issue of slavery directly.'[132] If temperance in the North could help men become better husbands, southern temperance efforts might do the same to slave masters – the

126 ibid, 72.

127 More on this in the chapter on the Atlantic, and passim. Many temperance advocates evinced a general fear of a society-wide downward spiral; this fear was often racially framed as a decivilisation process. cf. Franke, 'Drinking and Democracy in the Early Republic', 63-86.

128 Ian R. Tyrrell, 'Drink and Temperance in the Antebellum South: An Overview and Interpretation', The Journal of Southern History 48, 4 (Nov., 1982), 497.

129 Too, organisation and membership of early groups in frontier settlements were frequently spearheaded by settlers from New England. John Allen Krout, The Origins of Prohibition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 130.

130 Coker, Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause, 23.

131 Tyrrell, 'Drink and Temperance in the Antebellum South', 491.

132 Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement, 28.

South Carolina Temperance Society estimated that three-quarters of the punishments slaves received were drinks-related (sc. because the slaves drink). It would follow, then, that a reduced availability of drink would lead to more obedient slaves.[133] Thus most temperance discourses particular to the South crystallised in worries surrounding slaves' drinking habits and their access to spiritous liquors.[134] Whether such worries were well-founded or not is a cause of debate. Historians agree that heavy drinking did occur on most plantations, but whether this heavy drinking also took place in the slave quarters is not a settled issue: Kenneth M. Stampp has held that slaves took solace in drink, while Eugene D. Genovese has claimed that slaves' accessibility to drink was restricted and that they tended to be more sober than their masters.[135] Former slaves and temperance reformers frequently characterised slaveowners and slavedrivers as sodden drunks, and claimed that slaves drank either out of desperation or because their white masters forced them to drink.[136] As such, here lay another appeal in temperance to white southerners. Namely, as historian Douglas W. Carlson has shown, while southern and northern temperance groups were organised in similar ways, white southerners put especial weight on the ability and utility of temperance as a display of white virtue. To slaveowners – who were frequently characterised in popular culture and in anti-slavery propaganda as heavy-drinking idlers – temperance could

133 ibid. Following both these logics, temperance comes to appear quite establishment, indeed: improving and not subverting both the patriarchy and white supremacy.

134 ibid, 489. It should be remembered that southern slave codes already forbade the selling of alcohol to slaves. But these codes were mostly ignored, to the effect that slaves were typically allowed to buy alcohol, except in times of felt crisis. Walter Johnson, The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 53 (footnote 59).

135 ibid, 502.

136 Probably the most memorable fictional slavedriver is the perpetually-drink Simon Legree in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. Frederick Douglass described how slaveowners would induce slaves to get drunk during their limited leisure time. Recalling the period between Christmas and New Year's Eve, he wrote: 'These holidays serve as conductors, or safety-valves, to carry off the rebellious spirit of enslaved humanity.' The point was to humiliate the slaves and to 'disgust the slave with freedom. By allowing him to see only the abuse of it.' Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1846), 75, 76.

prove attractive as a way to perform reasoned masculinity, but also because it could further their claims that the southern slave system was compatible with the modern market economy. Furthermore, southern temperance advocates argued that on economic terms, it made no sense for slaves to be allowed to drink: were they to become drunkards, their value would decrease.[137]

In general, however, southern and northern temperance shared an emphasis on individual improvement and health, as well as on improving the wellbeing of families and communities. Thus while their leadership, membership patterns, practices, and ideas differed and changed over time, temperance groups throughout the antebellum period made efforts in expressing a meaningful sort of sobriety. That is, in accepting the idea of temperance (that alcohol was bad for the body), and in accepting the ideology of temperance (that alcohol was bad for society), members of these groups set out to improve society by a non-practice, by not drinking. The discovery of this non-practice was heralded by temperance advocates as monumental: the impacts of temperance-based practices, enthused one commentator in the *Fourth Annual Report* of the ATS, 'far exceed steam-engines, railways, cotton-spinning machines, &c. as the mind is superior to matter; and the bodies and souls of mankind, are of more consequence than money, and merchandise.'[138] Temperance-induced sobriety, in other words, could rival all of humanity's most important inventions and innovations in terms of improving the human condition. More, the discovery of the importance of temperate living and of temperance work – a discovery that was, according to a 'European writer' quoted in the *Report*, more important than the one made by Christopher Columbus – clarified future action.[139] Namely, in the words of the executive committee of the ATS, temperance merely had to correct an error, one that had been committed '[l]ess than three hundred years ago,'[140] in Great Britain. This error amounted to seeing arduous spirits as conducive to work, as pleasurable, and as an item of luxury.

137 Douglas W. Carlson, '"Drinks He to His Own Undoing": Temperance Ideology in the Deep South', Journal of the Early Republic 18, 4 (Winter, 1998), 659-691.

138 'Fourth Annual Report', Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, vol. 1 (Boston: Seth Bliss and Perkins, Marvin, and Co., 1835), 6. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/permanenttemper00socigoog.

139 ibid, 5.

140 ibid, 1.

With the apparent discovery of this historical error, and with the tasks of temperance set out clearly, temperance advocates were convinced that if drinking were simply controlled, everything would improve. In 1832, Tennessee senator Felix Gundy celebrated that Americans had at long last found their enemy:

> [It] is Intemperance, the great destroyer of the souls and bodies of men. This is our great national vice, and against it we invite our countrymen to wage a war of extermination. The warfare we propose is not that which deals in blood and carnage. No; far otherwise, it preserves the lives of men, and saves their souls from everlasting ruin.[141]

Many antebellum Americans came to agree with Gundy and mobilised for this war; by 1835, one and a half million Americans were active in the cause of temperance, representing twelve percent of America's free population.[142] The popularity of temperance was assured through its correcting that aforementioned historic error (viz. of viewing alcohol as either healthful or harmless) not just by personal abstinence but by spreading word: through public gatherings, speeches, the distribution of tracts, and the publication of newspapers and temperance books. 'The demand of the present is books, books, books!,'[143] proclaimed the members of the National Temperance Society in 1865, reflecting an already-established truth.

This leads to a fourth way of regarding temperance, namely as a culture, as cultural product and cultural producer. The popularity of temperance societies, and the prominence of temperance as an idea, came to be felt in American culture as a whole. Few aspects of everyday life were left unaffected by temperance. To borrow the words of the protagonist in Harriet Beecher Stowe's short story 'Let Every Man Mind His Own Business':

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141 'Great temperance meeting', Journal of Temperance 1, 1 (Mar. 16, 1832), 1. Emphasis in the original.

142 Blocker, Cycles of Reform, 14.

143 Amanda Claybaugh, 'Temperance', in Janet Gabler-Hover and Robert Sattlemeyer (eds.), American History Through Literature, 1820-1870 (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2006), 1156.

> This tiresome temperance business! One never hears the end of it nowadays. Temperance papers – temperance tracts – temperance hotels – temperance this, that, and the other thing, even down to temperance pocket-handkerchiefs for little boys! Really, the world is getting intemperately temperate.[144]

Temperance societies, as the man above complains, published tracts, speeches, and newspapers; playwrights wrote temperance dramas; authors penned temperance tales; poets wrote temperance poems; printmakers and painters made temperance art; temperance jokes circulated;[145] and people sang temperance songs and hymns.[146] And temperance events of different kinds became a part of everyday life, in settings both urban and rural. Walt Whitman described stumbling upon a temperance meeting in New York City in 1842, and his description shows the popular, democratic spectacle that such a meeting often was:

> [W]e stopped in for a while at the Temperance Hall in Grand street, where there appeared to be a large meeting. The apartment was filled with an assemblage of both sexes. A speaker, whose name we understood as Capt. Wisdom, was speaking from the platform. His language seemed totally deficient in polish and in grammatical correctness; but he evidently felt what he was saying, and desired to do as much good as possible. No doubt, the method of Mr. Wisdom is far more effective for the sphere it moves in, than a more refined style.[147]

144 Harriet Beecher Stowe, 'Let Every Man Mind His Own Business', available via Uncle Tom's Cabin & American Culture: A Digital Archive, University of Virginia, http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/sitemap.html.

145 cf. John William Kirton, One Thousand Temperance Anecdotes, Jokes, Riddles, Puns, and Smart Sayings (New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1877).

146 cf. Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford, 'Temperance Songs and Hymns', in Colleen McDannell (ed.), Religions in the United States in Practice (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 158-167.

147 Walt Whitman, 'Scenes of Last Night' (April 1, 1842), The Walt Whitman Archive, https://whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/journalism/tei/per.00421.html#n1.

Amongst the most influential examples of temperance-related literary output from the antebellum era is Timothy Shay Arthur's *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*, a bestselling novel first published in 1854 (and later turned into a successful play). This novel chronicled the negative changes undergone in the fictional town of Cedarville following the opening there of a tavern named the Sheaf and Sickle.[148] Yet beyond discrete instances of explicit temperance literature, the wide circulation of temperance ideas and temperance narratives influenced the course of American literature as a whole.[149] As Iain Gately observes, '[t]he psychopathic inebriate became a stock-in-trade character, especially for writers in the gothic style.'[150] Even authors who did not apparently subscribe to temperate ideals jumped on the temperance train, in part because there was money to be made in temperance stories. A young and broke Walt Whitman wrote the temperance novel *Franklin Evans* in 1842, with financial profits in mind. Later in life, having become arguably the most prominent American poet of his time, Whitman would call the text 'damned rot,' boasting that he had penned the entire book while under the influence – setting to work on it 'with the help of a bottle of port.'[151] The cultural impact of temperance has led it to be recognised today by many scholars as one of the most influential reform movements in American history.[152] Indeed, to soci-

Whitman's snide remarks about the speaker's use of language were, in fact, part of temperance orators' appeal in the 1840s: that they used ordinary, simple language; evocative yet to-the-point. Mattingly, Well-Tempered Women, 2.

148 So prolific and popular a writer was T. S. Arthur, that it has been estimated that five percent of all the fiction sold in the United States in the 1840s was penned by him. Crowley, Drunkard's Progress, 29.

149 Making a case for the importance of regarding temperance as cultural producer, Amanda Claybaugh has written that temperance, quite simply, was 'the storytelling reform.' Amanda Claybaugh, The Novel of Purpose: Literature and Social Reform in the Anglo-American World (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 59.

150 Iain Gately, Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol (New York: Gotham Books, 2008), 286.

151 Stephanie Blaloch and Nicole Gray, 'Introduction to Franklin Evans and ''Fortunes of a Country-Boy''', The Walt Whitman Archive, https://whitmanarchive.org/published/fiction/franklinevans_introduction.html.

152 Claybaugh, 'Temperance', 1152. Only some decades ago, however, it was possible to write that temperance in the antebellum period 'remained a relatively minor issue in the reformers' panoply.' Such sentiment is far from reflective of contemporary views on temperance. Quote from Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman, A History of Women in America (New York: Bantam Books, 1978), 187.

ologist Harry G. Levine, the cultural influence of the temperance movement was so far-reaching that ever since, American culture has been tantamount to a 'temperance culture.'[153] Sociologist Craig Reinarman, meanwhile, has attributed the relative ease with which, in the twentieth century, politicians could convince voters of the necessity for stricter drug laws to just such a 'temperance culture.'[154]

Cultural productions revolving drunkenness, and cultural productions sporting pro-temperance messages, furthered the idea that drunkenness was ably thought of in terms of a story: frequently, in terms of a narrative of decline, of degeneration and decivilisation. Spatially, this temperance culture evinced itself not only in temperance parades and other suchlike events but also by way of the opening of temperance hotels, temperance grocery stores, temperance restaurants, and so on. At the back of *The Temperance Text-Book*, a self-described 'Collection of Facts and Interesting Anecdotes, Illustrating the Evils of Intoxicating Drinks,' published in Philadelphia in 1836, we find a long section of advertisements for precisely such temperance stores and establishments, in various cities and regions across the country.[155] Similarly, in an 1846 guidebook of Boston, we find listed the Marlboro' Hotel, which is described as an 'establishment worthy special notice, as a thorough Temperance house, and one that ranks high in the estimation of the public.'[156] Especially this cultural aspect of temperance, in other words, shows how deeply intertwined temperance was with public space and discourses surrounding the public sphere. This 'public' is the first discrete space which this book deals with, and it is the subject of the following chapter.

153 Harry G. Levine, 'Temperance Cultures: Alcohol as a Problem in Nordic and English-Speaking Cultures', in Malcom Lader, Griffith Edwards and D. Colin Drummon (eds.), The Nature of Alcohol and Drug-Related Problems (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 16-36.

154 Craig Reinarman, 'The Social Construction of Drug Scares', in Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler (eds.), Constructions of Deviance – Social Power, Context, and Interaction (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 2006), 155-165.

155 The Temperance Text-Book; A Collection of Facts and Interesting Anecdotes, Illustrating the Evils of Intoxicating Drinks (Philadelphia: E.L. Carey and A. Hart, 1836).

156 Bowen's New Guide to the City of Boston and Vicinity: State of Massachusetts (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1849). Reprinted in Eugene P. Moehring (ed.), Urban America and the Foreign Traveler, 1815-1855 (New York: Arno Press, 1974), 12.

CHAPTER THREE. SPACING OUT: THE PUBLIC AND TEMPERANCE ARCHIVING

953. Temperance.—N. temperance, moderation, sobriety. forbearance, abnegation; self-denial, -restraint, -control &c. …
954. Intemperance.—N. intemperance; sensuality, animalism, carnality; pleasure; effeminacy, silkiness; luxur-y, -iousness; lap of -pleasure, – luxury. …
– Peter Mark Roget, *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902 [1852]), 328. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.6531/page/n1.

A
He is Addled,
He's casting up his Accounts,
He's Afflicted,
He's in his Airs.
– Benjamin Franklin, 'The Drinker's Dictionary, 13 January 1737'. *Founders Online*, National Archives. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-02-02-0029.

THINKING TEMPERANCE, TEMPERANCE THINKING

I am sitting in the special-collections reading room of the John Hay Library, Mirado Black Warrior HB2 pencil in hand (no pens allowed!), eyes hovering over stacks of old paper. Before me, a report on a 'Great temperance meeting' in 'Washington City.' During which a Reverend John Marsh celebrates America's post-independence growth, while also complaining that intemperance 'has grown with our growth,' that intemperance fuels 'the diseased appetite of our countrymen.' At that same meeting, Tennessee Senator Felix Gundy appeals: 'Go to your hospitals, your asylums, your poorhouses, and you will

there see what this destroying monster has done.'[157] Later, from a report entitled 'Intemperance and crime,' I gather that assault and battery, rioting, trespassing and disorderly conduct 'very rarely occurs, in which it does not appear, that a scene in a grog shop, or somewhere over the bottle, was one of the first in the drama.'[158] (And in my notepad I write to myself – cryptically, fragmentarily: 'GREAT! maybe: social drama angle?') Intemperance, crime, and all those social ills that derive from crime – I gather as much – were thoroughly interlinked in the temperance imagination. Another report, also entitled 'Intemperance and crime,' records that in Ohio, crime is observably more rampant in those towns where 'we presume to say there is no temperance society.'[159]

Having finished reading this report, I glance at a notice – 'A Letter to a manufacturer of ardent spirits' – which admonishes the distillers of America: 'love of gain, has been your ruling motive' (and I think: love of grain is more like it!). I learn that the distillery, as such, must be destroyed: 'It is as reasonable as that the counterfeiter should be required to give up his tools, or the slave-dealer his cargo.'[160] On another page, I find a poem entitled 'Ode to rum,' which echoes this slavery motif, and pledges to drive rum – an invading force – 'from Columbia's coast.'[161] I read that drink is 'slavery to the soul.' The market and the slave system, clearly, are entwined with the wrongs caused by alcohol.

Another text makes known that intemperance continues to reign in Europe; still another remarks happily temperance's growth in Canada. I find scattered notices mentioning the cholera: it is said that cholera has crossed the Atlantic – now arrived in Montreal (10 to 15 deaths) – and now in Whitehall, New York – and now in Albany – and it is moving southwards at an alarming rate.[162] Throughout, these notices warn that intemperance causes cholera; accounts of the epidemic in Europe conclude the same. One, for instance,

157 'Great temperance meeting', Journal of Temperance, 1.

158 'Intemperance and crime', Journal of Temperance 1, 4 (May 11, 1832), 14.

159 'Intemperance and crime', Journal of Temperance 1, 19 (Dec., 7, 1832), 75.

160 'A Letter to a manufacturer of ardent spirits', Journal of Temperance 1, 2 (April 13, 1832), 7.

161 'Ode to rum', Journal of Temperance 1, 12 (Aug. 31, 1832), 48.

162 'On the cholera', Journal of Temperance 1, 7 (June 22, 1832), 28.

reports that, 'Dr. Mifflin, of Philadelphia, was at Cronstadt, in Sweden, during its prevalence. Sunday is there spent by many in drinking, and the cases [of cholera] were always more numerous on Monday.'[163] Alcohol, evidently, is a producer of global epidemics. More, I read temperance advocates who see alcohol use itself as a disease: '[it has] become hereditary, and [is] transmitted from generation to generation.'[164]

I see repeated advertisements for a series of temperance meetings due to take place on February 26, 1833 – all at the same time, and in various US states and European countries: 'What a glorious spectacle, to see nations rising simultaneously! And for what? Not to imbrue their hands in each other's blood; not to devastate and lay waste the earth; but to make war against a degrading vice.'[165] And, last, I read a sad letter from the editor, asking readers of the *Journal of Temperance* whether the publication remains relevant, or whether its articles all feel rather rehashed and repetitive.[166] I get the impression, from reading these, of both a hopeful enthusiasm and a sense of frustration, a worried sense that alcohol might constitute a behemoth simply too grand to defeat.

I sit, and I keep reading – tracing patterns of temperance thought, hoping to conquer (or, at least, to comprehend) the workings of a temperance archive. From early on, one thing is plain: the drive to make America temperate was not (just) about moral suasion or about individual drinking habits. The sheer range of subjects touched on must mean something. Temperance advocates, evidently, were at pains to demonstrate the ubiquity of alcohol – in business, in domestic matters, as a cause of disease, and in causing crime and exacerbating poverty. They had to prove alcohol's role in the very course of history and show that, 'The art of extracting alcoholic liquors by distillation, must

163 'The cholera in London', Journal of Temperance 1, 1 (Mar. 16, 1832), 4. n.b. Dr. Mifflin may really have visited Cronstadt – an island belonging to Russia, near St. Petersburg. But should this prove a spelling error, actual Swedish candidates might include the town of Karlskrona (formerly spelled Carlskrona) or Karlstad (formerly Carlstad).

164 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, vol. 1 (Boston: Seth Bliss and Perkins, Marvin, and Co., 1835), 2.

165 'Periodical Circular of the American Temperance Society', Journal of Temperance 1, 20 (Dec. 21, 1832), 78-79.

166 'Shall We continue It Another Year?', Journal of Temperance 1, 24 (Feb. 15, 1833), 93.

be regarded as the greatest curse inflicted on human nature.'[167] The ubiquity of alcohol in contemporary life – and the historic scandal that this ubiquity amounted to – had to be made known. The 'diseased appetite for drink' that Americans suffered from, wrote the American Temperance Society in 1835, has led to 'more than sixty million gallons of liquid fire' being produced each year (that is, around 227 million litres). And this diseased appetite was at the root of 'more than three fourths of all the pauperism, crime, and wretchedness of the community. It also greatly increased the number, frequency, and violence of diseases; and, […] occasioned annually the loss of more than thirty thousand lives.'[168] But these manifold harms caused by alcohol had to be made known, for they were not, temperance proponents held, self-evident to people: alcohol's very ubiquity had blinded people from the unnaturalness and the dangers of intemperance. To at once prove the dangers and ubiquity of alcohol, in other words, temperance texts – even ones ostensibly about individuals and their bodies – had to constitute an explicit intervention into an apparently faltering public.[169]

In this chapter, I argue that antebellum advocates of temperance set out to engage with and alter a public – a public which they, however, regarded as having in large part been produced by alcohol. I first offer a brief discussion of the concept of 'the public' and how this relates to antebellum temperance. Indeed, the concept of the 'public' and alcohol most generally are concepts that are intimately linked, as Pam Lock has pointed out: the term is important not merely to discussions of temperance, but 'is central to the lexicon of drinking; it was the abbreviation for public House until this was shortened to "pub."'[170]

167 The Temperance Text-Book, 9.

168 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, vol. 1, 1.

169 J. Maltby, a minister and temperance advocate from Bangor, Maine, wrote that a society can be at peace with knowing that someone who has committed a murder is, simply, a murderer; not much more needs to be made known for subsequent punishment. Drink, however, is so engrained in society, that all the links must be made known in order to convince drinkers and the public of its harms. J. Maltby, A Discourse, Delivered in Bangor and Brewer, at the Request of Temperance Associations (Bangor: E. F. Duren, 1839), 6-7.

170 Pam Lock, 'Public Drinking in the Nineteenth Century', The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs 28, 2 (Summer, 2014), 117.

I suggest that temperance's engagement with the public partly explains the movement's ability to frame a temperate future into a common-sense pursuit. I then go on to reproduce key aspects of temperance thought, with the aim of highlighting the linkages that temperance advocates had to draw to demonstrate the existence of an alcoholic order, one that they thought governed the contemporary American public. Following this, I go on to describe how I, standing by India Point in Providence in 2016, came to better understand this ordering. This is followed by a discussion of how those linkages made by temperance advocates relate to a longer history of archiving, and finally I suggest that this archiving laid the groundwork for a temperate improvement – a temperate remoulding – of the public.

TEMPERANCE PUBLICS

In Providence Public Library now, and the double fact of my sitting in a library while thinking about 'the public' delights me. I think back on Robert Earle Graham's observation that most colonial histories would best open by saying, 'In the beginning, there was a tavern.'[171] And indeed, this was a central institution in the British colonies, where a tavern or 'public house' meant really just that: a house, visibly indistinguishable from other houses, but open to the public. Put differently, in spite of its name, the colonial public house blurred the conventional public-private binary (in which 'private' suggests 'limited access or participation' and, traditionally, privilege).[172] But in spite of this apparent blurring, as we saw in the previous chapter in our discussion of John Lewis Krimmel's tavern scene, taverns helped produce a sense of the public. It was a site reserved for entertainment, for drinks and meals – a location where communities 'did' community – but also for rest, for doing business, and for spreading and consuming news and gossip. Too, the tavern formed a key institution for travellers and professional men.[173]

171 Graham, 'The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia', 318.

172 Raymond Williams, Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 242.

173 Keith Krawczynski, Daily Life in the Colonial City (Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Press, 2013), 367.

The tavern might have corresponded, in other words, to the ideal of the public sphere as described German sociologist Jürgen Habermas in 1962. To Habermas, the public sphere forms that field within a society where public debate, interaction, and transaction is conducted. While he did assert that 'the public sphere is a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space,'[174] the 'public sphere' nonetheless has to happen somehow and somewhere. In his own discussion of the phenomenon, Habermas chose the coffeehouse as example par excellence. In the coffeehouse – an institution which proliferated in various parts of Europe but especially London from the seventeenth century onwards – persons gathered to dialogue over societal issues and problems and political controversies and possible solutions thereto. So important was it to the spread of Enlightenment ideas and to the development of modern capitalism that, in a text detailing the history of coffee, Tom Standage called the English coffeehouse the internet of its day.[175] Nonetheless, Habermas might as well have chosen the tavern over the coffeehouse; political scientist Vicki Hsueh has shown that the modern tendency to associate the public sphere with reason – and to equivocate reason with sobriety – simply does not hold for an early-modern historical context.[176] And more, in spite of their serving mostly alcohol, American taverns were frequently called coffeehouses, further complicating distinctions. Indeed, a chief feature of Habermas' characterisation of the public sphere – namely, contest – was arguably even more pronounced in America. As historian Joyce Appleby has opined, '[t]he American public realm, lacking a powerful official presence [a presence which was seen in Europe], became an arena of contests, specifically contested meanings about American nationhood.'[177]

Because taverns were a 'point of contact,' they also formed connective nodes in a budding marketplace, encouraging and facilitating the development – and literal spread – of capitalism. In taverns, deals were made, corporations founded, and goods bought and sold. In port cities, taverns func-

174 Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 176.

175 Tom Standage, A History of the World in 6 Glasses (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 151-172.

176 Vicki Hsueh, 'Intoxicated Reasons, Rational Feelings: Rethinking the Early Modern English Public Sphere', The Review of Politics 78, 1 (December, 2016), 27-57.

177 Appleby, 'The Personal Roots of the First American Temperance Movement', 145.

tioned as markets – in America, often as slave markets. One such example is the London Coffee House, located on Philadelphia's water-adjacent Front Street, whose very name suggests foreign trade. This tavern, opened in the mid-1700s, functioned as one of the city's most important public slave auction sites. Throughout the colonial period and beyond, taverns formed a central spatial scaffolding to a budding capitalist network; a network existing between persons, practices, interactions, and geographic places. And money generated from these networks helped nurture and expand a public. By the eighteenth century, distilling was a major industry in what is now the United States; in 1810 there were 14,000 known distilleries in the country.[178] Some temperance advocates would place this number even higher, with George Barrell Cheever, temperance advocate and abolitionist, counting 40,000 distilleries nationwide by the year 1815.[179] Such distilleries formed effective proto-factories, and the liquor they churned out yielded high profits. These profits helped proliferate new iterations of the public: money was invested into new taverns and new roads, but also into libraries, newspapers, and universities. For instance, the brothers John, Nicholas, and Moses Brown helped found Rhode Island College.[180]

The apparent significance of alcohol and the tavern in facilitating and producing American public life makes the antebellum rise in the popularity of temperance seem even more striking. Namely, here was a newfound anti-alcohol sentiment that circulated publicly and criticised the extant shape of American public life, condemning America's public for being ruled by drink. And ironically, as historian David W. Conroy has pointed out, such anti-alcohol messages were largely circulated in newspapers and as such widely read by tavern-goers.[181] This antebellum American public, which temperance advocates complained had been flooded with drink, would in the matter of

178 Daniel Okrent, Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition (New York: Scribner, 2010), 8.

179 George Barrel Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery. Reported for the Benefit of Posterity (New York: Publisher unknown, 1844), 4.

180 Following a substantial endowment by Nicholas, Jr., this school was renamed Brown University, which incidentally is where I conducted much of the research for this chapter.

181 David W. Conroy, 'In the Public Sphere: Efforts to Curb the Consumption of Rum in Connecticut, 1760-1820', in Mark P. Holt (ed.), Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2006), 41.

decades turn largely temperate. As previously mentioned, in 1835, the American Temperance Society claimed a membership of 1.5 million, representing 12 percent of the country's free adult population.[182] As also previously mentioned, Rorabaugh has attributed this to a backlash to the 'great alcoholic binge'[183] of the early Republic. But high alcohol consumption was nothing novel: alcohol had formed a central part of American life since colonial settlement. A Swedish visitor to the colonies wrote that Americans suffered a 'general addiction to hard drinking'[184] and held this to be true of all social classes. Evidently, America had been under the grip of an alcoholic order, one that temperance writer Eliza B. Runnels compared with how drinkers were prone to expanding their social networks: 'the drinker collects his circle, the circle naturally spreads; of those who are drawn within it, many become the corrupters and centres of circles of their own, every one countenancing and perhaps emulating the rest, till the whole neighborhood becomes infected from the contagion of a single example.'[185]

Yet another way of explaining the rise in popularity of temperance might be to chart changing societal conditions. That is, while the alcoholic order – of which the tavern was a part – contributed to new publics, it also contributed to increased societal differentiations and inequalities. Growing wealth manifested itself in both new patterns of inequality and new ways of physical segregation. The antebellum period has been described as a period of 'refinement' in America, during which class distinctions came to play an increasing role in public life. Not least, these rigidifying developments could be observed in taverns: gradually becoming exclusively white and male spaces, by the 1800s they were also increasingly segregated by class.[186] Thus the tavern was a part of the process of rigidifying social constellations, in the same way that some historians have characterised the function of temperance. In the introductory chapter, I noted that both Gusfield and Rumbarger saw temperance in context of status politics and hierarchy maintenance: temperance

182 Blocker, Cycles of Reform, 14.

183 Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic, 25.

184 Quoted in Krawczynski, Daily Life in the Colonial City, 373.

185 Runnels, America is Not Free, 6.

186 Richard L. Bushman, The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 162-165.

could be a tool for top-down social control as well as a tool for distinction.[187] More, in a factory setting, workers needed 'work discipline'[188] – they had to show up to work sober and arrive on time. (The tradition of 'St. Monday' – of drinking heavily on Sunday and observing Monday as a holiday – would eventually become anachronistic.[189]) In this context, as I also noted in the introduction, Jill Dodd has attributed the rise in popularity of temperance as a genuine avenue for workers to regain a feeling of self-control in a newfound precarious economic reality.[190] Temperance and the tavern, in other words, can be seen as organs for both community and improvement and rigidification and segregation.

But a different explanation for the appeal of temperance lies in temperance thinking itself: that is, in how temperance texts presented contemporary conditions. Perusing temperance documents, we are offered a critique of what we might call the American public – a public, temperance advocates claimed, founded on and running on alcohol. Alcohol was frequently called the 'national evil' and drinking spaces, lamented temperance advocates, formed the national public. Temperance writer John Watson – in his chronicle of Pennsylvania drinking customs – wrote that the 'national multiplication' of taverns and other public drinking places has led to 'every neighbourhood' in the country suffering from abuse.[191] A pseudonymous author, writing under the name of Philadelphus, chided farmers, otherwise the 'most virtuous part of the community,' for converting their grain into whiskey, motivated only

187 cf. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade; Rumbarger, Profits Power, and Prohibition.

188 Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', 56-97.

189 Also known as 'Blue Monday,' this tradition was widespread in pre-industrial Europe and North America, and continued in some quarters. Judith N. McArthur, 'Demon Rum on the Boards: Temperance Melodrama and the Tradition of Antebellum Reform', Journal of the Early Republic 9 (Winter, 1989), 527.

190 This argument is propounded in, for instance, Jill Siegel Dodd, 'The Working Classes and the Temperance Movement in Antebellum Boston', Labor History 19 (1978), 510-531.

191 John Watson, Observations on the Customary Use of Distilled Spirituous Liquors, Particularly Addressed to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of All Denominations; and Also to the People of the United States Generally (Philadelphia: Kimber & Conrad, 1810), iv.

by profit.[192] Thomas Eddy, a prominent temperance advocate, conceded that taverns serve a purpose – that they, for instance, provide food and shelter for travellers – but lamented that this noble purpose is rarely seen in practice. Instead, tavern-keepers,

> vend their liquors in little shops situated generally in obscure streets, and often in cellars. Their only object is to acquire profit, and to this end every artifice is employed by which the labourer may be enticed to squander, in intoxication, those earnings by which his family should be supported. Hence these petty taverns exhibit perpetual scenes of riot and disorder.[193]

As such, temperance advocates laid out an American public motivated by profit, producing inequalities, and always running on (and being run by) alcohol.

Thus, in some ways, antebellum temperance critiques of the American public might be said to echo objections that have been levelled against the Habermasian ideal of the public sphere. That is, this vision of the public sphere as charted by Habermas was on one hand linked with liberal ideals and with improvement (Kant, for instance, regarded the public as a core facilitator of Aufklärung, of free discourse, of reason), to the extent that the public sphere has been characterised as 'one of the revolutionary battlecries of the bourgeoisie.'[194] But equally and simultaneously, this public was also a historical outcome of and helped perpetuate processes of exploitation, global and local. The coffeehouse may have provided the location or medium for churning out and debating liberal values – even setting the groundwork for ideals

192 Philadelphus, The Moral Plague of Civil Society; Or, The Pernicious Effects of the Love of Money on the Morals of Mankind: Exemplified in the Encouragement Given to the Use of Ardent Spirits in the United States, With the Proper Remedy for the Cure of this National Evil (Philadelphia: Publisher not given, 1821), 3.

193 Eddy, Jay, Hobart and Morton, A Report of a Committee of the Humane Society, 7.

194 Translation mine. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung. Zur Organisationsanalyse von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Öffentlichkeit (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972), 29.

surrounding tolerance and democracy – but equally, the coffee consumed there, and the business ventures begun there (the stock exchange, insurance companies at Lloyds coffeehouse, etc.) further sustained systems of inequality and exploitation.[195] In like manner, temperance characterisations of the public held that while the American public might see itself as free, it was in fact a product and producer of injustice – of slavery, of poverty, of broken homes, and so on. That is, the tavern and its associated networks, to temperance advocates, formed a set of specific institutions amounting to a perilous and unjust public which produced widespread intemperance, 'that alarming evil.'[196]

Temperance advocates took pains in spelling out and lamenting alcohol's central role in making the public. In this public – in these networks – temperance advocates traced an order, here meaning a series of 'elements that stand in relation to one another and that help structure and define social groups or whole societies.'[197] So while alcohol formed a 'threat' to public 'order' (in the sense of common civility, peace, etc.), it also helped structure the order-as-such. Numerous temperance advocates made efforts to demonstrate this dangerous undergirding: that this alcoholic order was an order of exploitation, of inequality, of necessarily unhealthy bodies.

I have said that temperance advocates imagined an order, one that they nonetheless insisted was really and already in existence, created by alcohol. As Maine-based temperance advocate Thomas Adams preached, 'that it is a real and not imaginary danger, must be apparent to every reflecting mind.'[198] The role of temperance advocacy was to bring this order to the fore: by assembling linkages, otherwise left unnoticed, by focusing on alcohol's reach, advocates

195 On the 'twin birth' of liberalism and slavery, cf. Domenico Losurdo, Liberalism: A Counter-History (London and New York: Verso, 2011).

196 Thomas Adams, Emancipation from the tyranny of intemperance. Address Delivered at the Formation of the Vassalboro' Temperance Society, July 4, 1829 (Augusta: Eaton & Severance, 1829), 2.

197 This definition follows one forwarded by the Collaborative Research Centre 'Threatened Orders' at the University of Tübingen. cf. e.g. Fabian Fechner, Tanja Granzow, et al., '"We are gambling with our survival.": Bedrohungskommunikation als Indikator für bedrohte Ordnungen', in Ewald Frie and Mischa Meier (eds.), Aufruhr – Katastrophe – Konkurrenz – Zerfall. Bedrohte Ordnungen als Thema der Kulturwissenschaften (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 158.

198 Adams, Emancipation from the tyranny of intemperance, 3.

would identify and fix an entity to rail against.[199] For the public to change and improve, alcoholic order had to be made visible. Temperance advocates set out to do this by documenting and archiving the damages of alcohol and by imagining and constructing alternative publics, including alternative public spaces. To better grasp the points made by temperance advocates, I below leave the archive, winding up at a public space: India Point in Providence.

TEMPERANCE ARCHIVES

Archival research trip to Providence, Rhode Island, August 2016. And I do not know whether I am having a bout of the proverbial archive fever[200] or whether I am just plain exhausted, but in any case I leave the John Hay Library. My mind is saturated with lines of text, and plus it is freezing inside. (I find myself angry with the person in charge of the air-conditioning system.) Outside: bright and hot, though it must have rained; the ground exudes petrichor. And once again I am reminded that there is a world out here, past those archive walls. Not sure what to do. So I pace along old-sounding roads: Benefit Street, Benevolent Street, Power Street.

I walk to the end of College Hill, along Hope Street, past East Street, and down towards where the Seekonk River flows into the Providence. And there, a hint, a toponymic trace, a historical reminder: I have reached India Point. A postindustrial wasteland until the mid-1990s, I am later told, India Point was converted into parkland some years ago. In any case, India Point was so named because this port was a center of New England's colonial trade with the West and East Indies and China. Further down the river: Narragansett

199 Channeling Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire, I am tempted to say: 'Threats make their own order, but they do not make it as they please.' cf. Karl Marx, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/18th-Brumaire.pdf.

200 This is a term borrowed from Jacques Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', Diacritics 25, 2 (Summer, 1995), 9-63. Indeed, archival researchers are actually frequently exposed to old dust, poisonous inks, anthrax, and various bacteria. This has led Carolyn Steedman to call for a new epidemiological category: 'Real Archive Fever or Archive Fever Proper.' Carolyn Steedman, 'Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dusts', The American Historical Review 106, 4 (Oct., 2001), 1172.

Bay, then the town of Bristol (which, like its English namesake, was a center of the slave trade), then the coastal city of Newport (ditto slave trade center), and finally Atlantic Ocean. The archive floods the streets of Providence; the streets of Providence billet the archive. Romantic thought: It happened here, not in the archive. But what is this 'it'? I think: The alcoholic order stands before me. Later, I view an old map of India Point.[201] And notice there, by the water, an old glassworks. And I find an old distillery, also waterfront property. The glassworks and distillery were owned and operated by John Brown, a distiller and Atlantic trader known as 'the king of India Point,' and a member of the prominent Brown family of shippers, slavers, and distillers.[202]

Shipping merchants dominated American distilling because of the molasses that was brought from the Caribbean. New England's large forests and fishing industry generated an import-export relationship between New England and the Caribbean.[203] Consequently, 'throughout the New England seaboard, there were large rum works.'[204] Moreover, rum helped connect Atlantic ports, not least those along the American seaboard.[205] Alcohol became America's largest export item – Americans themselves spent two percent of their personal income on distilled spirits in 1810, a strikingly high number for a time when most income went to food and shelter.[206] Distillers found 'a ready market among slave traders, for whom rum had become the preferred form of alcoholic currency with which to purchase slaves on Africa's west coast.'[207] In Providence specifically, following the invention of the cotton mill and the sprouting-up of mills (often funded by rum money) on the New England countryside, southern cotton became a major import item.

The alcohol industry – and this alcoholic order – would prove a sine qua non for Rhode Island's eventual prosperity. It abetted the flourishing of Ex-

201 Caroline Frank, 'John Brown's India Point', Rhode Island History 61, 3 (Fall, 2003), 50.

202 John Hutchins Cady, The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence, 1636-1950 (Providence: The Book Shop, 1957), 61.

203 Selwyn H. H. Carrington, The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775-1810 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 2002), 26.

204 Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic, 66.

205 Phillips, Alcohol: A History, 146.

206 Wood, Empire of Liberty, 339.

207 Standage, A History of the World in 6 Glasses, 115.

change Place in downtown Providence. In 1828, the Providence Arcade was founded on Westminster Street – a forerunner to the modern shopping centre.[208] (Historian Jürgen Osterhammel has called the shopping centre, in its not having to rely on proximity to a harbour or centres of production, the 'most spectacular innovation of nineteenth-century commerce.'[209]) The growth of a prosperous reading class also contributed to the establishment of the Providence Library Company in 1731 (since 1831 known as the Providence Athenaeum). Trade would contribute to the 1764 establishment of Brown University (founded by the aforementioned Browns). These same Browns would invest money in Slater Mill, a prototype of the modern factory, founded in 1793 in Pawtucket, just north of Providence. (The rich archives of Brown University and the quaint, well-stocked shelves of the Providence Athenaeum, are the main reasons why I, historian-traveler, had come to Providence.) But the growth of the mill system, along with this trade and urbanisation, had material consequences for many Americans, often negative. The 'longstanding linkage' between household and shop declined; labor became increasingly stratified, dependent, and clock-governed.[210] By 1815, there were 1,709 'small-scale factories in Providence alone.'[211] Across the country, cities grew and life there became more stratified. Rising inequalities followed increasing wealth, and even second-order cities like Providence were by the 1820s experiencing racial and economic physical segregation.[212]

I had come to Providence to visit its archives. But it is at India Point that I see the order temperance described: alcohol had made this; alcohol had connected Providence to the world; alcohol helped make Providence an important center of commerce, a node in the global trade of stimulants – a cob in the global 'psychoactive revolution.'[213] Yet to temperance advocates,

208 Seth Brown, It Happened in Rhode Island: Remarkable Events That Shaped History (Guilford, Connecticut: Globe Pequot Press, 2012), 56.

209 Jürgen Osterhammel, The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 230.

210 Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 59-60.

211 Hardy Green, The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 9.

212 John Wood Sweet, Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730-1830 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 359.

213 David T. Courtwright, Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-5.

alcohol caused the poverty and inequality prevailing in cities like Providence; this reality had to be documented, worked against, archived. Below, I address this archiving and I posit that this temperance archive, far from being 'just' about the past, could be used to shape a new future.

A FOREIGN COUNTRY: PUBLICS AND ARCHIVES

So, I had been sitting in an archive, tracing temperance patterns. Exhausted from this tracing, I left. And there I thought I had found temperance's world – the world temperance described – the world temperance advocates archived. And yes, temperance advocates, too, left the proverbial archive, moving about in the world. Scanning India Point, its glory days patently behind it – and thinking about what it may once have looked like – I was reminded of L. P. Hartley's words, that, 'the past is a foreign country; they do things differently there.'[214]

If the past is a foreign country, it should follow that – the nineteenth-century disciplinary distinction between history and geography notwithstanding – thinking history means thinking space. Recall Michel de Certeau's claiming that only once Europeans encountered America, 'historiography' as we know it could begin – when the European 'we' needed to be historicised against the non-European 'them.'[215] In like manner, America, including her indigenous populations, formed a central spatial reference-point in John Locke's conjectural civilisational history of the western ascent out of the state of nature.[216] The European colonial venture as a whole, Dipesh Chakrabarty has shown, depended on a chasm both-and-simultaneously temporal and spatial: there was Europe, on one hand, and then, out there somewhere, on the other hand,

214 L. P. Hartley, The Go-Between (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2004), 5.

215 Michel de Certeau, The Writing of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), vii.

216 Locke wrote (60) that, 'in the beginning all the world was America.' His account was in many ways a response to Thomas Hobbes' views on 'natural' life, famously characterised in his Leviathan as 'nasty, poor, brutish and short' and man's relation to others as 'homo homini lupus.' Locke, instead, claimed that Native Americans lived in liberty but not in license or total anarchy. cf. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); John Locke, Two Treatises of Government (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

was 'not-yet Europe.'[217] This 'not-yet Europe' had to be ordered, created, its differences made and explained.

In a discussion of the archive, philosopher Jacques Derrida reminded his readers that the European archive was always a place of storage, always a place where structures of power documented what should be remembered and what should be forgotten.[218] As such, archival documents (stored, apparently rigid, historical) might be adjudged as standing in opposition to oral and folk traditions (spatially uncontained, possibly changing, felt). In the New World, precisely this distinction – between a topologically stable document-based archive and an apparently imprecise or unstable folk tradition – could be employed for power-political reasons: Europeans coming to privilege the documented, the written, and the curated. In this way, extant New-World folk traditions could be dispelled from the realm of accepted knowledge.[219] The power of documentation and organisation, of memory and knowledge, would be vested firmly in the European camp. The archive could be used to help order otherwise chaotic imperial projects, legitimise European power grabs, and subject knowledge to a process of what Derrida would term archival 'domiciliation': the archive putting knowledge in 'house arrest.'[220] Over time, this idea – that the archive houses knowledge, houses history – has become a truism, reflected in Jacques Le Goff's writing that, 'the document is what remains.'[221] In the nineteenth century, this archival project and this archival imagination was more important 'than in any previous one.'[222] Across Europe, national

217 Dipesh Chakrabarty, Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8. In like manner, Ursula Lehmkuhl has written that with colonialism, 'civilisation' came to mean subjugation of other lands. Ursula Lehmkuhl, Ambivalenzen der Modernisierung durch Kolonialismus', Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 44-45 (29. Okt., 2012), 45.

218 Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', 9.

219 Frequently, as Michael Gaudio has convincingly shown, this European archiving (and the consequent European 'power-over') took shape in documenting – visually in particular – the New World 'savage.' Michael Gaudio, Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

220 Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', 10.

221 Jacques Le Goff, History and Memory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), xvii.

222 Osterhammel, The Transformation of the World, 8.

archives, museums, and libraries were founded; across the United States, state and local historical societies were established.[223] William Gammel, professor of history and rhetoric at Brown University, declared in 1844 that the project of historical studies should be 'clothing each familiar spot, each ruin, and hill-top, and river, with the associations of history.'[224] Intellectually, this archival thrust was reflected in an increasing onus on mimesis, on reflecting 'truthfully' the world as it is.[225] This took the form of realism in literature (typified by the so-called social novel), while journalists and social reformers committed themselves to documentary-style reporting in journalism and activism.

In medicine and the human sciences, a new emphasis on introspection would eventually reach its apotheosis in the form of the Freudian 'talking cure' – which effectively called for the unearthing of one's inner and personal archive. Within the natural sciences, Carl von Linné (or Linnæus), Alexander von Humboldt, and Charles Darwin set out to classify, order, and arrange nature and the world.[226] Humans, too, faced unprecedented scientific scrutiny and classification in this period, leading to Foucault's claim that, 'Man is a recent invention,' and that, 'Among the mutations that have affected the

223 This was paralleled with a concurrent thrust towards the 'organisation of scientific knowledge' in groups and societies in the United States. Nye, The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 70.

224 Quoted in Karen Halttunen, 'Transnationalism and American Studies in Place', The Japanese Journal of American Studies 18 (2007), 11. Halttunen in this article identified a contemporaneous strain of American historical thinking that owed much to an older antiquarian practice of chorography, or 'place-writing.'

225 Indicative of this mimetic aim, when the discipline of geography developed in the early nineteenth century, earlier debates surrounding the role of human perspective and the role of the human body-in-space were laid to rest. It was widely taken for granted and accepted, instead, that space-as-such was empirically researchable. Stephan Günzel (ed.), Raumwissenschaften (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft, 2009), 9.

226 Carl von Linné, the Swedish naturalist and instigator of binomial classification, has often been credited for, in his Systema Naturae, characterising the Native American 'race' as 'red.' Whether this is fully correct or not (Nancy Shoemaker holds that this perpetuates another racist myth: that certain groups, lacking any kind of agency, were simply the receptors and acceptors of white knowledge), it nonetheless points directly to a European thrust of ordering. And red, of course, would form a metaphorical link between the debased status of white drunkards and their supposed equivalent to Native peoples. For Shoemaker's objections, cf. Nancy Shoemaker, 'How Indians Got to be Red', The American Historical Review 102, 3 (Jun., 1997), 625-644.

knowledge of things, … only one [i.e. modern ordering], that which began a century and a half ago … has made it possible for the figure of man to appear.'[227] In fields other than the natural sciences, this logic of ordering and archiving was equally pronounced.

By the late eighteenth century, the encyclopaedia as we today know it had taken form, and by the nineteenth century manifold encyclopaedias and dictionaries were published. These attempted to order language and to order the world, in an authoritative and truthful style of presentation.[228] In his famous *Thesaurus*, Peter Roget strived to arrange all words in the English language by their synonyms (I quoted a section from his *Thesaurus* before this chapter's first passage). Alcohol, too, faced such encyclopedic ordering – as evinced in Franklin's 'Drinker's Dictionary' (also quoted).

In the university, history would become so prestigious a discipline that it has been termed 'surely one of the most important signs of the modern.'[229] The same striving towards 'truth' witnessed in literature and other fields – and this same thrust towards documenting and representing the world as-it-is – led Leopold von Ranke to call on historians to document the past wie es eigentlich gewesen. So powerful was Ranke's call for wie es eigentlich gewesen history that Walter Benjamin once called it 'the strongest narcotic of the [nineteenth] century.'[230] Indeed, Frank Ankersmit has posited that history as we know it only emerged in this wide-scale movement towards accurate documentation: 'Historical time is a relatively recent

227 Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), xxiii, 386.

228 This Enlightenment-era drive to present and represent was parodied in Jorge Luis Borges' short story 'On Exactitude in Science,' which describes an empire that set out to create a map that would perfectly represent its land. Over time, the empire's cartographers realised that scaling would not do, and eventually the map spanned the entire empire, in a relation of 1:1. This account strikes a somewhat familiar chord with the 369-metre panoramic representation of the Mississippi, which I mentioned in Chapter One. Jorge Luis Borges, 'On Exactitude in Science', in Jorge Luis Borges, Collected Fictions (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 325.

229 Nicholas B. Dirks, 'History as a Sign of the Modern', Public Culture 2, 2 (Spring, 1990), 25-32.

230 'The history that showed things ''as they really were'' was the strongest narcotic of the century.' Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 463.

and highly artificial invention of Western civilization. It is a cultural, not a philosophical notion.'[231]

Archiving, documenting, and recording were practices intimately linked to the Enlightenment project, to what Alun Munslow has described as the 'Enlightenment-inspired drive to truth, through the domestication of the world out there by the (European and male) human mind.'[232] This 'will to truth' led Nietzsche to characterise the nineteenth century as the 'age of comparison.'[233] These links between archives, representation and purported truth-production – and the comparisons that might be made in the archive (not to mention the etymological origins of the term itself[234]) – make it perhaps not surprising that the archive and archiving were immanently tied to the public in the nineteenth century. Throughout, this documenting – this power play of ordering and curating – was saturated with positivist hopes of reaching truth and progress.[235] Thus, the thrust towards archiving, conversely, while at first seemingly pointing to the past, was about the future.[236] While

231 Ankersmit, History and Tropology: The Rise and Fall of Metaphor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 34.

232 Alun Munslow, The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies (London and New York, 2006), 176.

233 Friedrich Nietzsche, Human, All Too Human (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 24.

234 Etymologically, 'archive' is related to documentation, to power, and to the public: 'early 17th century (in the sense ''place where records are kept''): from French archives (plural), from Latin archiva, archia, from Greek arkheia ''public records'', from arkhē ''government''. The verb dates from the late 19th century.' 'Archive', Oxford Dictionary of English.

235 A core sign of 'the modern' was precisely this belief in and hope for progress – a belief encapsulated, according to philosopher Georg Henrik von Wright, in Percy Shelley's poem 'Prometheus Unbound': 'The loathsome mask has fallen, the man remains / Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man / Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless / Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king / Over himself; just, gentle, wise.' Georg Henrik von Wright, 'Framstegsmyten', Dialoger 26 (1992), 6. A similar hope in progress was seen in the eighteenth-century ideal of improving and reshaping the public itself, as Richard Sennet has argued. Richard Sennett, The Fall of Public Man (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976).

236 August Comte, a key figure of the positivist school of philosophy (and a proto-sociologist), seems to have understood these links between knowledge, future, and power quite succinctly – his motto being 'Savoir pour prévoir, prévoir pour pou-

natural scientists like Darwin set out to classify and order the world, the leap from description to prescription was not a far one: eugenic theories soon arose, claiming that this archiving and this classification would ensure – provided that eugenic ideals were translated into policy – a future improvement of humanity and the world. On the archive more generally, Derrida has insisted that, 'The question of the archive is not … a question of the past. … It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, or a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow.'[237]

Archiving, thus, might be understood as a project of recording, of future storage, and of achieving and ensuring self-recognition. And probably it was just such an archival effect of self-recognition that Americans of the early Republic were so curious and sensitive about what foreigners had to say about them. When Frances Trollope, the English writer, published her travel accounts of America, these were met with vehemence from the American reading public; and the latter's grievances apparently partly lay in Trollope's having characterised Americans as too sensitive to foreign opinion.[238] Alexis de Tocqueville's and Charles Dickens' accounts of their travels around America also drew much attention.[239]

Perhaps, too, this self-recognition helps explain why Washington Irving's short story about Rip Van Winkle was so eagerly read by contemporary Americans. Here is a man, Rip Van Winkle, who – drunk on liquor – falls asleep in colonial America, and wakes up in an independent America. He falls asleep in the past and wakes up in the future. Everyone does that, in a way, but Van Winkle sleeps for so long that he also falls asleep in one country – in the past – and wakes up in another – in the future. And as Van Winkle confusedly stumbles into town, he quickly recognises that something is off, that the place has changed. Notably, the portrait of King George hanging above the local

voir.' cf. 'Comte, Auguste', Social Research Glossary, https://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/socialresearch/comte.htm.

237 Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', 27.

238 Patrick Renshaw, 'Introduction', in Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (London: Wordsworth Classics, 1998), xiv.

239 Russel Blaine Nye has attributed this sensitivity simply to newness: 'as members of a new country, [Americans] were equally aware of their infancy, and often aggressively sensitive about it.' Russel Blaine Nye, Society and Culture in America: 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 11.

tavern has been repainted: 'The red coat was changed for one of blue and buff, a sword was held in the hand instead of a sceptre, the head was decorated with a cocked hat, and underneath was painted in large characters, General Washington.'[240] Here the reader faces, in a description of place, humorous recognition: recognition that some things remain, that some things are new, and, maybe, that some things are yet to improve.

This effect, of visiting a foreign country, of making a future-directed and spatial archive, was used with effect by the temperance movement.[241] First, like so many contemporary writers, scientists, and historians, advocates of temperance insisted that they were documenting and relating a truly-present reality. Writer T. S. Arthur prefaced his *Temperance Tales* by insisting that all of his temperance stories derive from, 'fact, [and] that, in nearly every one of the stories presented, there has been, as its groundwork, a basis of real incidents and these have been detailed without any aim at artificial effect, but simply with a view to let truth and nature speak forth in their legitimate power and pathos.'[242] But beyond this, as did Washington Irving, temperance advocates frequently mused on changing times and changing spaces. Writing on the topic of distilling, temperance advocate and lawyer William Sullivan speculated what might happen if we could read history backwards, what we might hear if history could report the future – 'If it be imagined that the office of history is to announce the future, instead of recording the past, how would the world have received her tidings!' His imagined historical-futural announcement is a grim one and is worth quoting at some length:

240 Washington Irving, Rip Van Winkle (Philadelphia: David McKay Publishers, c. 1921), 57. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/ripvanwinkle00irvi/page/n7.

241 Abolitionism, too, worked within the archival logic I have detailed above. Just as temperance texts set out to record and lay out the truth, abolitionist accounts also always insisted on reality and on representing truly the injustices and violence of slavery. Douglass' narrative, including its 'bold subtitle, ''written by himself,'' and its object of 'nam[ing] names and places, [and] detail[ing] slavery's horrible cruelties' can ably be viewed within this archival logic. Quote from Deborah E. McDowell, 'Introduction', in Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), vii.

242 Arthur, Temperance Tales, iii.

> This liquid shall be a curse upon you, and your descendants. It shall be known wherever the arts of civilization are known. You shall call it the elixir of life. You shall believe it to be nutritious to the body, and gladdening to the soul. The love of it shall grow with the use of it. It shall be prized alike by the high, and the low. It shall be the joy of princes, as well as of the meanest of mortals. It shall be the stimulant to laborious toil; and the reward for labor done. It shall be bought and sold, and make the dealer therein, rich. It shall yield abundant revenues to sovereignty. Hospitality shall be dishonoured in not offering it to the guest; and the guest shall be disgraced in not receiving it at the hand of his host.[243]

History, in other words, reveals how intimately alcohol has coiled itself into the human condition. Drink is, we understand, regarded by most people as a good thing – as conducive to work, as a social lubricant, as a stimulant to the economy. Yet Sullivan's list of alcoholic damages is long – these range from alcohol making 'the husband hateful to the wife,' to it causing 'the strong and the vigorous to totter along the streets and cities.'[244] And it is precisely alcohol's centrality to everyday life that blinds people from its harms. History announces: 'The wise men, who assemble in the halls of legislation, shall be blind to [the drinker's] ruin, desolation, and misery. Nay, they shall license the sale of this poison, and shall require of dignified magistrates to certify, how much thereof shall be sold for the "public good."'[245] What is required of temperance, argues Sullivan, is 'a full knowledge of the customs which are fastened on society in corporate communities.'[246] A temperance archive must be constructed, one showing plainly the reigning and devastating alcoholic order.[247]

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243 William Sullivan, A Discourse, Delivered Before The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, 1832), 14.

244 ibid, 15.

245 ibid, 16.

246 ibid, 17.

247 Sullivan believed firmly in the power of persuasion and, according to his biography, he was never convinced by the utility of legal restraints. Thomas C. Amory, Memoir of Hon. William Sullivan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879), 10.

Thus proponents of temperance were at pains to show that alcohol was indeed a problem substance: a drug and a poison. Provably, temperance advocates insisted, alcohol was a poison. Liquors are, wrote a temperance physician named Cheyne, 'most like opium in their nature and operation, and most like arsenic in their deleterious and poisonous effects.'[248] Sullivan's thinking about the past – thinking a foreign country – helped him estrange alcohol's status. But Sullivan, too, compared alcohol to opium, and there chose to visit a different physical country, and spoke about the opium-eating Turks:

> The opium eater, it is true, destroys himself, and finally becomes a feeble idiot; but he does not beat his innocent wife and children; he does not teach them to eat opium; he does not assault, rob, and murder, and thereby give employment to courts and juries; nor does he, after having made himself again and again a helpless beast from intoxication, die at last, in frightful convulsions, uttering blasphemous imprecations, and sensible to noting, but the presence of terrifying phantoms, which his own brain endangers.[249]

Yet Sullivan complains that somehow we have convinced ourselves that drink is normal, healthful, and good. The alcoholic order has given rise to alcohol-related memory loss, it has made Americans forget alcohol's toxicity. An anecdote published in a temperance journal nicely illustrates this insistence on alcohol's forgotten toxicity:

> A Physician in New-England of a facetious disposition, who had long practiced according to the customs of the day, giving and receiving wine and spirits in the social circle, became convinced of the evil of such a course, and took the following method of arresting the influence of the custom. Having several friends one day at his house, he had his decanters produced as usual, and said to the company,

248 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, vol. 1, 3.
249 Sullivan, A Discourse, 22.

> "Gentlemen, will you help yourselves? Here is wine, and brandy, and gin, and arsenic; all are poisons; some slower in their operation than others, but equally sure: take your choice."[250]

In other words, only due to historical habit did this alcoholic order continue; much like the slave system, the alcoholic order survived by 'unthinking decision.'[251] An ominous order – often called 'King Alcohol' or the 'Rum System' by temperance advocates – shrouded an honest view of the problem, complained temperance advocates. (In like manner, abolitionists complained that 'King Cotton' prevented honest debate about slavery.) Thought experiments, again related to habit and history, were sometimes required to fully expound the findings of temperance archiving. In an 1869 letter to English philosopher John Stuart Mill, Gerrit Smith – a prominent American temperance advocate, social reformer, and frequent presidential candidate – speculated what might happen if suddenly a new and stimulating, albeit highly toxic, gas were to be discovered:

> Possibly, before the year is ended, thousands of shops may be opened in London for the sale of a newly discovered gas. It will craze no small part of their frequenters. Some of them it will turn into incendiaries and some into murderers. Nevertheless, so attractive will be the gas that scores of thousands will go to inhale it. No sooner, however, will … Petitions for shutting up these gas-shops … pour into Parliament.

Yet – this was Smith's point – alcohol did not enjoy this novelty: 'How sad it is that even the wisest and best of men do, by getting used to crimes – to the presence of criminal usages – become patient with them!'[252]

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250 'Temperance Anecdote', Journal of Temperance Vol. 1, No. 21 (Jan. 4, 1832), 83.

251 Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1969), 44-98.

252 'Temperance. Gerrit Smith to John Stuart Mill. Peterboro, February 5, 1869', Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.12704100/.

For the world to listen, temperance advocates had to archive this world, historicise, gaze at that foreign country. And, maybe, with an alcoholic order properly archived, these advocates could step out onto the streets, and alter that archived world. Great meetings would be organised; the conditions of poorhouses documented, inhabitants listened to; temperance would create a cordon sanitaire against the cholera. Thus while the tired editor of the *Journal of Temperance* found himself asking, 'Shall We Continue Another Year?,' others noted proudly that temperance had become a 'trite and hackneyed matter.'[253] Such triteness, if nothing else, showed that temperance had reached a high degree of success. And still others continued with assertiveness, declaring that all distilleries must close, for the order that temperance presents is true: 'The whole is an imagination, a reality, a defence, which should never die. It is a story, which should be familiar to every child in all coming generations; for while there is a distillery on earth, there will be drunkenness, lamentation, and wo.'[254] Linkages explained, the future could arise. Wrote Sullivan: 'Will any reasonable man doubt that if this country were purified from drunkenness, the gains from industry would enable those who now purchase spirits, to expend the same, and even a greater amount of money, with the same traders, with equal profit to them?'[255] In order to properly understand crime and criminals, wrote Reverend Longstreet, one has to,

> trace their foot-steps from the first to the last offence – show the plundered poor, the beguiled innocents, the ensnared youth, the rifled dwellings, the fired cities, the butchered worthies, the frantic bankrupt, the raving madman, the desperate suicide, on the one hand; and the long pursuit, the arrest, the prison scenes, the trial and condemnation of the authors of this mischief, on the other. [One] must exhibit … whole families going to ruin, with the criminal and the victim of crime; and must give the precise measure of suffering which every member endured.[256]

253 Maltby, A Discourse, 3.

254 Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery, 8.

255 Sullivan, A Discourse, 23.

256 Longstreet, A. B. 'The Voice of Warning', in James Young (ed.) The Lights of Temperance (Louisville: Hull & Brother, 1853), 44.

And precisely such archiving, precisely such tracing, Longstreet held, was necessary with regards to alcohol. For only in this archiving of the present and documenting of the past – in temperance's tracing the history of alcohol – America's alcoholic order would became clear. This clarity, in turn, would be key to temperance's spatially molding a new public, a new order, a new future.

Let us briefly return to that living room in the Pennsylvania village where, in Chapter One, we found Mary lying on the floor, reading a temperance volume. You, the historian, hover over the head of that little girl as she flips through those pages. And the both of you follow the text closely (Mary with her index finger stretched out for guidance) and every illustration seems worthy of inspection. George Cruikshank's 'The Bottle' is what we are studying today, and as we read of the descent of a family, those familiar questions keep appearing. We study the folios and ask, 'How can this be?' 'Who is to blame?' 'Why are so many affected?' 'What makes alcohol go around?' Mary asks this because she sympathises with the family and with the children, while you, the historian, think about alcohol and capitalism and spatial connections and flows.

And then we both stop, fixated on the folio showing the husband's assault on his wife. We notice that on the fireplace there is a bottle, overlooking the violent scene unfolding before it. As we have already seen, at this juncture Mary looks up at the fireplace in her own living room and there discovers a kaleidoscope her father has recently purchased. This kaleidoscope leaves her distracted. You, instead, contemplate the bottle's status as a foreign body – a market commodity – in a domestic setting. And then (of course!) you realise that the story is named after this very bottle, something which you had somehow overlooked before. And to you the historian, all of a sudden the alcohol problem – the very history of alcohol – seems to be telescoped into this bottle. And all of this would be a bit overwhelming, really, if it were not for the fact that at this very moment that same bottle, in a rare act of prosopopoeia, leaps out of the picture frame and briefly takes over narration.

I, BOTTLE

> Things tell us who we are, not in words but by embodying our intentions.
> – Mihaly Czikzentmihaly and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 91.

I am that glass bottle.[257] My individual life is usually not very long, but I live many lives. I am born, often, in a glassworks next to a distillery. I used to be made by skilled craftsmen but my birth has of late become a process of mechanical reproduction. And the scale at which I am made is now positively industrial. I am made of sand that is placed in a mould and then heated in a furnace; this mould gives me my characteristic shape. In the mould I am also frequently 'embossed,' meaning that my glass is given raised lettering or raised shapes which tell distributors and consumers where I was made or what I contain. If I am not embossed, then a colourful paper label is stuck onto me afterwards, also telling of my contents and maker. Quite attractive, I am, sometimes. Walter de la Mare once serenaded this, my beauty:

> Of green and hexagonal glass,
> With sharp, fluted sides –
> Vaguely transparent these walls,
> Wherein motionless hides
> A simple so potent it can
> To oblivion lull
> The weary, the racked, the bereaved,
> The miserable.[258]

257 This section owes a great deal of inspiration to Leonard E. Reed's famous, I, Pencil. It is not meant to be an apology for or celebration of the text's economics; I borrow Reed's style. Leonard E. Reed, I, Pencil (1958). Available online via Foundation for Economic Thinking, https://fee.org/resources/i-pencil/.

258 Walter de la Mare, 'The Bottle', Collected Poems (London: Faber & Faber, 1939), 46.

Following my creation, I am filled up with liquid (either directly at the distillery or elsewhere, in which case the liquid comes from the barrel, a relative of mine). In New England, people most often fill me up with rum; further west, with whiskey. These liquids have usually been produced right around the corner from whence I was made, but the raw material has – especially in the case of rum – come from afar. Finally, I am corked up and declared ready for shipping. Now starts a long journey, and all my different selves – all those bottles who have been produced alongside me – are sent to different places. This journey begins humbly, on a horse-drawn carriage. Sometimes I am brought to a country road or highway, sometimes I am stocked onto a steamship or onto a railway carriage. Many of my iterations will end up behind the bar at taverns; others, on shelves in pharmacies; plenty others end up in groceries and at markets all over the country. I also end up at grog shops in the city and at village stores in the country. Sometimes, I am stocked onto ships and am made to travel overseas, where I become part of yet another a chain of distribution. And so it goes on.

At these places I sometimes have to stand in patience and wait for my older selves to first be used up, but sometimes I get used up immediately. At stores and at some pharmacies my entire self is bought, by all sorts of different people, and these people bring me home, hoping that I afford them better health or comfort or a good time. (In western regions, sometimes I am traded, as if I were a kind of legal tender.) At taverns, instead, it is not I that am sold per se; my contents, instead, are purchased gradually, and as such the life I spend on the tavern shelf is much longer than it is elsewhere. My death, finally, comes in many different shapes: sometimes I am returned by tavern keepers to the distillery, where I am reused. Others throw me out with the garbage. But it also happens that a drinker loses dexterity and drops me to the ground, causing me to shatter. Or I – a weapon become – am smashed over someone's head in a fight. More happily, I am found lying by the roadside and am there collected by someone who wishes to use me as household ornament; or, I am found by starstruck lovers who take me with them for a while, write down a note which they place inside me, and then throw me out to sea.

I reckon I do nothing wrong; things happen to me and I believe these things are beyond my control. But some people do regard me as evil and they long to see my demise. I have heard people say that I am a producer of self-de-

nial, that I am a provider of false comforts, and that through me, 'discontent seeks for comfort, cowardice for courage, and bashfulness for confidence.'[259] I have produced and perpetuated, people say, an Atlantic slave system and exploitative market relations; I have produced poverty and squalor and have caused crime; I have spread and caused disease. And in Americans, they say, I have given birth to a slavery of the mind – which is not a good thing. People say that I corrupt and define American life, and that I do this in my production, in my distribution, in my existence. Again: I am not in control over this. But some Americans – temperance men, they call themselves – believe they have figured out the harm I do, and they desire to arrest me in my tracks. They believe that my being distributed far and wide has diminished people's idea of my meaning. My circulation has turned me into a mere object, has shrouded people's understanding of my effects and dangers. They thus talk of and point to the spaces in which I am distributed and they believe that if they could only document my path and document my destruction, then things would change. And so they have set out to do this, showing how I pollute the public space, but also the part I have played in Atlantic history and its legacy of slavery, in the increasingly debased conditions inside the country of the United States, as well as in the bodies of Americans.

259 Thomas Trotter, M. D., An Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, on Drunkenness, and Its Effects on the Human Body (Philadelphia: Anthony Finley, 1816), 26.

CHAPTER FOUR. DISTILLING DIFFERENCE: ALCOHOL, THREAT, AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

ORNATE PATTERNS AND TEMPERANCE ORATIONS: FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN PAISLEY

In 1843, the Free Church of Scotland – a breakaway faction of the Scottish Presbyterian Church – found itself embroiled in a controversy surrounding its having accepted donations amounting to £3,000[260] from slaveholders in the American South.[261] Loud cries of 'Send back the money!'[262] emanated from many quarters. This was but one culmination of a debate revolving American slavery that had broken out in Scotland some decades earlier. Since the twin birth of modern industry and the cotton gin,[263] the country had developed into a centre of the textile industry and Scottish industrialists enjoyed close personal and commercial links with southern slaveholders. Vessels carried cotton to the port of Glasgow (and to this day, the city's grand architecture attests to the wealth that this trade in cotton generated). Upon arrival in Glasgow, this cotton was transported to nearby industrial towns for processing. The town of Paisley, not far from Glasgow, came to wholly depend on this textile industry, its factories specialising in fabrics.[264] Yet in the context of the Napoleonic Wars, Scotland suffered a grave economic downturn and Paisley's workers – frequently literate and already organised in fraternities – radicalised. In 1820, its weavers circulated a broadside criticising the British government and, as such, they were accused by the authorities of 'seditious

260 According to the British National Archives, the sum of £3,000 in the year 1840 would be equivalent to approximately £180,000 in the year 2017. 'Currency converter: 1270-2017', The National Archives, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/.

261 'Scotland', Frederick Douglass in Britain and Ireland, http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/journey/scotland/.

262 ibid.

263 Invented in 1793 by New Englander Eli Whitney, the cotton gin was a major contributor to and enabler of the development of the so-called Cotton South.

264 The paisley pattern, popular still today, is named after the city.

and treasonable' conduct.[265] (Indeed, archival documents do indicate that some weavers contemplated the instigation of a government overthrow.[266]) A cabal of weavers was rounded up, arrested, and sent en route to prison. But when the police caravan carrying these arrested weavers passed through the nearby town of Greenock, a fatal anti-police riot broke out.[267]

Criticism of American slavery went hand-in-hand with the radical politics of these Scottish workers. It was in light of these circumstances that Frederick Douglass, prominent abolitionist and former slave, toured Great Britain and Ireland, and chose to speak in Paisley. Like other abolitionists, Douglass will have heard of the slaveholder-donation controversy, and will have wished to witness firsthand the radical reputation of Paisley's workers. On 30 March, Douglass took to the stage at the town's United Secession Church and spoke to a warm crowd about slavery and reform. He complained, amongst other things, that the 'coloured man in the United States has great difficulties in the way of his moral, social, and religious advancement.' This difficulty, Douglass said, could to a great extent be attributed to drink:

> The blacks are to a considerable extent intemperate, and if intemperate, of course vicious in other respects, and this is counted against them as a reason why their emancipation should not take place. As I desire, therefore, their freedom from physical chains, so I desire their emancipation from intemperance, because I believe it would be the means – a great and glorious means – towards helping to break their physical chains and letting them go free.[268]

265 'Digest of Political Events', The New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register 13 (May 1, 1820), 610.

266 David Rowand, Pictorial History of Paisley (Catrine, Ayrshire: Stenlake Publishing, 1993), 4-17.

267 'Foreign Articles: Great Britain and Ireland', Nile's National Register 18 (July 15, 1820), 359.

268 Frederick Douglass, 'Temperance and Slavery: An Address Delivered in Paisley, Scotland on March 30, 1846', The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, http://glc.yale.edu/temperance-and-anti-slavery-address-delivered-paisley-scotland-march-30-1846.

According to Douglass, southern slaveholders in part justified the continued enslavement of Black Americans on account of the latter's apparent dependence on drink, and their attendant bad behaviour. Drink, it follows, was an important tool for keeping Black Americans in bondage. And Douglass wanted the audience to know that such conditions were by no means accidental: 'In the Southern States, masters induce their slaves to drink whisky, in order to keep them from devising ways and means by which to obtain their freedom [and] to bedim and bedizzy [slaves'] understanding,'[269] Months earlier, in Cork, Douglass had also tied the supposed personal predilections of Black Americans to a larger alcoholic order: 'I believe … that if we could but make the world sober, we would have no slavery. Mankind has been drunk. I believe that if the slaveholder [were] sober for a moment [he would] consider the sinfulness of his position.'[270] One imagines here that an affirmative murmur emanated from the audience.

Later on during this grand tour, Douglass visited London to speak at the World Temperance Convention – a large meeting of temperance advocates from Great Britain and North America – at Covent Garden Theatre. The oration he delivered there, which also covered the connections between slavery and intemperance, led to a heated exchange between himself and Reverend Samuel Cox, a member of the American delegation from Brooklyn, New York. Cox was also a prominent abolitionist (in New York's anti-abolitionist and nativist riots of 1834, he suffered mob attacks after having suggested in a sermon that Jesus was a 'colored man'[271]), yet in spite of his abolitionist ideals, Cox objected to Douglass' incendiary tone,[272] accusing Douglass of having

269 ibid.

270 Frederick Douglass, "Intemperance and Slavery: An Address Delivered in Cork, Ireland, on October 20, 1845," The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, https://glc.yale.edu/intemperance-and-slavery.

271 Quoted in David Grimsted, American Mobbing, 1821-1861 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 36.

272 Perhaps, however unconsciously, this was a defence by Cox of his family history – like many prominent Americans, his ancestors came to the United States (by way of Charleston, South Carolina) from Bermuda and the Bahamas. cf. Henry Miller Cox, The Cox Family in America (New York: The Unionist-Gazette Association, 1912), 22.

come to London just to lecture to the American delegation and to send 'revengeful missiles against our country.'[273]

Cox's patriotic sentiment reflects the attitudes of many antebellum temperance advocates, who were prone to express pride in temperance's early spread in America and in Americans' leading role in the increasingly international movement. Thus one reading of Cox's reaction might be that highlighting the slave-related injustices prevailing in America on an international temperance stage was simply improper. More fundamentally, however, the Cox-Douglass controversy boiled down to their having diagnosed the relation between drink and slavery differently. While Douglass placed the onus on mankind as a whole, Cox blamed the English: in a much-discussed sermon which he delivered in London in 1833, Cox characterised American slavery as a system imposed onto the country by the British government.[274] (In like manner, Thomas Jefferson's first draft of the American Declaration of Independence also blamed the English Crown for introducing slavery to the New World.[275])

The exchange between Douglass and Cox 'testifies,' if nothing else, 'that slavery remained a controversial issue' at the time.[276] But Cox's accusing Douglass on the level of tone and not subject matter suggests, too, that temperance supporters as a whole could agree that slavery and temperance were intimately related. Still, just as in abolitionist thought, temperance advocates at times contradicted one another, evinced most pertinently by the very existence of southern temperance. So although in the below, for the sake of simplicity, I talk about 'temperance' and 'temperance advocates' as a collective, it is worth remembering that temperance beliefs and approaches differed amongst individual advocates as well as over time. Nonetheless, slavery was discussed by so many temperance advocates that one might call the links between the

273 'The World Temperance Convention', Frederick Douglass in Britain and Ireland, http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/journey/WorldTemperanceConvention/.

274 'Cox, Samuel Hanson', Encyclopædia Brittanica, Eleventh Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).

275 '(1776) The Deleted Passage of the Declaration of Independence', Black Past, https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/declaration-independence-and-debate-over-slavery/.

276 'The World Temperance Convention', http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/journey/WorldTemperanceConvention/.

Atlantic, slavery, and alcohol a central component of mainstream antebellum temperance thought. Coupling temperance ideals with white supremacy and promoting sobriety to ensure more valuable slaves, on the other hand, was an ideological aberration.

The link between slavery and intemperance was so important to antebellum temperance advocates that when Father Mathew – a leading Catholic temperance orator from Ireland – undertook a much-anticipated tour of the United States, beginning 1849, he was condemned by American activists for refusing to criticise the southern slave system and for failing to point out the connections between American intemperance and American slavery.[277] (Mathew excused himself by saying he did not wish to interfere in domestic politics.)

While hyperbolic and optimistic, I claim that the sentiments expressed by Douglass in Paisley and elsewhere were not too far from the truth. When we read alcohol history spatially, we notice how materially connected alcohol was to Atlantic history and to slavery. Moreover, a spatial angle helps explain a certain strand of threat rhetoric by American temperance advocates. That is, Atlantic networks – material and imagined – played a central and constitutive role in shaping ideas around alcohol and related temperance sentiment.[278] As such the Atlantic, I show in this chapter, was an important space in the temperance pursuit of archiving the alcoholic order.

This was an order infused with exploitation and held together by trade, global networks, and slavery. Because the Caribbean and the Atlantic were so centrally linked with the history and development of the Thirteen Colonies, these spaces also came to play a major role in Americans' imagining and expressing social problems. To proponents of temperance, I show in this chapter, the

277 Colm Kerrigan, 'Irish Temperance and US Anti-Slavery: Father Mathew and the Abolitionists', History Workshop Journal 31, 1 (Spring, 1991), 105-119. Mathew spread the message of temperance in Ireland in the 1830s and 1840s, a period during which the country suffered great economic woes. cf. 'Mathew, Father Theobald (1790-1856)', Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia.

278 In conjunction with the rise of European seafaring, the modern world witnessed a general upsurge in the use and exchange of psychoactive substances – including sugar, coffee, tobacco, but also distilled alcohol, cannabis, opium, and more. Historian David T. Courtwright has termed this global development a 'psychoactive revolution.' Courtwright, Forces of Habit.

Atlantic proved a meaningful space because through the Atlantic, the harms, calamities, and threatening futures produced by alcoholic order could be ably expressed. In the below I first give some impressions of rhetorical linkages which temperance advocates made between the Atlantic, slavery, and alcohol. I then give a characterisation of Atlantic history and, finally, show in detail the engagements temperance made with this history in their portraying alcoholic order.

ALCOHOL AND THE MAKING OF THE ATLANTIC

In an Atlantic context, it is sensible to read alcohol's dynamics as a dialogue between *centrifugal* and *centripetal* forces. As centrifugal forces, we may think of people, ships, commodities, and ideas going abroad, setting off reactive chains that alter faraway territories. That is, put simply, histories of empire and capitalism can in large part be seen as forces working centrifugally – thrusting out from a centre and spreading into and affecting circumferential territories. 'Centre' and 'circumference' are not, of course, unproblematic terms – I here do not mean that either 'centre' or 'not-centre' should be understood as fixed or stable entities. These should be seen, rather, as codetermined and constantly changing relations, always in flux and in conversation.[279] A corresponding effect, however, is a centripetal force, in which territories previously seen as faraway or peripheral gyrate towards, affect, and alter the perceived centre.[280]

279 The notion of centrifugal and centripetal forces may recall the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and his concept of heteroglossia, or the work of geographer Charles C. Colby. I use the terms without direct reference to either author, and my account sees the forces flipped: while in Bakhtin, for instance, the centrifugal is that force which works on and alters whatever is the centre, in my account, this is the doing of the centripetal. Mikhail Bakhtin, The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1981); Charles C. Colby, 'Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in Urban Geography', Annals of the Association of American Geographers 23, 1 (March, 1933), 1-20.

280 A similar process was termed the 'Columbian Exchange' by Alfred Crosby. Crosby showed that from an environmental, nutritional, and epidemiological standpoint, the contemporary world is well-nigh unthinkable without the exchange that happened between old and new worlds. Historians of slavery, too, have shown that slave-produced goods radically altered European diets. Alfred W. Crosby, The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing, 1972); David Brion Davis, Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 87.

This is seen especially in persons, commodities, and impressions coming to this centre, – or to budding regional centres, – thus impacting or altering reigning worldviews or experiences.[281] As historian Amy Kaplan has written, '[o]ne of the major contradictions of imperialist expansion was that while it strove to nationalize and domesticate foreign territories and peoples, annexation incorporated nonwhite subjects in a way perched to undermine the nation as a domestic space.'[282] This centripetal recoil, often translates into a continual pressure for centres to renegotiate cultural assumptions and societal constellations.

Around the Atlantic, such renegotiations largely took shape by way of discourses surrounding similarity and difference. These discourses revolved around apparent differences between Africans and Europeans, American natives and Europeans, differences between African peoples, and – later – differences between white populations in Europe and in the Americas. Travel accounts from the colonial period and early Republic consistently compared modes of living, manners, languages, nature, and cities. Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* can justly be read as a chiefly comparative venture – comparing, as it did, the flora and fauna but also the people, manners, and ideas of America with conditions in the Old World.[283]

But in these discourses on difference, similarities were also found. It was clear that Atlantic spaces were not, as it were, worlds apart; these were Atlantic peoples thinking about and trying to gauge other Atlantic peoples. As

281 Gradually, the colonial system comes to set up regional centres. As Thomas J. Wertenbaker has shown, evidence from architecture, furniture design, and silverware design suggests that the Thirteen Colonies began 'de-centring' from London by the eighteenth century. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Golden Age of Colonial Culture (Ithaca, New York: Great Seal Books, 1959). Similarly, Arthur M. Schlesinger wrote that the Atlantic Ocean was a 'first barrier' between the metropole and the colony; yet it was at the same time a bridge, one enabling 'fairly close thought with the homeland,' and eventually commerce with other colonies, having the effect of at once strengthening and decentralising the colonial world. Arhur M. Schlesinger, Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Birth of the Nation: A Portrait of the American People on the Eve of Independence (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 4.

282 Amy Kaplan, 'Manifest Domesticity', 585.

283 Many variations of this text exist. Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (Boston: Wells and Lily, 1829) is available via the Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/notesonstateofvi00jeff/page/n8.

such, characteristics and social ills found in one place were frequently compared to characteristics and social ills in other places around the Atlantic. This was the case with temperance, which painted the Atlantic as a central space of alcoholic order, and thus saw value in sketching out alcohol's damages in various locations around the Atlantic and comparing these to conditions in the United States. Before discussing further this comparative appraisal of social ills, some historical context is required. That is, it makes sense to first appreciate alcohol's role in the making of the Atlantic world. I touch on three things: first, the significance of alcohol in binding Atlantic spaces together; second, the role of alcohol in Atlantic trade; third, alcohol's part in stimulating American commercial ventures.

ALCOHOL AND ATLANTIC VOYAGING

To John Rigby Hale, an historian of the Renaissance, the very idea of European overseas travel – an idea which sprung up in the early Renaissance – relied on ontological changes pertaining to contemporaneous re-conceptions of space, and especially the development of Renaissance perspective within the visual arts, and innovations in seafaring and navigation.[284] Yet in spite of such ontological changes and technological improvements, Atlantic voyaging remained dangerous and undesirable. This is where alcohol entered the frame: European exploration came to rest on the existence and abundance of distilled alcohol. For, just as European navigational capacities were seeing improvement, the continent had also, by the early Renaissance, developed a wide-scale spirits industry.

Much of alcoholic jargon hints at the Arabic roots of distilling (alcohol is related to the Arabic for *the coal*; alembic to the Arabic for *the still*). The science of distillation entered Europe through Moorish Spain and from there

284 J. R. Hale, Renaissance Europe: 1480-1520 (London: Fontana-Collins, 1975). cf. especially 31-54. On this development of Renaissance perspective, Renzo Dubbini has written that, in 'western Europe, the invention of landscape painting coincided with the elaboration of the veduta, or ''view,'' as a space contained within a picture, but which opened up the setting to the world beyond. The discovery of an adequate technique for framing and defining depth signaled the invention of landscape as a cultural space, visible in all of its aspects.' Renzo Dubbini, Geography of the Gaze: Urban and Rural Vision in Early Modern Europe (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

spread across the continent, slowly at first, amongst pharmacists and alchemists. Because pharmacists were amongst the first distillers in Europe, alcohol early on gained positive healthful attributes (evinced in *whisky's* meaning *water of life*; ditto *aqua vitae* and its derivatives: French *eau de vie*, the Nordic *akvavit*). But with the development of the printing press, alcohol would leave the realm of the pharmacists and distilling experts, and Europe would witness a boom in distilling: 'From Gutenberg's marvel,' historian Rod Phillips has written, 'flowed a veritable stream of books that described the technique of distilling and lauded the value of aqua vitae.'[285] Distilleries sprung up across the continent, and consumption of distilled spirits rose as a consequence. The Dutch, in particular, became leaders in exporting liquors.[286] This concurrent development of European distilling and improvements in navigation is a remarkable coincidence. As Tom Standage has written, '[t]he emergence of these new distilled drinks occurred just as European explorers were first opening up the world's sea routes, reaching around the southern tip of Africa to the east, and crossing the Atlantic to establish the first links with the New World in the west.'[287]

Into the 1700s, the rates of survival of Atlantic passengers – both free and slave – were very low ('a fact,' according to historian Lincoln Paine, 'that does not reflect well on the carriage of slaves but indicates the deplorable circumstances of life afloat for most people'[288]). Conditions onboard were appalling, as the writings of Olaudah Equiano attest. Equiano, also known as Gustavus Vassa, was born in the mid-1700s in nowadays Nigeria, and was kidnapped from his village as a child, before being sold to European slave traders and sent to the Caribbean by ship. Equiano would later describe his being forced onto a slave ship in horrific terms:

> I was … put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with

285 Phillips, Alcohol: A History, 197.

286 Courtwright, Forces of Habit, 12.

287 Standage, A History of the World in 6 Glasses, 101.

288 Lincoln Paine, The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World (New York: Vintage Books, 2013), 480.

> the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste any thing. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me.[289]

Gottlieb Mittelberger, a mid-1700s German emigrant to Pennsylvania, penned an account of his journey to dissuade future travellers, and related similar things about life on board as did Equiano. Transatlantic passengers, on sea for half a year, wrote Mittelberger, were bound to experience:

> terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of sea-sickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot. … Add to this want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as c. v. the lice abound so frightfully, especially on sick people, that they can be scraped off the body.[290]

Using words reminiscent of slavery, Mittelberger blamed the 'wretched and grievous conditions' of those who travel overseas on those 'outrageous and merciless' Dutch 'man-dealers and their man-stealing emissaries.'[291] In light of such terrible conditions, many passengers and sailors would have welcomed alcoholic relief.

Because of the manifold and grave dangers and hardships associated with long-distance voyages, many captains had to lure sailors to sign contracts while drunk, or these same captains would promise to pardon sailors' liquor-related debts if they would join crew.[292] While onboard, crew drank heavily, and

289 Gustavus Vassa, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African (Boston: I. Knapp, 1837). The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/lifeofolaudahequ00equi_0/page/n8, 44.

290 Gottlieb Mittelberger, Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: J. J. McVey, 1898), 20.

291 ibid, 16.

292 Marcus Rediker, The Slave Ship: A Human History (New York and London: Penguin Books, 2007), 138.

many onshore cases of jumping ship were also fuelled by alcohol.[293] Quite simply, drink made Atlantic journeying more tolerable. Of course, on more practical level, water perishes, and water-purification techniques during the Age of Discovery were highly unreliable. Distilled alcohol, however, does not perish. Thus, liquor – in its capacity of making water potable – proved essential for hydration and as caloric supplement on long journeys.[294] Liquor soon became part of the European sailor's ration.[295] Fermented alcoholic beverages could have served a similar purpose as distilled spirits, but with fermented alcohol came a constant risk of spoilage and, importantly, spirits allowed the stocking of a high-proof product and took up significantly less room than would have fermented alcohol.[296] Liquor was thus also a highly economical product – both spatially and financially. This leads to the second point.

ALCOHOL AND ATLANTIC TRADE

Alcohol helped set the stage for Atlantic trade. Liquor was stocked on all ships headed to West Africa. In West Africa, wrote one contemporary, slave sellers 'never care[d] to treat with dry Lips,'[297] meaning all business transactions had to be fuelled by alcohol. Thus, distilled spirits came to function as a social and mercantile lubricant within the budding system of Atlantic trade. Rum brought to Africa on European ships formed both a bargaining tool and de facto currency when buying goods and slaves. Slaves, in turn, were frequently

293 Olaudah Equiano, who later became a seaman himself and as such had much experience with crews and their habits, speaks frequently of sailors being too drunk to perform their duties properly and of getting drunk and abandoning their post, whether while at sea or onshore. Gustavus Vassa, The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African (Boston: I. Knapp, 1837). The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/lifeofolaudahequ00equi_0/page/n8.

294 Courtwright, Forces of Habit, 13.

295 The use of grog – viz. rum mixed with water and lemon or lime juice – also helped prevent scurvy, a leading cause of death amongst sailors. As such, adding lemon or lime juice to rum became compulsory in the Royal Navy in 1795. Rum remained part of the Royal Navy's ration until 1970. Standage, A History of the World in 6 Glasses, 110.

296 ibid, 97.

297 John Watkins (British naval surgeon), quoted in Gately, Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol, 147.

forcibly given alcohol with the aim of effecting submission. Describing the horror he felt before being shipped off, Equiano recalled asking some of his fellow captives whether,

> we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and loose hair. They told me I was not; and one of the crew brought me a small portion of spirituous liquor in a wine glass; but, being afraid of him, I would not take it out of his hand. One of the blacks therefore took it from him and gave it to me, and I took a little down my palate, which, instead of reviving me, as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest consternation at the strange feeling it produced, having never tasted any such liquor before.[298]

As Equiano recorded, crew members on slave ships forced liquor onto slaves (much as captains did onto sailors) in order to pacify them – before and during the long and arduous journey. And while this was Equiano's (and likely others') first taste of distilled liquor, their Atlantic existence would from now on be accompanied and thoroughly coloured by alcohol: from the west coast of Africa, these slaves were forcibly shipped to sugarcane plantations in the New World, where refuse sugarcane was converted into molasses and rum.

This historical development again relies on historical co-incidence. Just as European exploration of the Atlantic relied on knowledges of distillation they had inherited from the era of Moorish Spain, and just as the Christian *reconquista* of Moorish Spain proved an 'Old World antecedent'[299] to New World conquest – the development of a sugar industry, too, was intimately linked to knowledges and practices inherited from Arabic settlements. Arabic planters on sugar plantations in the Mediterranean had in the Middle Ages developed a system of indentured servitude akin to slavery, one which the Spanish and Portuguese adapted when they aimed to develop their own sugar industries on the Canary Islands, Madeira, and the Azores. Sugar was brought to the

298 Vassa, The Interesting Narrative, 44.

299 Lyle N. McAlister, Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 3-72.

New World from the Canary Islands on Columbus' second voyage, in 1493, and the slave system followed.[300]

On these New World sugar plantations, liquor proved both an instrument of reward (following 'good work') and functioned to stave off worker obstinacy. In some cases, slave-produced rum was even reportedly employed in the physical punishment of slaves. Numerous accounts of such labour-control strategies exist. Ralph Waldo Emerson, the transcendentalist philosopher, recounted hearing of West India slaves being punished by flaying, and wrote that the wounds would later be intentionally irritated by 'hot rum [being] poured on, superinduced with brine or pickle, rubbed in with a cornhusk, in the scorching heat of the sun.'[301] The Caribbean plantation system became a model for those other (non-sugar) slave plantations that also demanded hard labour. In his autobiography, Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist and temperance advocate, recorded that slave owners preferred to see their slaves drink away their free time and also noted that slaveholders, 'not only like to see the slave drink of his own accord, but will adopt various plans to make him drunk. One plan is, to make bets on their slaves, as to who can drink the most whisky without getting drunk; and in this way they succeed in getting whole multitudes to drink to excess.'[302] According to Douglass, America's slaves were kept subjugated through drink by evident design.

There were analogue accounts about alcohol and labour relations from across the Atlantic. Perhaps inter-Atlantic parallels should come as little surprise, for, as economic historian Karl Polanyi would point out, the Industrial Revolution in England came about in large part because of Atlantic trade. According to Polanyi, 'sea-borne trade was the source of a movement which affected the country as a whole.' Trade brought not only great wealth but the ensuing changes 'wrought unprecedented havoc with the habitation of the common people. … [A]n avalanche of social dislocation … came down upon England.'[303] In his trailblazing sociological study *The Condition of the Working*

300 Sidney W. Mintz, Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 32.

301 Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'On Emancipation in the West Indies (1844)', in Emerson, Richardson, Jr. (ed.), Selected Essays, Lectures, and Poems, 305.

302 Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, 151-52.

303 Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1957), 33, 39-40

Class of England (written in the same year as Douglass' autobiography), Friedrich Engels would detail some of this dislocation. The son of a Prussian textile industrialist, Engels had moved to Manchester in 1842, to there aid his father's operations. In and around Manchester, Engels was confronted firsthand with the full effects of largely unfettered industrialisation, and his decision to record the conditions he witnessed was a step towards his later political radicalisation and his later lifelong partnership with Karl Marx. Engels characterised the relationship between workers, factory overseers, and alcohol in Manchester along similar lines as Douglass had with respect to the American South. Namely, he described liquor as both a reprieve from daily hardships and as a from-above instrument of hindering and placating resistance. Engels opined that because the Irish immigrant mill worker, 'that poor devil[,] must have one enjoyment, and society has shut him out of all others,' the mill worker spends all his leftover money, 'upon drink.' He continued with what to a contemporary reader will seem a problematic *non-sequitur*, asking rhetorically: 'What does such a race want with high wages?' He answers:

> Drink is the only thing which makes the Irishman's life worth having, drink and his cheery care-free temperament; so he revels in drink to the point of the most bestial drunkenness. … The temptation is great, he cannot resist it, and so when he has money he gets rid of it down his throat. What else should he do? How can society blame him when it places him in a position in which he almost of necessity becomes a drunkard; when it leaves him to himself, to his savagery?[304]

Like Douglass, who centrally tied alcohol to control and oversight, Engels tied alcoholic consumption and its spatial setting directly to industrial and

304 Friedrich Engels, The Condition of the English Working Class (1845). The Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/condition-working-class-england.pdf. Equating the Irish with the less-than-human, the simian, the savage, or the Negro was common well into the nineteenth century. For an Americocentric history of this (and of how and why this changed), cf. Noel Ignatieff, How the Irish Became White (New York and London: Routledge Classics, 2009).

state supervision. He reported, for instance, that in the booming mercantile and industrial city of Glasgow in 1830, one house out of ten was a public house – and that proletarians alcoholism was good for the state: an excise tax for 2,300,000 gallons (around 8,700,000 litres) of liquor was paid to Scottish authorities in 1823.[305] (Contemporary research suggests, however, that in Industrial Revolution-era Manchester, both 'low and high' drank at similar rates, and both with the intent of intoxication, in Industrial Revolution-era Manchester.[306]) Glasgow's and Manchester's industrial boom were both largely the result of Atlantic trade, with Glasgow's wealth centring around shipbuilding and textile, and Manchester's cotton industry developing thanks to Liverpool merchants, the latter first trading with Jamaica and Brazil, and later the American South.[307] In part because of this close commercial contact between Manchester and the western hemisphere, antebellum American temperance advocates and industrialists saw in Manchester comparative potential, the city having come to symbolise the 'wretched and conflict-ridden road of industrialization.'[308] American industrial ventures, instead, consciously set out to cultivate a paternalist industrial system and culture, to the effect that early American factories were set up and organised almost along southern plantation lines.[309]

American factories and industrial ventures had further direct links to slave plantations. On Caribbean sugarcane plantations, sugar was either refined and exported to Great Britain, or it was converted into molasses and – in exchange for manufactured goods and foodstuffs – was generally shipped to Britain's North American colonies, where this molasses was distilled, becoming rum. This rum was used in North America's frontier regions – as currency amongst settlers and as traded good or exploitation instrument with Native

305 ibid.

306 Gunther Hirschfelder, 'The Myth of "Misery Alcoholism" in Early Industrial England: The Example of Manchester', in Susanne Schmid and Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (eds.), Drink in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), 91-102.

307 Sven Beckert, Empire of Cotton: A Global History (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), 57.

308 Steven Hahn, A Nation Without Borders: The United States and its World in an Age of Civil Wars (New York: Viking, 2016), 87.

309 ibid.

Americans. Moreover, rum became northeastern cities' most valuable export item – selling to Great Britain and her colonies especially.

Much of this rum was then reshipped to Africa to be repurposed in the slave trade. It has been estimated that just in the period between 1680 and 1713, 1.3 million gallons (about 5 million litres) of New England rum wound up in Africa, and this was exchanged for approximately 60,000 humans.[310] Distillers in Newport even produced a type of rum specifically for the slave trade, with an especially high alcohol content – the more concentrated was the alcohol, the more concentrated was the wealth. Not limiting themselves to distilling, New England merchants in particular figured heavily in the transatlantic and internal-American slave trade, and the famed colonial mansions of Newport and Newburyport owe their existence to this extensive and profitable trade in liquor and slaves.[311] Indeed, so important was the trade in slaves to Newport that its commercial power effectively ended in 1808, with the constitutional prohibition on slave imports.[312]

The brothers John, Nicholas, and Moses Brown, of Providence (the same Browns mentioned in the previous chapter), were shipping magnates and merchants in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who made their fortune in the slave trade, rum trade, and in distilling. Moses Brown (who later became an abolitionist) would invest money in America's first inarguably industrial venture: the Slater Mill in Nantucket, Rhode Island. Fittingly, John Brown – who, of the three, profited the most from the slave trade – was an active member of the Sons of Liberty (a pre-revolutionary independence organisation), was active in the American Revolution, and was invited to be the Rhode Island delegate at the Continental Congress (he did not attend). These Browns serve as testament to the immanent links between American trade, liquor, and slavery.[313]

310 Gately, Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol, 164.

311 In 1764, the more prosperous port-side part of Newbury, Massachusetts – its inhabitants rich from Atlantic trade – broke off and formed Newburyport. Nina Sankovitch, The Lowells of Massachusetts: An American Family (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017), 69.

312 Constance McLaughlin Green, The Rise of Urban America (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 59.

313 Charles Rappleye, Sons of Providence: The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade, and the American Revolution (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), passim.

Indeed, one might regard this central integration of the American colonies into the Atlantic triangle trade as one early enabler of American independence (a struggle for independence which was triggered, in part, by a tax dispute regarding the importation of molasses and the production of rum). Becoming integrated into the Atlantic world, and conducting trade independently of Britain, American merchants felt themselves a self-sufficient and central part of an thriving Atlantic system. A near-colonial relationship was established, in fact, between the northeastern colonies and the British Caribbean, where the latter colonies – exclusively focused on growing sugarcane – came to wholly rely on imports from the American colonies of food, timber, boats, and other goods.[314] On this, Lincoln Paine has written that the '"roots" of American self-confidence leading up to the Revolution had to do with trade with the West Indies, which came to depend on US ships.'[315]

Had things turned out differently, the American colonies might have developed along lines similar to the nearby Maritime Provinces of Canada. That is, without these close links to Atlantic trade, the economies and cultures of the American colonies could have remained comparatively insignificant and isolated. But in actuality, New England rum was aggressively pushed onto the populations of these very Maritime Provinces: 'It was by way of American trade, not the West Indian trade, that rum first became an important commodity in [the Canadian] Atlantic Provinces.'[316] Potent and cheap, New England rum quickly became popular along the Canadian seaboard where it often was traded in exchange for refuse fish. This trade in refuse fish, in turn, subsequently became part of the slave trade, too: New England merchants brought it home and sold it as food for plantation slaves.[317] Molasses, rum, and slaves fuelled an Atlantic and American economy. Wrote Founding Fa-

314 This trade in sugar was termed 'sweete negotiation' by New Englanders, and such negotiation soon came to evoke 'excitement, desire, possibilities, commercial opportunities' in people. Keith A. Sandiford, The Cultural Politics of Sugar: Caribbean Slavery and Narratives of Colonialism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.

315 Paine, The Sea and Civilization, 485.

316 James Moreira, 'The Tradition of Rum: Rum in the Atlantic Provinces', in James H. Morrison and James Moreira (eds.), Tempered by Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces (Porters Lake, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press, 1988), 16.

317 ibid, 17.

ther John Adams: 'I know not why We Should blush to confess that Molasses was an essential Ingredient in American independence. Many great Events have proceeded from much smaller Causes.'[318]

ALCOHOL AND ATLANTIC-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

This leads to my third point: alcohol's role in the development of American industry, domestic markets, and related budding national thought patterns. New World European settlement was greatly aided by the availability of alcohol, for this was an age and place in which 'water sources might easily become contaminated.'[319] Settlers early on made and consumed cider and other fermented drinks, but rum soon became the 'most popular colonial beverage.'[320] By the eighteenth century, distilleries were a major industry in nowadays United States, in 1810 reaching 14,000.[321] These formed effective proto-factories, innovating in terms of both infrastructural and employment logics important to later industrialisation. Caribbean sugar plantations, too, according to Sidney Mintz, operated on factory-like conditions – forming, in his words, 'precocious examples of industrialisation.'[322] The links between Atlantic slavery and capitalism – through investments of slavery-related profits into banking, industry, insurance, and so on – are well-charted within historiography.[323] John Lauritz Larson wrote that the 'eighteenth century appears to hold the fulcrum on which modern capitalism leveraged its way into Anglo-American culture,'[324] and tied this directly to the Atlantic slave trade. David Brion Davis, similarly, has written that, '[e]ven in its early stages, the

318 'From John Adams to William Tudor, Sr., 11 August 1818', U.S. National Archives, Founders Online, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6959.

319 'Alcohol, Consumption of', in John Mack Faragher (ed.), The Encylcopedia of Colonial and Revolutionary America (New York: Facts on File, 1990).

320 ibid.

321 Okrent, Last Call, 8.

322 Mintz, Sweetness and Power, 59.

323 A classic iteration of this is Eric Williams, Capitalism & Slavery (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 98-105.

324 John Lauritz Larson, The Market Revolution in America: Liberty, Ambition, and the Eclipse of Common Good (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4.

Atlantic Slave System foreshadowed certain features of our modern global economy.'[325]

Since the eighteenth and through well into the nineteenth century, distilleries played a significant role in the American economy. From Philadelphia northwards, rum distillation from imported molasses was the leading manufacturing process. As the historian W. J. Rorabaugh has demonstrated,

> During the 1790s molasses and rum still accounted for one-fifth of the value of American imports, and by 1810, whiskey, rum, and other distilled spirits ranked behind cloth and tanned hides as the third most important industrial product, worth 10 percent of the nation's manufactured output. When we consider that distilling was less likely to be a cottage industry than were spinning, weaving, and tanning, we can view distilling as the era's principal industry.[326]

Following the American Revolution, the distilling industry gradually moved westwards. This westward pivot was in part due to a general population movement but was also contingent on agriculture: soil in the west was so fertile that farmers overproduced grains; in order to assure and retain profitability of grains before these would perish, farmers had to distill their grains and make whiskey. By 1840, distilleries in southwest Ohio, upstate New York, and southeast and southwest Pennsylvania were responsible for more than half of the country's distilling; Lancaster County in Pennsylvania in 1786 had no distilleries; had 611 by 1814; and had 203 by 1830.[327] (This latter downward trend was due to a general diversification of the economy and a market revolution in the west – whiskey had become too abundant to be accepted as currency.) These spirits were shipped on steamboats and wagons and thus headed east and south – on roads, canals, and along the Mississippi. This booming liquor trade helped turn western whiskey into a national commodity – it was traded and consumed all throughout the United States.

325 Davis, Inhuman Bondage, 87.

326 Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic, 61-62.

327 ibid, 84, 87.

This American commercial and transportation revolution, which was facilitated by a growing system of roads and canals – as well as by the invention of the steamboat – was in large part funded through money generated in east coast distilleries. That is, it was common for eastern rum distillers to reinvest profits into other commercial ventures. The Browns of Providence, as I have mentioned, invested money into cotton-spinning factories, thereby coming to rely on, and directly helping, the cotton economy and slave system. And overall, Atlantic trade and the subsequent distilling which came with this trade turned the city of Providence from an agricultural into an industrial centre – 'shipbuilding, brick manufacturing, weaving, and distilling plants were established in the town, followed in the middle of the century by iron works, cider mills, cheese presses and printing shops.'[328] On the east coast more broadly, a key sign of a city's growing size and stature had long been the presence of a distillery and several taverns.[329] The profits-related necessity for distributing rum and other manufactured goods led to the building and improvement of a trans-colonial road network. In general, these infrastructural developments contributed to a growing sense of collectivity and a growing national consciousness.[330]

A nationwide market tied American localities together and the country's demographic of consumers grew. In efforts to distinguish themselves from other producers, distillers began to put their names on bottles and barrels – a practice apparently pioneered by a Philadelphia-based distiller named E. C. Booz (nomen est omen?).[331] This act of branding helped consumers identify the given good with its place of origin (an act which may be the origin of the term 'brand name'[332]). Consumers were, increasingly, beginning to buy goods coming from all over the country and not just locally. Moreover, these roads facilitated a growing nationwide population movement, one partly attributable

328 Cady, The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence, 60.

329 In Newport, the colonial-era presence of several different distilleries seemed to herald a bright and prosperous future. C. P. B. Jefferys, Newport: A Short History (Newport, RI: Newport Historical Society, 1992), 10.

330 Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic, 91.

331 Gerald Carson, The Social History of Bourbon: An Unhurried Account of Our Star-Spangled Drink (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1963), 69.

332 Reid Mitenbuler, Bourbon Empire: The Past and Future of America's Whiskey (New York: Viking Press, 2015), 5.

to the growth in western distilling. That is, the agricultural surplus produced in the west was a result of a disproportionate number of farmers. Farmers' children and former agricultural workers who could not handle the increasing competition began to look for other forms of employment. Increasingly, this came to mean finding work within industry, in distilleries or factories on the east coast.[333] As such, money generated in the United States from the trade in slaves, molasses, and distilling furthered internal infrastructural improvements and industrial and commercial enterprises. Roadside inns and taverns, as I have discussed in Chapter Two, also proved essential to facilitating long-distance land travel and in establishing and consolidating internal trade networks.

By 1763, more than thirty rum distilleries operated in Boston and around a thousand ships brought the drink to and out of its harbour; rum, as historian Reid Mitenbuler has argued, 'provided a mechanism for the [British] Crown to integrate its empire by pairing the distinct talents of its far-flung points – New England had the customer base and distilleries, the Caribbean had an abundance of cheap molasses.'[334]

I have in this section argued that alcohol and alcoholic places facilitated Atlantic and internal travel, played a central role in the slave and triangle trades, enabled a more effective subjugation of diverse Atlantic populations, eased labour control on slave plantations (and later in factories), advanced the colonisation and exploitation of African and western-hemisphere edgelands, impelled industrial-capitalist ventures, and provided scaffolding for internal trade networks in North America and elsewhere. In short, alcohol was a key maker of the Atlantic world. Alcohol demonstrates how mundanely – almost boringly – exploitative and violent this making was; but also how constitutive this violence and exploitation was to carving a space out of the Atlantic. Alcohol making an Atlantic world is anecdotally evident in the historical popularity of rum and its derivatives (e.g. cachaça) throughout the Atlantic littoral – from Rio de Janeiro to Philadelphia, from Bristol to Lagos. Such liquors long remained unpopular or unknown in places further inland.[335]

333 Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic, 88.

334 Mitenbuler, Bourbon Empire, 27.

335 Phillips, Alcohol: A History, 201. Rum is, of course, still heavily associated with the West Indies but also with seafaring and sailing, pirating, etc. The popularity of rum,

Yet many were coming to accept the idea that the consumption of alcohol brought manifold problems. And crucially, in trying to present and describe these problems, an Atlantic purview was frequently also employed. I show this below.

THREATS BREWING: TEMPERANCE, READ ATLANTICALLY

> The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life.
> – Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (New York: International Publishers, 1970 [1846]), 47.

With and alongside the centrality of alcohol around the Atlantic came apparent problems. Historians have characterised the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a period experiencing a 'democratisation'[336] of drink, and the early American Republic as 'the alcoholic republic.'[337] That is, with the earlier spread of the knowledge practice of distilling, the procurement and consumption of alcohol was no longer reserved for the privileged or wealthy. In a specifically American context, the 'democratisation' of drink was in part attributable to post-revolutionary society coming to be characterised less by

from the Bahamas to Bristol, began in the very early days of sugarcane plantation; its popularity would go global in the twentieth century. In Atlantic North America, rum was the go-to drink until just after the American Revolution, when the abundant western frontier could produce enough surplus corn for whiskey. 'Rum,' however, remained a shorthand for 'liquor' in American English until much later. Andrew Barr has suggested that rum became so popular in the United States because of the drink's versatility. It could be blended with other drinks and products, making it a drink suitable both in winter and summer, useful 'in the changeable [east coast] climate' Andrew Barr, Drink: A Social History of America (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1999), 45.

336 Before the establishment of an Atlantic-wide liquor trade, according to Kristen D. Burton, recreational consumption of distilled spirits was reserved for the elite. Kristen D. Burton, Intoxication and Empire: Distilled Spirits and the Creation of Addiction in the Early Modern British Atlantic. PhD dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington, November 2015, 4.

337 This refers to Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic.

rigid hierarchies, and instead by increased urbanisation and a correlated uprooting of societal mores, and a booming whiskey industry – the latter associated with the settling and cultivation of frontier regions. This proliferation of alcohol and its attendant democratisation caused many contemporaries to worry, including in Philadelphia – an important Atlantic port city that was to become America's first capital.

The city of Philadelphia had been envisioned by its founder William Penn as a 'green country towne' with the intended primary purpose of acting as a trading post for Pennsylvania's agricultural industry. Instead, between the time that the city was established in 1682 and the mid-eighteenth century, it had grown to become the largest in British North America.[338] An important commercial harbour, it attracted many tradesmen and sailors, as well as a variety of jobseekers from the colony's rural hinterland. One of the people entering precisely this social milieu was aforementioned emigrant Gottlieb Mittelberger who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1750, and much of his narrative about his life in America focused on Philadelphia and its immediate environs.[339] Philadelphia, being a relatively young urban landscape with a relatively transient population (and unlike other settlements, lacking a tradition of a firm patriarchal family system),[340] came to be characterised by a liberal and democratic urban culture, one increasingly also sprouting up across the colonies.[341] As example of this liberal culture, Mittelberger portrayed the city (and Pennsylvania as a whole) as a place where spontaneous sexual liaisons occurred frequently and where parental authority was not always considered.

338 Sylvia Doughty Fries, The Urban Idea in Colonial America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), 79.

339 The German population of Pennsylvania at the time was fast growing: between 1749 and 1754 more than 30,000 Germans came to Pennsylvania. Oscar Handlin and John Clive (eds.), 'Editor's Introduction', in Gottlieb Mittelberger, Journey to Pennsylvania (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknapp Press of Harvard University Press, 1960), xi.

340 Clare A. Lyons, Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution Philadelphia, 1730-1830 (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006), 6.

341 The need for recognising contingency is important here – an urban society with a not-so-established family structure and a transient population can potentially take a myriad of shapes. Indeed, the factors recounted above need not necessarily play an important part at all in determining a culture's social characteristics.

A German man's runaway spouse, unless found dead, warned Mittelberger, is likely to turn up in Pennsylvania, 'the gathering place for all runaway good-for-nothings.' American society was not only unruly, according to Mittelberger, but also unbound by traditional mores: if a 'couple wants to get married in this province despite the absolute opposition of parents and relatives on one or both sides ... [they] simply ride off together on one horse' and only need to find a Justice of the Peace in order to wed. Mittelberger furthermore claimed that non-marital unions plainly occur and that these are not considered harshly by the justice system: 'If a man gets a woman with child, and he marries her, ... he has expiated his guilt and is not punished by the authorities.'[342] Moureau de Saint-Méry, a lawyer and writer from France, who for a time lived and travelled extensively in the Caribbean, and settled in Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century, also frequently noted the many 'privileges' enjoyed by young people in America. He considered it astonishing that, given the extent of their freedoms, American women would want to get married (with concomitant implications of losing these freedoms) at all.[343]

Yet both Mittelberger and St. Méry happened to arrive in Philadelphia and America at a moment of particular societal rupture. Drawing on the five years (1767-1769, 1775-1776) of existing records of the Overseers of the Poor prior to the Revolution, historian Clare A. Lyons found that around 200 bastardy cases were handled in Philadelphia (representing 400 individuals who did not marry or get together after pregnancy). Overall, she has estimated that in the decade between 1767-1776 '1 in roughly 38 adults [in the city] was parent to a bastard child.'[344] Thus, in the social setting of Philadelphia, non-marital sex and potentially resulting bastard-cases was a relatively common phenomenon.[345] Colonial American governments also 'gradually

342 Mittelberger, Journey to Pennsylvania, 93. Widows and unmarried women likely did constitute a disproportionately high percentage of migrants to Philadelphia in the 1700s. cf. Paul Sivitz and Billy G. Smith, 'Philadelphia and Its People in Maps: The 1790s', The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/philadelphia-and-its-people-in-maps-the-1790s/.

343 Moureau de St. Méry, Moureau de St. Méry's American Journey, 1793-1798 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947), 285.

344 Lyons, Sex Among the Rabble, 64.

345 In New England, the bastion of the temperance movement, during the period between 1760 and 1800, pre-bridal pregnancy rates increased by an estimated

lost interest in prosecuting sexual sinners so long as the children of sin were financially cared for.'[346] Further, there was a change in attitudes towards marriage. In the past, marriage had been an ordeal with which the parents were heavily involved. The institution had been associated with religion, procreation, and negotiations of property arrangements. But the mid-1700s saw a growing emphasis on (female[347]) sexual attractiveness and physical intimacy was prioritised before other criteria. Increasingly associated with a growing discourse surrounding passion, courtship and marriage began to be seen in terms of romantic love.[348] This reduced the power and earlier importance of contract-based social control: in a discussion of print culture, Thomas A. Foster has noted that many American publications at the time were 'rife with cautionary tales of women who had allowed themselves to become pregnant while believing the sweet talk of marriage intensions.'[349]

All this was in many ways related to the mid-eighteenth-century process which Lyons has called 'cosmopolitanization': in which the inhabitants of Philadelphia devoted increasing amounts of time to amusements such as drinking, theatre-going, gambling, etc.[350] The city's population enjoyed growing prosperity, traditional hierarchies were becoming less rigid, and the importation of molasses led to a boom in rum distilling. The change in cus-

one-third to a half. Across the country, similar trends have been observed by historians. cf. Daniel Scott Smith and Michael S. Hindus, 'Premarital Pregnancy in America 1640-1971: An Overview and Interpretation', The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 5, 4 (Spring, 1975), 537-570.

346 Robert V. Wells, quoted in John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 49.

347 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, analysing portraits of New England women, argues that a 'new importance of gender' is evident in eighteenth-century depictions of women; wives became sex symbols rather than, as before, symbols of piety and chastity. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 115-116.

348 D'Emilio and Freedman, Intimate Matters, 41.

349 Thomas A. Foster, Sex and the Eighteenth-Century Man: Massachusetts and the History of Sexuality in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 65.

350 Lyons' text mentions 'Theaters, dancing studios, horse racing, bullbaiting, cockfighting, lotteries, and bawdy books' and 'Gambling, drunkenness, and sexual intrigues, from seduction to prostitution' as part of the inventory of Philadelphian leisure activities. Lyons, Sex Among the Rabble, 61.

toms in Philadelphia was significant enough to be noted by officials, some of whom expressed concerns: in 1775, the Provincial Council sent a Bill to the Governor with the intent of suppressing idleness, drunkenness, and other 'debaucheries.'[351]

It was in this setting that Philadelphia-based physician and Founding Father Benjamin Rush began to think and write about social issues and social control. His efforts largely revolved around improving urban conditions and rationalising responses to social problems. For example, his Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons urged the implementation of an apparently more rational system of crime and punishment. It eventually helped change the law, with the effect that the punishment of crimes would be weighted based on their adjudged seriousness.[352] Moreover, Rush began contemplating distilled drinks, sobriety, and temperance, producing some of the most widely-circulated early temperance pamphlets. In his 1784 treatise *An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body*, Rush denounced the consumption of any distilled spirit, offering numerous reasons for the harms of intemperance, ranging from distilled spirits causing poorer health, to its instigating crime and leading to death.

In 1793, Philadelphia suffered a major and deadly outbreak of yellow fever – a viral and infection caused by mosquito bites – which, Rush remembered, had justly 'awakened sympathy and terror' in many Americans. But, Rush wondered: 'Why is not the same zeal manifested in protecting our citizens from the more general and consuming ravages of distilled spirits?'[353] To Rush, these alcoholic ravages were much graver and long-term than a

351 'An Act for Suppressing Idleness, Drunkenness, and other Debaucheries, within this Government'. Mentioned in 'Full text of "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Philadelphia, from the organization to the termination of the proprietary government [Mar. 10, 1683-Sept. 27, 1775]"'. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/minutesofprovinc00penn/page/n6.

352 Michele Lise Tarter and Richard Bell, 'Introduction', in Michele Lise Tarter and Richard Bell (eds.), Buried Lives: Incarcerated in Early America (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2012), 15.

353 Benjamin Rush, Extracts from Dr Benjamin Rush's Inquiry into the effects of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind (Philadelphia: Benjamin & Thomas Kite, 1816), 11. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/2569032R.nlm.nih.gov/page/n3.

brief epidemic.[354] That Rush focused his criticism on distilled and not fermented beverages already suggests that from early on, temperance proponents assumed an Atlantic purview when imagining the threat of alcohol. Namely, early temperance sentiment subscribed to the idea that fermented beverages were familiar, controllable, and safe, while distilled beverages were unfamiliar, foreign, and dangerous.[355] Elsewhere, wishing to prove that the consumption of fermented and non-alcoholic beverages was definitively healthier than the consumption of distilled spirits, Rush pivoted to the West Indies, writing about a West Indies planter who had plainly found that rum was not, contrary to popular opinion, necessary for surviving hot weather conditions.[356] Quite the opposite, Rush forwarded: 'The negroes in the West Indies become strong, and even fat, by drinking the juice of the sugar cane in the season of grinding it'[357] – that is, not by drinking rum.

That Rush discussed the merits of temperance by 'leaving' Philadelphia and by pointing to the Atlantic realm and to Atlantic rum regions leads me to the point I am making here. The Atlantic was a continual spatial reference point in temperance's describing the perils of alcohol, producing – advocates held – the social malaise, disorder and confusion apparently seen in cities like Philadelphia. Writers after Rush, in elucidating this grand alcoholic order, were more explicit about Atlantic connections. An author writing under the name of Philadelphus complained that Americans' 'love of money' is most obviously seen in the 'encouragement given to the intemperate use of ardent

354 Rush was not alone; the yellow fever epidemic was brought up by others. Reverend A. Knowles of Boston brought up the yellow fever, and then moved to the War of 1812, which 'only' claimed five hundred lives in one year, a trifle sum compared to the ravages of drink. A. Knowles, Spiritous Liquors Pernicious and Useless (Boston: Publisher unknown, 1829), 9.

355 As J. C. Furnas has written, the 'doctrine that fermented drinks are the innocent sheep and spirits the noxious goats arose early as the sober-minded saw how spirits made men behave and concluded that wine, beer and so on were not only more familiar but probably safer.' This rightly emphasises those spatial logics of familiarity/unfamiliarity and proximity/distance that would have mattered to those pondering alcohol at the time. J. C. Furnas, The Life and Times of The Late Demon Rum (New York: Capricorn Books, 1973), 65.

356 ibid, 7.

357 ibid, 11.

spirits.'[358] Philadelphus pointed to those adventurers and slave traders who had laid 'waste the fields of Africa, by fire, sword, and every means which depravity could invent, in order to bind and enslave their fellow men.' These practices, – drinking ardent spirits and trading slaves – emphasised Philadelphus, 'proceeded from the same corrupt root, and is marked with traits as revolting to humanity as the former.'[359]

All this leads to the second point of this chapter. Just as imperial and capitalist ventures were powered by drink (by what I earlier called centrifugal forces), a corresponding (centripetal) effect was the creation of a world apparently defined by distilled alcohol. And a tributary of this alcoholic centrality, of this alcoholic order, was a clear 'drink problem.' By the mid-1700s, for instance, the so-called 'Gin Craze' hit London. Consumption of gin rose dramatically at this time – it has been estimated that in the period between 1700 and 1743, consumption of gin rose seven-fold; from one-third of a gallon per adult per year to 2.2 gallons (that is, from about 1.2 to 8 litres).[360] Worries surrounding intoxicated workers and drunk mothers circulated widely – worries of degeneration otherwise reserved for far-away and supposedly 'inferior' peoples.

And in like manner, with this proliferation of distilled spirits, Americans of the early Republic drank a lot. Reflecting the idea that heavy drinking had increased in conjunction with economic prosperity and Atlantic trade, prominent preacher and temperance orator Lyman Beecher characterised intemperance as 'the sin of our land, and with our boundless prosperity, [it] is coming in upon us like a flood.'[361] He thus here employed explicitly Biblical but also nautical and oceanic imagery. As this suggests, in order to frame this drinking into a problem, many antebellum temperance proponents frequently expressed themselves Atlantically. They associated the prevailing alcoholic order with particular circumstances wrought on by the Atlantic world. As such,

358 Philadelphus, The Moral Plague of Civil Society, 2.

359 ibid.

360 Jessica Warner, Craze: Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002), 3.

361 Lyman Beecher, 'The Nature and Occasions of Intemperance', Six Sermons on Intemperance (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1828), 7. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/66350990R.nlm.nih.gov/page/n5.

temperance discourse moved closely alongside those power- and affect-laden discourses surrounding similarity and difference that I mentioned earlier in this chapter; advocates of temperance used and appealed to Atlantic history and Atlantic connections in their wishing to archive the dangers of alcohol. In an 1828 temperance pamphlet, Herman Humphrey, a Connecticut-born Congregational pastor and educator, made pains to show the 'parallels,' material and metaphorical between the slave trade and intemperance.[362] Slavery made rum, rum made slaves. In assembling an Atlantic archive of alcoholic damages, temperance advocates hoped to persuade the world to improve. Just as their fathers had gradually come to understand the necessity for complete independence from the British, wrote temperance advocate Thomas Adams in 1829, so would temperance, bit-by-bit, convince the world of humanity's need for complete independence from alcohol. Eventually, to ensure improvement, Americans and humanity as a whole would have to 'declare entire independence'[363] from drink.

I will in the below divvy the temperance-derived spectre of Atlantic threats into three categories. All relate to aforementioned centrifugal and centripetal forces. These forces can be understood both literally and metaphorically, but – momentarily privileging the metaphorical level – it is worth recalling that a centrifugal thrust inherently contains an effect of marginalisation: something from the centre is flung out to the margins. In centripetal reaction, these margins return to centre. This marginalisation metaphor works in thinking about drink. While alcohol had long been a crucial commodity and agent in commerce and middle-ground encounters, it had always also abetted a kind of central 'power' – in the naïve sense of the term, as in 'someone gaining,' 'someone managing,' 'controlling.' Historian Rod Phillips has written that, 'In both Africa and North America European administrators and governments wrestled with the implications of drinking by … indigenous populations, and most applied prohibition policies to them well in advance of such policies being widely imposed on Europeans any-

362 Herman Humphrey, D. D., Parallel Between Intemperance and the Slave Trade. An Address Delivered at Amherst College, July 4, 1828 (Amherst: J. S. and C. Adams, Printers, 1828).

363 Adams, Emancipation from the tyranny of intemperance, 4.

where.'[364] Yet, viewed centrifugally, this 'power over' risks at any point returning, coming to haunt wherever the centre might be. Thus, typologies established during centrifugal marginalisation become useful in fixating and fixing the drinker, making drinkers into comprehensible and manageable types, open to reform.

ATLANTIC DEGENERATION

The first 'category' of Atlantic temperance thought: a pervasive theme in 'imagining' the problem of drink was that of *degeneration*. Many white Americans, when they were not busy fighting and inflicting violence on Native Americans, gazed at them with fascination. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the interest in antiquarianism growing around the colonies, New Englanders dug up old archaeological sites, restored or invented Indian toponyms, and erected statues of certain famous Native leaders.[365] Yet with this exoticisation and fascination was also an always-attendant discourse on Native drinking habits. The stereotype of the drunk and mean Native American gained national status in the first half of the nineteenth century, and this development should be read alongside the rise of temperance and public discourses surrounding drink.[366]

Drink, apparently, was so harmful to certain peoples – to the 'indigenous' – that when drunk, their bodies would shut down, their capacity to live and work would be lost, and they would wish for nothing but more drink. Indeed, many temperance advocates expressed the conviction that Native Americans' past demise was a direct result of their consumption of 'fire water.'[367] (The ironic fact of Europeans' having forced liquor onto many such populations was lost on some – but, as I will show later on, not on all.) The supposed indigenous obsession with intoxication had long been a trope; Benjamin Franklin recorded a Native orator proclaiming, 'The Great Spirit, who has made all

364 Phillips, Alcohol: A History, 216.

365 Halttunen, 'Transnationalism and American Studies in Place', 5-19.

366 Eric Burns, The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 73.

367 Elaine Frantz Parsons, Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 144.

things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he design'd any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said "Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with," and it must be so.' To this, Franklin added his own commentary: 'And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the east coast.'[368] Here, then, we notice two engagements with indigenous populations, and these dynamics hold true across many parts of the Atlantic. First, Franklin's text shows that while colonial attitudes towards drink were generally lax, drinking as a practice was nonetheless governed by an *order* – getting fully intoxicated verged on the taboo. Second, as in Franklin's account, drinking with the aim of getting intoxicated was deemed a Native practice, and one that had, in Franklin's reading, caused their demise.

Later advocates of temperance would, by contrast, point to the local American (and especially New England) origins of this alcoholic scourge by blaming American rum distillers and traders. A representative such attack on American distillers was issued by the *Journal of Temperance* in 1832:

> The distiller has been deceiving the public with his counterfeit currency; he has tempted them to believe his strong drink essential to their health and happiness, while ruinous to both; he has taken their money for what is worse than nothing; and you have furnished him with the means of doing it.[369]

368 Quoted in Foss, Rum: A Global History, 36. Franklin's sentiment reflects the imperial manoeuvre of 'turn[ing] conquest into governing,' of incorporating peoples into the empire by 'sustaining distinctions among them.' This, according to Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, can be seen in imperial histories from the nineteenth century especially. Earlier, we/they distinctions mattered less, when the cultivation of loyalty and establishment of peace were more frequently highlighted as imperial concerns. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, Empires in World History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 12.

369 'An Appeal, To those who furnish the distillers of the drunkard's drink with the materials necessary to the prosecution of their unhallowed occupation', Journal of Temperance, 1, 5 (May 25, 1832), 17.

In temperance thought, plainly, the distiller was one key cog in the system, one that required immediate removal; but the text's readers themselves, too, had 'furnished' the distiller with the means to do his damage; the alcoholic threat America faced was an order, one that demanded wholesale change. Nonetheless, in terms of how to deal with the purported problem of Native intoxication, the solution would have seemed clear to many temperance advocates: in the name of mutual protection, prevent the further spread of alcohol amongst Native populations, bar individuals from liquor-selling establishments, punish persons if caught. Establishing such us/them distinctions through drink wound up aiding the consolidation of Euro-American authority. Typical of his time, in 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall – the highest judge in the country, – characterised America's Native populations as if talking about a drunkard who had lost self-control. Native Americans, according to Marshall, were members of 'domestic dependent nations,' whose relation to the greater country resembled that of 'a ward to his guardian.'[370] Supporters of temperance also frequently reported that leaders of Native American groups wanted white Americans to take control over their affairs, to restrict their accessibility to drink, and to check their drinking habits. 'At a treaty held at Carlisle,' we read in one such temperance text,

> one of the chiefs of the Six Nations, speaking on behalf of all the Indians present, expressed himself to the following effect, *viz*. "The rum ruins us: we beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities, by regulating the traders. We never understood the trade was for whiskey. We desire it to be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country."[371]

Controlling the problem of Native American alcohol consumption, apparently, was comparatively straightforward, provided traders and regulators could understand the problem correctly. Such pleas, of course, had the poten-

370 Burbank and Cooper, Empires in World History, 263.

371 A Lover of Mankind, The Mighty Destroyer Displayed (Philadelphia: Joseph Cruikshank, 1774), 11-12.

tial of resonating with white racist logics; traders and regulators having to be reminded of their responsibility for helping supposedly subordinate peoples.

But a haunting hovered above: while Europeans and white Americans *generally* might be a 'superior' peoples – apparently stronger and more reasonable – a trope of the white sodden drunkard gained hold on the collective imaginary. Americans needed not look at other people or peoples to find degradation, wrote Thomas Trotter:

> Drunkenness has been called a vice of barbarous and uncivilized nations; for savages in the state of intoxication are like so many devils. But Christians have little reason to charge the Negro and Indian with the propensity to intoxication while it prevails so much among themselves.[372]

Yet that this drunkard's nose gradually turned red, or that his body turned black and filthy from sleeping on the streets, already suggested to contemporaries a dangerous, frightening prospect: what authors towards the latter half of the nineteenth century would come to call 'racial degeneration.' While by the nineteenth century fears about Indians gradually subsided (once most of these had been forcibly pushed westwards and once commercially-produced revolvers were made available to settlers[373]), racial fears about white 'descent' into 'Indianness' remained strong. Commentators worried that mere exposure to frontier wilderness would 'decivilise' the white settler.[374] Not least, this was evinced in the proliferation of whiskey and heavy drinking amongst settlers along the frontier.[375] And temperance narratives frequently portrayed

372 Trotter, An Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, 57-58.

373 John R. Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 6.

374 Michael L. Dorn, 'The Moral Topography of Intemperance', in Ruth Butler and Hester Parr (eds.), Mind and Body Spaces: Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 45-67.

375 Fears about Native Americans, stemming from colonial contact, were often imbued with alcohol – these would transform into the stereotype of the 'drunk Injun.' In Mary Rowlandson's famous captivity narrative, for instance, she relates that her captive master behaves erratically and raucously, – showing 'no civility' towards

drunkards' dejection in implicitly racial terms.[376] Yet they frequently made explicit the idea that Indians' downfall had come as a result of the alcoholic order – and that the drunkard would suffer a similar fate. Evoking terminology redolent of recent Native-American history, an 1831 report from the American Temperance Society opined that only 'when the present race of drunkards should be removed, the whole land might be free.'[377]

That this discourse on racial degeneration was centripetally-induced is evident in fears surrounding sailors. Frequently, commentators lamented the horrid conditions in harbours – liminoid places of intoxication and profligacy. And indeed, there is evidence to suggest that sailors disproportionately engaged in unruly behaviour, and that they were the main customers of prostitutes in eastern coastal cities.[378] From here, the sailor took to sea to make personal gains, serving centrifugal interests. But returning, he would bring along dangerous foreign elements – he would be filthy, tanned, tattooed, had course habits, spoke rough language, knew strange tongues, had subversive ideas, carried foreign diseases.[379] All signalled what centre must not become.

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her – and this because he has a tendency to get drunk. Mary Rowlandson, A Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings, and Removes, of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1856). The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/narrativeofcapti00rowl_0/page/n6.

376 Glenn Hendler, 'Bloated Bodies and Sober Sentiments: Masculinity in 1840s Temperance Narratives', in Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler (eds.), Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 132-133.

377 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, vol. 1, 7.

378 Timothy J. Gilfoyle, City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920 (New York and London: W.W. Norton Company, 1992), 26. 'Sexual promiscuity', writes C. P. B. Jefferys, 'was not uncommon' in the bustling colonial days of Newport. Jefferys, Newport: A Short History, 11.

379 Julie Peakman has written of similar centrifugal/centripetal dynamics, noting that increased European exploration, trade, and travel led to sexual interactions between different population groups. This caused (in part) new calls for self-control in colonies and metropoles alike, and condemnations of and attempts to reform 'native' sexualities. 'The development of imperialism gave rise to a new measure for deviancy. European colonialists, eager to create and maintain a distance between themselves and their conquered peoples, registered their own sexuality as wholesome, human and natural but classed native sexuality as abhorrent, bestial or somehow perverse.' Julie Peakman, Amatory Pleasures: Explorations in Eighteenth-Century Sexual Culture (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 7, 37.

Some temperance advocates complained that it was precisely European and American sailors, and their unquenchable thirst for profit, who spread intemperance across the globe. One anonymous author, writing as 'A Lover of Mankind,' pointed to an account – written by Captain Ellis – regarding the Natives at Hudson Bay, which, the author claimed, displayed the 'undoubted truth' that a large reason for Natives' desperate status was the result of European misdoings:

> That the natives on the very cold coast, of that Bay, to whom the French are kinder than to sell distilled spirituous liquors, are tall, hardy, robust and active; whereas those of them that are supplied with drams from the English, are a meagre, dwarfish, indolent people, hardly equal to the severity of the country, and subject to many disorders.[380]

Again, temperance appeals were here connected to injunctions pertaining to white control and protection of subjugated Atlantic peoples. Commenting on rising tensions in China in 1832 (tensions which would climax in the Opium war), the *Journal of Temperance* noted sardonically that the war was being waged 'to maintain due dignity, free trade and sailors' rights; that is, the dignity and right of Christian grog-drinking in Canton! All this process is puffed in the newspapers, and paid for, by the good people of England and America, as matters most important and necessary, and movements most grand and glorious!'[381] This connection between drink and sailors, too, can be seen in temperance fiction and poetry, much of which features nautical scenes. Instructing the reader on how to escape the horrors of alcohol abuse, W. M. Murrell – a writer and self-described 'reformed cruiser' – imagined drink as an ocean:

> I found while cruising Alcoholic seas,
> In such a seafare there is no rest or ease;

380 A Lover of Mankind, The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, 7.

381 'Temperance Reform in China', Journal of Temperance 1, 18 (Nov. 23, 1832), 70.

But with misery, oppression, crime and strife,
Is such servile service most amply rife.
To tell the anguish that abounds therein,
The language of my tongue cannot begin.
But 'list unto me and I will here explain,
The course to steer by which you will gain
In safety the blest Port of Happiness,
Where raging storms will never more distress;
But where your barque is firmly moor'd.

Like other temperance advocates, Murrell evidently conceived of drink as a spatial problem, with necessarily spatial solutions. For readers to find a way out of these Alcoholic seas, Murrell suggests they turn around and navigate towards temperance, towards the Washingtonian Straits (a reference to the so-called Washingtonian movement of temperance, popular in the 1840s):

In Washingtonian Straits, here to recruit supplies
Of mental stores, you can anchor for a while,
And here all with happiness doth seem to smile,
And pilots kind are here to guide your way,
Who for their information make no pay.[382]

Charting the course of a drink and appealing to racial logics – to fears and accusations of racial degeneration – temperance reformers could *express* the threat of the reigning alcoholic order while also eliciting solutions to such alcoholic threats. Again pivoting towards the Atlantic, an article in the *Journal of Temperance* noted happily that the American colony of Liberia was making strides to establish a fully-temperate country:

382 W. M. Murell, 'Map on Temperance' (Boston: Howe's Sheet Anchor Press, 1846). Available via Cornell University Digital Collections, https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:3293739.

> The best moral means are now at work in Liberia to promote Temperance; heavy duties are imposed upon ardent spirits imported, and on retailing, so as to amount to a prohibition. The settlers are represented as almost universally sober men, and the Society, it is believed, has neglected no practicable means of discountenancing and checking intemperance.[383]

Here were freed slaves, in other words, taking control of their lives and actively improving themselves and their surroundings by fending off the alcoholic order. As this example shows, another central function of the Atlantic proved to be in comparing conditions in various Atlantic locations.

ATLANTIC COMPARISONS

To demonstrate the ills of alcohol, temperance advocates frequently brought up and compared social conditions at various spots around the Atlantic,[384] frequently evoking the system of Atlantic slavery in order to express the threat of alcohol and to convey its true gravity. America's very survival required temperance, wrote one temperance author, because a full embrace of temperance would save 'tens of thousands … from a bondage, compared with which the chains upon the poor African are perfect liberty; for the drunkard's bondage is that of the mind, and "the iron has entered his soul."'[385]

383 'Temperance in Liberia', Journal of Temperance 1, 12 (Aug. 31, 1832), 47.

384 Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra et al. have suggested that while studies of Atlantic slavery have tended to focus on the 'plantation complex,' Atlantic cities, and the comparisons these allowed, may be a better place to find the emergence of an Atlantic world. 'Atlantic port cities in the era of the slave trade became sites of cultural incubation, bringing together peoples of different African and European identities and creating conditions in which they lived, worked, worshipped, fought, and died in close proximity. It was in these cities that the complex and contentious collision of the peoples of Africa, America, and Europe who created the Atlantic World were most intense and persistent.' Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs and James Sidbury (eds.), The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 17.

385 'Temperance in New York', Journal of Temperance 1, 4 (May 11, 1832), 15.

Historian Elaine Frantz Parsons has written that the 'intense interest' of temperance advocates 'in the fate of the American Indians was matched, perhaps even exceeded, by their interest in the contemporary liquor trade in Africa.'[386] And the drunkard was frequently portrayed in these above terms, as a slave.[387] By the mid-1800s, this idea was so commonplace and so oft-repeated that publications like *The National Temperance Magazine* could matter-of-factly, and without explanation, write of the founders of the Washingtonian movement of temperance advocacy, explain as 'long … slaves to a debased appetite.'[388] Others felt compelled to explicate such comparisons. For instance, temperance author and activist Eliza B. Runnels wrote that, '[w]hile the intemperate man boasts of his freedom, he is a degraded slave to the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life.'[389] Dr. Hewitt, an American temperance advocate and minister, described what he had seen on a recent trip to Spitalfields in London in the year 1832:

> The [people] were fully as degraded and ignorant and stupid as the Southern slaves. … Of this class were the Spitalfields weavers, in London, 80,000 in number, who were precisely like our slaves, except in color. They had the appearance of savages or barbarians; and it was thought impossible to raise them from this degredation [sic]. Among these a Temperance Society was formed, which was joined by 6 or 700, who were generally found to adhere strictly to its rules. … Marks of both civilization and of barbarism might be seen in many

386 Parsons, Manhood Lost, 146.

387 The politics of these comparative portrayals appear to modern eyes often questionable, and can with sense be compared to the dehumanising rhetoric and tactics used to describe and control the drinking habits of Native Americans in the previous section. Perhaps there is always something immanently unjust in making metaphors, in drawing up comparisons, in the supplanting of one thing for another. Forwarding this claim, José Ortega y Gasset wrote that 'metaphor is the most radical instrument of dehumanization.' José Ortega y Gasset, 'The Dehumanization of Art', in José Ortega y Gasset Velázquez, Goya and the Dehumanization of Art (London: Studio Vista, 1972) 76.

388 T. M. Coleman, 'The Broken Contract', The National Temperance Magazine 1, 4 (October, 1850), 113.

389 Runnels, America Is Not Free, 29.

> countenances, struggling as it were to decide which should maintain the mastery.'[390]

In much the same way that Engels had described conditions in Manchester, Hewitt characterised the poor of London as slaves and suggested that temperance reform would have to amount to a battle between civilisation and savagery, between freedom and slavery. Other writers voiced similar sentiments. The same year that Dr. Hewitt visited Spitalfields, *The Poor Man's Guardian* – a London-based newspaper – offered a topographical description of the same district, one giving the reader an impression of an exotic settlement, even a frontier village. He described the area in the following terms: 'The low houses are all huddled together in close and dark lanes and alleys, presenting at first sight an appearance of non-habitation, so dilapidated are the doors and windows:- in every room of the houses, whole families, parents, children and aged grandfathers swarm together.'[391]

In America, too, this looming prospect of invasive degeneration was expressed: American coastal towns, writers argued, were becoming increasingly filthy, run-down, and wretched. And frequently such degeneration was evidently about race, framed Atlantically. Wrote one French commentator, about America's urban poor:

> Savages alone take to drink with the fervor displayed by the most degraded part of the poor classes, like the Negro on Africa's coast, who sells his children and himself for a bottle of spirits. … To the savage, intoxication is supreme felicity; to the destitute of the great cities it is an invincible passion, an indulgence which they cannot do without.[392]

390 'Dr. Hewitt's Address', Journal of Temperance, Vol. 1, 7 (Jun. 22, 1832), 36.

391 Quoted in Frederick Burwick, British Drama of the Industrial Revolution (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 130.

392 Quoted in Louis Chevalier, Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 360.

William Caruthers, a young physician and aspiring author from Virginia, wrote in 1834 of the inhabitants of Manhattan's notorious Five Points neighbourhood – 'all of them of the very lowest class of drunken debauchees' – in similar ways: 'They are far more filthy, degraded, and wretched than any slave I have ever beheld, under the most cruel and tyrannical master [viz. alcohol].'[393] Lyman Beecher would likely have agreed, as evinced in his writing that, 'in some districts of the land, … [d]runkards reel through the streets, day after day, and year after year, with entire impunity.'[394] This comparative Atlantic lens, in other words, combined various spaces – foreign, urban, slave-related – into a threatening blend, and decried their present or impending arrival onto domestic soil. In a similar vein, Benjamin Rush worried that Americans were on the verge of 'degenerating into savages or devouring each other like beasts of prey.'[395]

Some temperance tales compared not only American drunkards to slaves but adduced instead that entire villages and families had descended into slavery. 'Mike Smiley,' a short story by a temperance advocate writing under the name of Father Frank, entailed the following description, highly suggestive of slavery, of an American village composed entirely of drunkards: 'their fields … might have been, if properly cared for, as rich and fruitful as any on the banks of their noble river. [And] their wives, … were little better than slaves, leading a miserable, half-starved, comfortless life, in the midst of a land flowing with milk and honey.'[396] This threat of drink and of degeneration, obviously, needed to be checked lest it spread.

Yet many temperance advocates emphasised that drunkards themselves were not solely to blame for their degradation; the alcoholic order which enabled this

393 William Alexander Caruthers, The Kentuckian in New-York, Volume II (New York: Harper Brothers, 1834), 27-28. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/kentuckianinnewy02carurich/page/n3.

394 Lyman Beecher, 'A Reformation of Morals Practicable and Indispensable', in Lyman Beecher, Sermons Delivered on Various Occasions (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1828), 90. Available via Hathi Trust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044072040108&view=1up&seq=1.

395 Wood, Empire of Liberty, 14.

396 Father Frank, 'Mike Smiley', in A Son of Temperance (ed.), The Fountain and the Bottle; Comprising Thrilling Examples of the Opposite Effects of Temperance and Intemperance (Boston: Horace Wentworth, 1852), 32-33.

misery and savagery was to blame; distilling was to blame; the trade with Caribbean sugarcane plantations was to blame; chattel slavery was to blame; profit motives were to blame; and so on. One author charged that, because there was so much profit in the business of booze, many people – however unwillingly or even unknowingly – participated in and contributed to the maintenance and continuance of alcoholic order. These people might include farmers who 'lay [their] fields, and orchards […] and store-houses under contribution to the distillery,' as well as those 'West India traders [who] consign whole cargoes of molasses to these establishment, to be converted into poison.'[397]

Thus, in this comparative degeneration rhetoric, to be drunk, – to want to get drunk, – was portrayed as dangerously beyond the realms of civility, but all was not lost. Temperance would effect change. The distiller would be called upon to destroy his factory: this 'is as reasonable as that the counterfeiter should be required to give up his tools, or the slave-dealer his cargo.'[398] And the very same author who (as quoted earlier) complained that Americans in the 'tens of thousands' were 'enslaved' by drink, also wrote that, before the temperance movement began, 'the plague of intemperance was in all the land: it was fast coming up into all our dwellings; we were emphatically a nation of drunkards.'[399] But with temperance, a brighter future loomed at the horizon. If Americans could only come to see the alcoholic order with reasoned eyes, this order would begin to crumble. Yet change would not be easily achieved, for the alcoholic order had blinded people, had caused a forgetting, had given cause to unreason.

ATLANTIC INVASIONS

Third, then, was another affective appeal – that drink made persons lose their sense, that it gave them an uncontrollable passion, and induced dangerous desires. And, that this condition risked spreading to the body politic. A response followed: an appeal to relocate one's groundings, to again become level, orderly. The Atlantic proved another core frame. And here, we notice

397 'An Appeal, To those who furnish the distillers …', 17.

398 'A Letter to a manufacturer of ardent spirits', 7.

399 ibid. Notably, the plague was (and is) a disease classically seen as seaborne. In turn, scourge of alcohol was frequently referred to as a plague.

a perhaps unexpected self-critique. For in this narrative, alcohol was but a symptom of much greater problems: the connected world caused dangerous caroming. So temperance advocates could see drunkenness as, first, a disease of the stomach and mind, infectiously spreading. But to see the future one had to look towards Europe and Africa. Hewitt's eyewitness accounts from London reported on diseases being ubiquitous, with drunken murderers roamed the streets, even harvesting innocent people's organs for profit.[400] And clergymen there, so corrupted now, did nothing in protest. And in Africa, only temperance could halt alcohol's continued proliferation and stop society's ensuing degeneration; thankfully, wrote one article in the *Journal of Temperance* in 1832, the temperance message was finally reaching and beginning to spread 'among the Indians of the North and West, [and] … even on the barbarous coast of Africa.'[401]

Yet even as temperance advocates kept their eyes on conditions elsewhere, and warned of alcohol's further invasion into American life, many nonetheless held that Americans themselves – not Europeans, not Africans, nor anyone else – were fundamentally to blame for the world's alcoholic order. Temperance advocates frequently pointed to the marketplace and to the exploitation of the Atlantic world as America's original sin. 'Love of money,' wrote one, has 'ever been the bane of social order, and destructive of the best interests of society.' The 'maxim of worldly men,' he wrote, is, 'Get money honestly if you can, but at any rate get money.'[402] Two worldly types embodied this dangerous capitalist spirit: The slaveholder and liquor trafficker – two types, preying on humanity for self-gain. Describing liquor traders, temperance vocabulary often resembled that of descriptions of slavery: one temperance commentator complained about 'West India traders [who] consign whole cargoes of molasses to [distilleries], to be converted into poison'; another, that liquor 'traders and manufacturers fattened on the spoils and misfortunes of their fellow men.'[403] The former continued: 'The consequences of [the liquor trade]

400 'Dr. Hewitt's Address', 26.

401 'The movement in favor of temperance', Journal of Temperance 1, 1 (March 16, 1832), 4.

402 Philadelphus, The Moral Plague of Civil Society, 2.

403 'An Appeal, To those who furnish the distillers …', 16; Philadelphus, The Moral Plague of Civil Society, 2.

have been no less cruel and distressing than that of the slave trade. It tears men away from all the endearments of home, and deprives their country of their services; it loads them with chains of servitude, the most degrading; and causes them to drag out the brief remnant of their days in misery.'[404]

Such ideas resonated in a country and context of increasing criticism regarding the institution of slavery.[405] And so, explicating these Atlantic links, temperance could be at once chauvinistic and xenophobic, and highly self-critical, even anti-capitalist. Evidently, as did persons, the marketplace faced this continuous haunting: capitalism making its own problems, necessitating re-ordering mechanisms. Still, many firmly believed that re-ordering would improve everything. Thus could Frederick Douglass, quoted at the top of this chapter, be so optimistic about the future, hoping that slavery would end if mankind would sober up. Similarly, long before becoming known as 'the Emancipator,' Abraham Lincoln would vocally support temperance. During an 1842 speech before a temperance society, Lincoln compared the American Revolution to the 'temperance revolution,' exclaiming that in the latter, 'we shall find a stronger bondage broken; a viler slavery, manumitted; a greater tyrant deposed. In it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged.'[406] Links to southern or global slavery would be left unsaid; that same year, Lincoln would marry Mary Todd, the daughter of a slave owner.[407]

This gradual inward gaze as described in the above leads to my next chapter, in which I discuss temperance engagements with the space of the 'country.' The 'country' is a shorthand that I use to designate temperance engagements with alcohol's role in America's national history as well as with alcohol's place in American settings: in villages and towns and in expanding urban centres.

404 'An Appeal', 16.

405 The abolitionist publication The Liberator was first published in 1831, marking a radical turn towards 'immediatism' (viz. a call to immediately free America's slaves). In that same decade temperance radicalised, coming to mean 'teetotalism' (viz. abstinence from all alcohol).

406 Abraham Lincoln, 'Temperance Address', Springfield, Illinois, February 22, 1842. Abraham Lincoln Online, http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/temperance.htm.

407 Lincoln began to systematically criticise what he termed the 'Slaveocracy' as late as 1854.

CHAPTER FIVE. THE COUNTRY: MAPPING, IDEOLOGY, HISTORY

> A people corrupted by strong drink cannot long be a *free* people.
> – Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations, Volume II* (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1793), 80.

> What a creature is man! he thinks he is wise; he thinks he is of consequence; he thinks he can devise, and act, and do wonders; yet every day's experience teaches that the force of circumstance whirls him about in a perpetual vortex, against which he can offer little resistance.
> – J. N. I. M. Cowen, *The First and Last Days of Alcohol the Great* (Providence: Bt. Albro, 1848), 30.

IDEOLOGY: A SPIRITUAL BOOZE

In the previous chapter I suggested that the development of an Atlantic world was intimately linked with Atlantic alcohol flows. Too, I showed that a significant task in temperance thinking included the identification, historicisation, and scrutiny of such alcoholic connections, ones which enabled temperance advocates to pronounce alcoholic order. This (Atlantic) alcoholic order enabled temperance advocates to frame alcohol into a menacing substance, in large part because images of the Atlantic could furnish the emergence of a multipronged yet focused threat: one of degeneration, subjugation, and invasion.

The Atlantic did not, of course, provide the only spatial points of reference pertinent to antebellum temperance. Interconnected spaces within the United States also provided important scaffolding for temperance thinking – in part because, as influential drugs historian David Musto once observed, '[t]he young American ship of state floated on a sea of distilled spirits.'[408] This

408 David F. Musto, 'Alcohol in American History', Scientific American 274, 4 (April 1996), 78.

chapter, using the shorthand concept of 'the country,' charts temperance engagements with spaces interior to the United States. I argue that through engagements with country, temperance advocates were able to more succinctly pronounce the immediate threats posed by alcoholic order. Namely, through various discussions of alcohol's present and historical role within the country of the United States, advocates could issue a critique of prevailing ideology and locate a reigning alcohol-induced alienation suffered by contemporary Americans.

Advocates of temperance warned that, despite the obvious facts and in spite of common experience laying forth the dangers of alcohol, contemporary Americans could regard alcohol only through a darkened, muddied lens. For instance, the temperance advocate and proponent of vegetarianism Russel Thatcher Trall lamented that, in spite of 'science, history and experience' clearly showing the damages alcohol has wrought, – and in spite of the 'innumerable spectacles of wo … and all the blackening train of vice, and crime, beggary, devastation and undistinguished ruin, that follows in the wake of … dram-drinking,'[409] – the American public remained dangerously oblivious to the perils of intemperance. Echoing the final lament of Jesus, Trall complained: '*Alas! they know not what they do!*'[410] As is clear from this employment of Christian references, much of this temperance-related critique of dominant ideology can usefully be understood as being embedded in Christian convention. After all, the idea that our earthly experiences are somehow illusory, that there is more to life and to existence than what appears before us, forms a *leitmotif* in much of Biblical teaching. The Gospel of Matthew, for instance, warns us that ideas we have about the world and about reality might, upon closer inspection, prove false: 'If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!'[411] The Gospel of Luke *reflects* similar imagery: 'Take heed therefore that the light which is

409 Russell Thatcher Trall, M. D., 'The Philosophy of the Temperance Reformation, Or The Relations of Alchohol and the Human Organism, Chemically, Physiologically, and Psychologically, Considered' (General Temperance Council of the City of New-York, 1845), 1.

410 ibid.

411 Mt. 6:3. cf. King James Bible Online, https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/.

in thee be not darkness.'[412] In the First Corinthians, we read that humanity sees as if 'through a glass, darkly.'[413]

Yet in many ways, temperance advocates moved beyond this Christian tradition and this focus on false morals. This was particularly evident in advocates' critiques of conditions in the country, which frequently also formed critiques of prevailing material conditions and attendant ideologies in the United States. Today such a materialist view of ideology is intimately linked with Marxism where it, in fact, largely began as a critique of religion. In *The German Ideology*, their posthumously-published text on materialism and ideology written in 1846, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels forwarded that mankind's understanding of the world has been akin to a view afforded by a camera obscura, that is, indirectly reflected and turned upside-down. They maintained that, 'in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down'[414]; and, Marx held elsewhere, humanity's upside-down and askew view of the world has come largely as a result of religion. Religion, according to Marx, was humanity's 'universal basis of consolation and justification.' Continuing, he famously declared: 'Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people.'[415] Through a discussion of religion, then, Marx arrived at a concept and critique of ideology; and ideology has in Marxist circles ever since been regarded as a 'distorted or illusory form of thought which departs from a criterion of objectivity.'[416] The function and effect of religion and ideology, Marx posited, was to estrange persons from themselves, with the effect of humanity losing sight of the actually-prevailing material conditions of the world. Literary scholar David Macey has written of Marx's ideological conception, that '[t]he existence of ideology must be explained as originating in

412 Lk. 11:35. cf. ibid.

413 1 Cor. 13:12. cf. ibid. Pastor J. Maltby of Bangor, Maine, in a temperance lecture declared that a resistance against temperance should be expected, 'in a world where we see as through a glass darkly.' Maltby, A Discourse, 3.

414 Quoted in 'Ideology', Williams, Keywords.

415 Karl Marx (ed. J. O'Malley), A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970 [1843]). Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm.

416 'Ideology', in David Macey, Dictionary of Critical Theory (London: Penguin Reference, 2001).

material practice, meaning the sum of the productive forces, capital and social forms of existence.'[417] In this vein Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser could posit his famous double thesis on ideology: first, that ideology 'represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence'; and second, that it 'has a material existence.'[418]

The result of ideology, to much traditional Marxist thought, is two-fold: it causes, first, a *false consciousness* in people: 'a misperception of reality, or of one's relationship to the world of which one is part.'[419] And this false consciousness is both the result of and an expression of capitalism-induced *alienation* – which, in philosopher Rahel Jaeggi's words, 'is a relation of relationlessness.'[420] To Marx, this alienation is a direct result of the history of labour, a history 'in which man creates himself by creating his world'[421] – that is to say: how people relate to their existence and to their surroundings will always and necessarily be mediated through the reigning modes of production.[422] Hence to Marx, religion and dominant ideology form an 'opium *of* the people' – that is, a way for people to accept and ease the suffering of life, a suffering caused by objective conditions in the marketplace. Later commentators shifted focus to instead regard religion and dominant ideology not as opium *of* but as opium *for* the people – that is, they came to regard religion as a way for the hegemonic class to enshrine its domination and power over the masses and over the proletariat.[423] Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin articulated this latter view, in his writing: 'Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of

417 ibid.

418 Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards and Investigation)', in Slavoj Žižek (ed.), Mapping Ideology (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 123, 125.

419 'False consciousness', in McLean and McMillan, Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics.

420 Rahel Jaeggi, Alienation (Columbia University Press, 2014), 1.

421 This idea was first expressed by Marx in Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts (1844). The above English paraphrasing is from 'Alienation', Williams, Keywords.

422 Alienation has been a core feature of Marxist thought, but has also proved a 'central concept' in sociology more generally. cf. 'Alienation', J. A. Cuddon, A Dictionary of Literary Terms (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

423 I was drawn to making this useful distinction by a reading of footnote number eleven in Charlotte Fridolfsson, Elias Isaksson, Daniel Strand, Per-Anders Svärd and Johan Örestig, 'Ideologi i makt och motstånd', Fronesis 52-53 (2015), 8-21.

spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man.'[424]

Temperance advocates voiced variants of both Marxian and Leninist conceptions of ideology. Yet while 'opium' and 'booze' in the writings of Marx and Lenin largely retained the status of metaphor, within temperance thought this focus on substances attained primacy. Thus, while for Marx religion functioned as a satiating opium *of* the people, in temperance, on the other hand, alcohol was the *opium* of the people. With drink, argued temperance advocates, came always an ideology, one that estranged people from themselves and from their world. Alcohol produced a drunken stupor – and not merely a temporary one: this stupor, conditioned on and caused by material infrastructures and economic flows related to alcohol, defined the world.

In traditional Marxist thought, ideology forms an *illusion* of reality but critique of ideology can, – if properly directed – reach an *allusion* of reality. In other words, provided that critique is able to properly gauge the mechanisms and effects of ideology, it is hoped that a way out of ideology might be pronounced.[425] Advancing similar logics, temperance proponents set out to expose the ideology governed by alcoholic order and to reveal the false consciousness and alienation under which Americans suffered, by critiquing and ultimately (ideally) dismantling this stupor.[426] Like seamen voyaging on the Atlantic, temperance advocates saw themselves as navigators: the ship of state had to be steered to safer waters. I continue this chapter by first discussing this project of temperance navigation, after which I lay out temperance accounts of ideology from the vantage point of both opium *of* and opium *for*, the critical distinction mentioned above.

424 Vladimir Lenin, 'Socialism and Religion (1905)', Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1905/dec/03.htm.

425 Or, to paraphrase Walter Benjamin's famous analogy, Marxists have long hoped that if they could but study the mechanics of the 'chess automaton' hard enough, they would eventually find the 'hunchbacked dwarf' inside the machine, the one steering the pieces with his strings. Walter Benjamin, 'On the Concept of History', Marxist Internet Archive, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm.

426 Louis Althusser famously argued that this logic of illusion vs. allusion is a basic tenet of traditional Marxist thought. cf. Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses'.

TEMPERANCE NAVIGATION; OR, HOW SHALL I FIND MY WAY ABOUT?

> And now, what art thou, man! Reason has deserted the helm, and your rudder is lost, and you have not even an anchor of hope to support you; for alas! you know not what you do. Awake, then, ye inhabitants of the earth, awake from your lethargy; let not the snore of intoxication be heard in your dwellings.
> – The Seaman's Friend (Hannah Mather Crocker), *The School of Reform, or Seaman's Safe Pilot to the Cape of Good Hope* (Boston: John Eliot, 1816), 6-7.

'Public houses,' wrote Charles Dickens, 'are the great landmarks' of England. Scattered about all throughout the country, these taverns – and especially their signs and symbols – functioned not only as resting places but as national icons and, indeed, as geographical signposts. And, Dickens continued, pondering how strange it would be when temperance prevails, when all tavern signs are gone, the pedestrian left asking, 'how *shall* I find my way about?'[427] Thus taverns, to Dickens, constituted spatial anchors, ones that – like maps – helped persons navigate their way through the land. And taverns were not simply important geographical markers; Dickens' query suggests something more profound than he might have appreciated: drink is frequently tied to, and helps co-define land, location, and societal trajectory.[428] In early-Republic America, this connection between land, country, and drink was sometimes explicitly and consciously stated. For instance, a technical manual on distilling published in Philadelphia in 1813 noted that the 1807 rum embargo imposed onto the American economy by the British was ultimate proof that American distillers needed to turn inward – Americans distillers' and consumers' dependency on rum and the Atlantic sugar trade had to end.

427 Charles Dickens, 'Topography and Temperance' in Household Words (Leipzig: Bernh. Tauchnitz Jun, 1850), 227.

428 A growing body of literature within geography has come to appreciate this interrelation between alcohol and other drugs and the shaping of space and place. cf. Christopher M. Moreno and Robert Wilton (eds.), Using Space: Critical Geographies of Drugs and Alcohol (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).

Thinking spatially, the manual urged readers to consider the connections between distilling, nation, and sovereignty: 'The French have their brandy; the Hollanders have their gin; the Irish their whiskey, and the English their porter, then why should not the Americans have also their national beverage!'[429] Thus with temperance gaining traction in England, a country also apparently defined by drink, Dickens could equally have asked, 'where are we going?' or, 'what is this *we* going somewhere?'

Long before Dickens, Samuel Pepys – a seventeenth-century civilian officer of the Royal Navy – in his diary effectively characterised taverns and liquor as the heart that kept London (and especially its seafaring merchant class) running.[430] Precisely this notion, that taverns and drink were somehow constitutive to modern existence, formed a foundation of many temperance critiques of contemporary life. While temperance advocates would have agreed with Dickens' writing that taverns defined modern life, unlike Dickens, their agreement would take the form of lament; temperance and sobriety, not taverns and alcohol, should be the forces navigating modern life. [The sad thing about taverns and drink was precisely that they posessed this power of guidance and dictation that Dickens identified. And this power – this drink's forming an opium of the people – led people to lose their place and capacity for navigation, as evinced in an oft-repeated temperance joke: A man has to commit one of three offences: theft, murder, or drunkenness. Figuring that drink is the least sinful of the three, he takes to the bottle, winds up getting drunk, and – entirely unprompted – commits the two other offences.[431]

429 Harrison Hall, Hall's Distiller (Philadelphia: John Biore, 1813), 15.

430 Many editions of Pepys' diary exist. For an online version, cf. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, https://www.pepysdiary.com/.

431 The Temperance Text-Book, 26. This joke appears in numerous other sources; sometimes place is specified and more detail is given about the persons involved. In The Drunkard's Looking Glass by M. L. Weems, the joke's setup takes the form of the Devil offering a Spanish monk a Faustian bargain: he promises to make the monk into an archbishop, provided the latter commits one of these offences. Having finished the joke, the author points out that this story should be understood as universal, not specific: 'Now whether this tragedy was acted in Spain or in Japan; by a friar or by a fiddler, it makes no odds to us. … I have no manner of doubt that it has happened a thousand and a thousand times in different forms and in different places.' M. L. Weems. The Drunkard's Looking Glass (Printed for the author, 1818), 3.

This joke circulated in the United States in the 1830s and it shows nicely the chaos that temperance advocates believed emanated directly from drink. And this was an idea grounded on apparent and lived fact: transgression, crime, and drink were intrinsically linked in the minds of early-nineteenth century reformers. Numerous writers claimed that all but few murders were committed with the assailant under the influence of drink. And as the joke also suggests, alcohol's evil lay in its inducing a loss of control, inducing a chaotic caroming, all leading to other vices. Because of alcohol, persons forgot or lost their place, – their grounding – and they frantically moved around, committing grave sins in search of more drink. And, temperance advocates continued, this was not just the case with individuals: the centrality of drink in modern existence had caused the whole country to lose its way. And all this while Americans (as does the joke's protagonist) continued to see alcohol as an effectively harmless substance, one that traditionally was believed to help the sick, relieve the overworked, ease business negotiations, and more. Temperance had to liberate Americans from precisely such grave misperceptions.

While the aforementioned distillers' manual from 1813 could still talk about alcohol in terms of national pride and advancement, only two decades later, the belief in alcoholic destruction had become widely accepted. It would, indeed, become so widespread that even *The Panorama of Professions and Trades* – a professional manual from 1837 – could at once offer instructions and advice on the craft of distilling while also warning of the societal harms caused by this distilling. The manual observed that, 'the opinion is becoming general, among all civilized people, that the use of alcohol, for this [intoxicating] purpose, is destructive to health, and the primary cause of most of the crimes and pauperism, in all places where it is common.' How had these alcoholic damages become so evident? Knowledge of alcohol's danger was, says the manual, all thanks to the 'formation of Temperance Societies, and the publication of their reports, with the extensive circulation of periodical papers, devoted to the cause of temperance'; temperance efforts 'have already diminished, to a very great extent, the use of spirituous liquors.'[432] Where the 1813 manual could hope for a national alcoholic beverage, the

432 Edward Hazen, The Panorama of Professions and Trades, Or, Every Man's Book (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1837), 35.

manual from 1837 hoped for an improved, sober nation. Temperance's historical role would lie in mapping alcoholic order, and navigating the country into its sober future.

Image 4: The lands of Temperance and Intemperance. C. Wiltberger, Jr., 'Temperance Map' (1838). Out of copyright. Cornell University. Digital Collections, https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:8245858.

It is in the Ocean of Animal Appetite that we begin to realise that we have lost control of ship. We try fruitlessly to steer when a western gale sweeps us up and throws our ship into Rum & Sugar Inlet. From there we end up at the relative calm of Moderation or Temperate Drinking Sound, where we think we have regained control of our vessel, but our prow suddenly turns starboard and we enter the Sea of Intemperance, through Devil's Trap. Not open ocean, the currents and winds at the Sea of Intemperance are nonetheless too rough for our ship to handle. We barely escape capsizing as the current takes us past Poverty Island and Abject Place, where we set for a while.

From there, we are able to see the Territory of Indulgence, and we think we have even spotted the Tee Total Railroad, that new infrastructure that could take us on an express journey to the Land of Self Denial. We try our best to change our course and head to those shores, but the waters below seem to want us elsewhere: we swoop past Quarrel Island, then enter Liquid Fire River, sail past the Land of False Comfort and False Hopes, towards Don't Care Point, when we finally turn starboard and enter – through Raging River – Rum Lake. This is where we anchor for the moment, having become intemperate rum drinkers.

I am describing a possible journey allowed by the 'Temperance Map' (pictured) drawn by C. Wiltberger. It aptly displays the navigation efforts made by temperance advocates, and lays forth the stakes involved in the struggle for sobriety: we see the Demarcation Mountains between the provinces of Industry, Improvement, Prosperity, and Enjoyment in the Land of Self-Denial, and the provinces of False Security, False Pleasure, False Comfort, and so on, in the Land of Inebriation.[433] Between these territories lies a vast inner sea, the Sea of Intemperance, which in turn contains Murder Island, Quarrel Island, and Groggy Harbor. The map, in other words, puts before us the manichean terms around which the temperance struggle formed. And it shows, too, the effort and work it would take to reach those more temperate regions. That one of the inlets into the Sea of Intemperance is called Rum & Sugar Inlet again suggests temperance's Atlantic imagination, but the railroad – sign of modernity, sign of future sobriety – promises a new form of possible escape.[434] If modernity could but embrace temperance, the map seems to say, perhaps all the land would change. Wiltberger's was not the only allegorical temperance map in circulation.[435] What these all

433 For Wittberger, we might say that the map is the territory. This in contrast to Alfred Korzybski's famous declaration that 'A map is not the territory it represents.' Alfred Korzybski, Science and Sanity (Lancaster, Penn., and New York: International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Company, 1933), 58.

434 As Alen Trachtenberg has written, '[n]othing else in the nineteenth century seemed as vivid and dramatic a sign of modernity as the railroad.' Alen Trachtenberg, 'Foreword', in Schivelbusch, The Railway, xiii.

435 Others can be found via 'Persuasive Maps', Digital Collections, Cornell University Library, https://persuasivemaps.library.cornell.edu/. The nineteenth-century popularity of maps-as-representation was in large part related to developments I discussed in Chapter Three. Aside from archival pursuits, the production of

have in common is their visualising the obstacles placed onto a person – and onto a country – by alcoholic order. People are thrown onto the Land of False Comfort and, if they find no way of escape, risk ending up on Mania Potu Island. As geographer Boris Michel has argued, these maps – in making the temperance struggle appear at once personal and imposing – would have served to effectively show contemporaries the perils against which the country was faced.[436]

Temperance had to steer Americans out of these dangerous lands. A new spirit was required, wrote *The National Temperance Magazine*, 'a spirit that will be content to labor and suffer, practice self-denial, and not yield while there is a distillery, or a grog-shop, or a drunkard, to curse the earth.'[437] Yet why had not all Americans travelled already to the land of temperance? Because, these maps appear to argue, the currents at the Sea of Intemperance were simply too strong, the Demarcation Mountains too high. The alcoholic order, as it were, had laid a mist before people's eyes. About this sorrowful obstructed view, temperance advocate and minister John Marsh impelled Americans to try to see again:

> Look, my countrymen, at the ravages of the monster Intemperance. Fix your eye on its waste of property. It has annually despoiled our nation, at the lowest calculation, of one hundred millions of dollars; of thirty millions for an article which is nothing worth, and seventy or eighty millions more to compensate for the mischiefs that article has done; money enough to accomplish all that the warmest patriot could wish to do for his country.[438]

commercial maps also relied on mechanised and industrial-scale paper making: 'steam-powered production of plentiful quantities of inexpensive paper, and the steam-powered printing press developed in the same period.' Jeremy Black, Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 49.

436 Michel Frank, 'Mapping Alcohol and Urban Vice in the 19th Century', Narcotic City Archive, https://narcotic-archive.org/s/archive/page/story_alcohol19th.

437 'National Division', The National Magazine of Temperance 1, 1 (July, 1850), 21.

438 Marsh, Putnam and the Wolf, 5.

And like Benjamin Rush before him, Marsh noted that while the outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia had been met with much shock, the constant and in the long run much greater scourge of alcohol failed to stir any such emotions: 'The yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793, felt to be one of the greatest curses of heaven, destroyed but four thousand. In our last war, the sword devoured but five hundred a year. Intemperance destroys two hundred a week.' Then turning to the space of the sea, Marsh encouraged readers to understand temperance as an act of navigating the country: 'Shipwrecks destroy suddenly, and the country groans when forty or fifty human beings are suddenly engulphed [*sic*] in the ocean. But more than half of all the sudden deaths occur in fits of intoxication.[439]

Temperance advocates complained, in other words, that Americans had been made blind to the damages of alcohol, were unable to see patterns, and unable to gauge the order that alcohol constituted. They might recognise a drinker, in other words, but not those linkages and those histories which had produced this drinker. Much of the temperance project lay in revealing these larger patterns and the blindness suffered throughout the country. We now turn to a discussion of temperance characterisations of alcohol from the vantage point of dual ideological critique, mentioned above (opium *of* versus opium *for*). In the first section I argue that – and this is 'opium of' – temperance advocates claimed that alcohol had afforded people a false sense of peace in an otherwise peaceless modern existence; a false sense of place and a false sense of grounding in a rapidly moving world. Second, I show that temperance advocates characterised alcohol as a force that subjugated people ('opium *for*'), and worse, that in their alcoholic subjugation, the people felt free.

Image 5: Rum Lake and Deacon Giles' Distillery. Segment from C. Wiltberger, Jr., 'Temperance Map' (1838). Out of copyright. Cornell University Digital Collections, https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:8245858.

439 ibid, 8.

It is now, at Rum Lake, that our anchor's rope snaps, and we are thrown towards land: we pass by Still Valley, and our ship finally reaches the shore, at Deacon Giles' Distillery.

DEACON GILES' DISTILLERY: IDEOLOGY AND ALCOHOLIC SPACE

In 1835, the *Salem Landmark*, a Massachusetts-based newspaper, published a temperance tale – 'Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery' – which wound up eliciting much controversy (and reached the status of infamy, hence its inclusion on Wiltberger's map). The story itself, as well as events surrounding it, ably shows how space was employed in temperance discourses on ideology: the space of the distillery highlighted the alienation and agency-deficits produced through alcohol. The practice of drinking alcohol, temperance advocates claimed, was so enshrined in American society that its dangers had become a mystery to most. Presenting drink through the distillery could expose alcoholic order, and more, such a spatial prism could open avenues for reclaiming and remoulding space: paving roads to a sober future. My discussion of Deacon Giles' Distillery will present temperance engagements with alcohol as opium *for* the people. Before this, however, I briefly chart temperance critiques of alcohol which took the form of opium *of*.

Image 6: Note the sign that says 'Bibles for Sale,' as the barrels are emblazoned with the slogans 'Sickness,' 'Poverty,' and 'Death.' George Barrell Cheever, 'The true history of Deacon Giles' distillery' (1844). Out of copyright. The New York Public Library, Digital Collections, https://digital-collections.nypl.org/items/a419ffb7-fbdc-f904-e040-e00a18063f5c.

OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE: DRINK AND ALIENATION

To temperance advocates, drink constituted a dangerous and difficult-to-contain force, and in part this force was so difficult to contain because it had come to play such an integral role in people's lives, in the development of markets, and in the workings of industry. This alcoholic order had made Americans blind and oblivious to its actual dangers, in a process that might be called alienation. That is, alcohol had made Americans blind to both their own misery and to the misery alcohol was causing onto others. Alcohol, indeed, was a tool for exploitation of the powerful, and an alleviator of pain for the powerless, but the reigning alcohol-induced alienation cause neither party to realise these patterns. Thus the *Journal of Temperance* asked, 'Why do people give liquor to hired workmen?' – and answered:

> For the same reason that an unfeeling man whips a hired horse. … The object is to get the most work out of them in the least time. It will not do for us to lay the whip on the back of free citizens. But they know how to put the whip into your own hands, and delude you to goad yourselves beyond your strength. And if you wear out and die, what do they care?[440]

'Suspect that employer,' advised Dr. Speed of New York,

> who encourages you to drink arduous spirits. It is for his benefit and not for yours that he does it. I speak from positive knowledge when I tell you that his calculation is made by those who want the labor, and care not for the man. … They say, "My object is to get the most out of him I can. Whiskey is the cheapest and most convenient drink I can give him; I know it hurts him, but it is his business, not mine, to take care of himself. I can, by making him half drunk, get two days work out of him in one.[441]

440 'Working Men', Journal of Temperance 1, 11 (Aug. 17, 1832), 41.

441 ibid.

In these accounts, workers found their only reprieve and sense of belonging in drink, while capitalists were too blinded by profit motives to simply reform or listen to plain reason. Liquor traders, in turn, were no more *reasonable or noble* than slave traders, because both conducted commerce with people's lives. Edmund Dillahunty emphasised that this alcoholic order – which had fooled humans into thinking it gave them wealth and moments of joy – was an insidious and all-encompassing force, lulling all parties involved: 'Let us not be misunderstood here,' he pleaded: 'We have no prejudices against wealth.' Temperance could not be, to Dillahunty, an assault on individuals; alcohol was too large a problem for such an approach. In the same temperance volume, Reverend John Miller voiced similar thoughts in writing that Americans as a group had been 'blinded by some selfish interest' into making others and into making themselves slaves to drink.[442]

Indeed, as we have seen, Frederick Douglass and other temperance advocates frequently characterised liquor as a siamese twin to capitalism and equated drink with slavery. Slavery would end, and the world would change, Frederick Douglass claimed, if people would just sober up. All the world's problems were attributable to one thing; to repeat the words of Frederick Douglass: unfortunately, 'Mankind has been drunk.'

The preceding passages feature temperance accounts of alcohol as opium *of* the people: alcohol and its fashioning of (false) comforts in a reality shaped by alienation, an alienation largely begotten by alcohol. Yet much of this rhetoric has already hinted at a purview of alcohol as opium *for* the people. Through the story and events surrounding Deacon Giles' Distillery, I claim, we may trace a recurring ideological critique within temperance discourse: that alcohol could exert power over humans and that alcohol formed an opium *for* the people, generating a general subjugation of people to liquor.

OPIUM FOR THE PEOPLE: AN EVENING IN LYNN

It is a spring evening in the year 1843, and in the small town of Lynn, Massachusetts, a tea party is set to take place. Doors are due to open at seven o'clock, and crowds queue up outside, each visitor handing the 25-cent admission to

442 Edmund Dillahunty, 'The Causes of Intemperance', in Young, The Lights of Temperance, 63. John Miller, 'The License Law', in Young, The Lights of Temperance, 201.

the doorman when their time comes. The party, which features a performance by the Hutchinson Family Singers, – one of the most popular musical acts of the time, – and speeches by famed reformed drunkard William Roberts, is being hosted by James N. Buffum, a locally-prominent financier and industrialist, who three years later would accompany Frederick Douglass on his travels to Scotland.[443] People from Lynn and neighbouring towns pour into the premises. The Hutchinson Family Singers, a popular music group, – who treat the crowd to their hit song 'King Alcohol'[444] – note in their journal that the party enjoyed an attendance of 2,000 persons. In their journal we read: 'Every face of the immense crowd indicated happiness, and inexpressible joy at the down fall of slavery as once thrown upon the people, in the form of Rum – made at this *Old Distillery!*'[445]

So not only was this a tea party – in itself, a symbol-laden practice with deep associations to the struggle for American independence – but it was also, in the account of the Hutchinson Family singers, a signpost towards a joyful and productive future, and a sign of liberation from slavery. Why? Because tea was increasingly being heralded as a sober drink, a healthful drink, a spirit-giving non-spirit – one conducive to work and to wholesome sociality. But also because – as the Hutchinsons noted in their diary – this party was held in an old distillery. A place, in other words, that manufactured a kind of slavery, produced victims. (This association between drink and slavery has been charted in Chapter Five.) James M. Buffum, who hosted the tea party, would likely have agreed with this characterisation. Buffum would later act as mayor of Lynn, and represent the town in the Massachusetts House of Representatives. An anti-slavery advocate, he also gained fame for accompanying Frederick Douglass on his speaking tour of Great Britain – and for defending

443 The Hutchinson Family Singers innovated a type of popular music which combined entertainment with reform sentiment. Aside from songs about temperance, they also sang about abolitionism and slavery, signalling to Scott Gac 'the full-fledged commercialization of antislavery' sentiment. Scott Gac, Singing for Freedom: The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Reform (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 5.

444 A present-day rendition of this song can be found via The Rose Ensemble, 'King Alcohol', Youtube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1N9aJK_S_44.

445 Dale Crockell (ed.), Excelsior: Journals of the Hutchinson Family Singers, 1842-1846 (Stuyvesant: Pendagron Press, 1989), 108.

Douglass from physical assault during a mob incident in an Eastern Railroad carriage.[446] Buffum had purchased this former distillery in Lynn with the intention of converting it into an industrial sawmill. But – recognising the symbolic charge in his repurposing a distillery – before operations began, he chose to host this tea party there, given in the spirit of a sober future, and in the name of temperance.

So, here, in this conversion of a distillery, was a deliberate subversion of a central alcoholic space. The distillery was a central alcoholic space, because distilleries did not just *produce* alcoholic drinks, but these alcoholic drinks were spread about in space, through the marketplace – invading, altering, and tainting other spaces. To temperance advocates, perhaps no other space, excepting taverns and sugarcane- and corn fields, formed such a key nodal point in the distribution of threat (and distribution of ideology) as did the distillery. So, such an alcoholic space could form a key element in temperance thought and advocacy, which frequently turned towards discrete locations – towards bodies, lived places, the market, and the nation itself – to highlight, delineate, and make sense of the threat of alcohol.

And while the promise of seeing big-name musicians might alone have attracted a large attendance to this tea party, what likely made it even more attractive is the fact that the space – this old distillery – was known, notorious even, for providing the apparent inspiration for a widely-read story that had circulated in American newspapers some years earlier. This story ably shows the infusion of spatial logics in temperance advocates' elucidating alcoholic threat. That is, this former distillery was connected to the aforementioned story entitled 'Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery.' Its opening sentence begins by declaring that, '[S]ome time ago the writer's notice was arrested'[447] by an advertisement for Deacon Giles' Distillery. This advert caused a narrative to emerge in the author's mind – but whether the story that follows is imagined or not is left up to the reader.

446 Peter Lauranzano, 'Resistance to the Segregation of Public Transportation in the Early 1840's', Primary Research Online, http://primaryresearch.org/resistance-to-the-segregation-of-public-transportation-in-the-early-1840s/.

447 Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery, 9.

DEACON GILES, THE STORY

In short, the story's plot runs as follows: Deacon Giles, a pious man, inherits a distillery. Much profit is to be made in distilling, and Giles keeps the still-house furnaces running all-day, all-night. Parallel to his distillation business, Giles serves as a treasurer in a Bible society, and keeps 'a little counting-room in one corner of the distillery,'[448] where he sells Bibles. Giles appears to see no contradiction in these two activities, though a dark family history is hinted at: we are told that one of his family members had once 'drowned himself in the vat of hot liquor, in the bottom of which a skeleton was some time after found, with heavy weights tied to the ankle-bones.'[449] Distilling and liquor – or simple love of money – had possibly made this family member lose his mind; he had turned a victim and slave to drink, until drowning himself in spirits formed the only way out.

In any case, in these short remarks about Giles' life, we may already note numerous parallels to slavery. (Slavery, to reiterate, constituting an institution which by the 1830s was beginning to face serious scrutiny in the United States, and in New England in particular.) That is, Giles inherits property, and with few ethical or moral qualms, – and through an 'unthinking decision,'[450] to once more use Winthrop Jordan's memorable characterisation of American slavery – Giles continues the business. This reflects other temperance characterisations of the distiller. Writing in the *Journal of Temperance*, Henry Ware, Professor of Divinity at Harvard University, wrote that the distiller,

> does not wish to create drunkards; he does not take pleasure in multiplying poverty, suffering, and sin; he is astonished that men can be such idiots and brutes; he wonders that they cannot drink with moderation. Alas! he does not reflect that the inevitable tendency of the shop and the bar-room is to decoy men from themselves and their self-command.[451]

448 ibid.

449 ibid.

450 Jordan, White Over Black, 44-98.

451 'Professor Ware's Address, Concluded', Journal of Temperance 1, 7 (June 22, 1832), 25.

Here the distiller, producing alienation, is so enwrapped in the alcoholic order, that he cannot see the effects or circumstances of his trade. Just as would a slaveholder, Deacon Giles ends up gravely mistreating his workers: they are forced to work long hours, they receive irregular salaries – and are often paid with just the liquor that they have themselves produced. As regards habitual drinking and slavery, many temperance advocates would go further even than this, charging that inebriety was qualitatively worse than slavery. Numerous authors contended that America might survive with or without the institution of slavery while, on the contrary, the spectre of drink simply had to immediately cease, lest drunkenness and its attendant problems continue its spread, past the point of return. In an article on the state of temperance in New York in 1832, one author wrote that temperance would save 'tens of thousands … from a bondage, compared with which the chains upon the poor African are perfect liberty; for the drunkard's bondage is that of the mind, and »the iron has entered his soul.« '[452]

So slavery, enslaved bodies, and enslaving spaces – the Atlantic, the plantation, and the slave South – frequently formed a looming motif in many temperance tales. (Rum, of course, was distilled from slave-plantation sugar.) And alcohol leads directly to an exploitative system of subjugation and slavery. Such is the case with Giles, who treats his workers like members of the *lumpenproletariat*, as wage slaves. Eventually, he has a falling out with his workmen: Giles is late with payment and his workers storm out of the distillery, never to return. Undeterred and still blinded by alcoholic profit, Giles simply replaces these workers with a new cohort, which he manages to recruit very quickly. These new workers, to Giles' surprise, do more work in one night than the previous group could possibly have done in the span of three weeks. He is impressed, but not immediately suspicious.

Yet these new workers harbour a secret: they are demons – ones who clandestinely emblazon slogans onto the distillery's barrels; luminous slogans which only appear once the barrel has been tapped. 'Dropsy and Rheumatism. *Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery*.' 'Putrid fever, and cholera in the collapse. *Inquire at Amos Giles' Distillery*.'[453] These barrels are distributed far and wide – to taprooms, taverns, grog shops, and country stores. But, of

452 'Temperance in New York', Journal of Temperance, 15.

453 Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery, 13.

course, once the barrels are tapped, Deacon Giles' customers see the slogans. And they are shocked, outraged, scared, fascinated:

> The drunkards were terrified from the dram shops; the bar-rooms were emptied of their customers; but in their place a gaping crowd filled every store that possessed a cask of the Deacon's devil-distilled liquor, to wonder and be affrighted at the spectacle. … The rumsellers, and grocers, and tavern-keepers were full of fury. They loaded their teams with the accursed liquor, and drove it back to the distillery.[454]

The angry rumsellers and tavern-keepers stack the barrels in front of Deacon Giles' distillery, creating a chaotic visual effect – of death, damnation, consumption, and disease, mingling together in 'frightened confusion.' One phrase remains clearly visible, however: '*Inquire at Deacon Giles' Distillery*.' Here the story welcomes a Marxist reading, for these demons have re-inscribed liquor into place: they have rewound the ideological doings of commodity fetishism. That is, Marx argued that a commodity receives its power, its worth, and its ideological weight through its attaining a fetishised and non-placed identity. Once a thing (a good or product) enters into the marketplace, this thing becomes a commodity and necessarily sheds off any placed meanings it may have held before: once a commodity, it appears to have no history, no producer, no place.[455] In Cheever's story, suddenly – through these barrels' luminous messages – liquor consumers become hyperaware of what they are drinking, from where this liquor comes, and the system which liquor consumption helps perpetuate.

The story, too, is interesting from a theological point of view. Because in their anti-fetishist actions, these demons, in effect, are doing temperance work: literally spreading the *brand* of temperance across the country. Perhaps because of this theological complication, the story ends in a kind of bathos: Giles burns the barrels but he continues to manufacture his rum. And the drinkers at the grog shops and taverns all over the country, while temporarily

454 ibid, 14.

455 cf. Marx, Grundrisse.

amazed and appalled at a spectacle, continue drinking Giles' rum. Nothing, apparently, changes.

Thus in this story we find an outright social critique, Gothic elements placing it firmly in antebellum literature. Like a slaveholder who inherits an estate and winds up producing human misery and perpetuating slavery, Giles inherits a distillery and winds up producing not just slavery, but cholera, consumption, rheumatism. And his inheriting the distillery also points to the core of threat: only because the drinking of alcohol *has been* a practice for so long does it remain imaginable. Alcohol's unquestionably prominent place in society helps veil its threat; the damages and alienation that alcohol produces remain invisible, by habit. As such, temperance must demonstrate, display, and shout the unusualness and unnaturalness of drink – aiming their blows at the distilleries littering the American country.

In the introduction to the published version of the story, the editor historicised the introduction of distilling into America as first an apparent blessing:

> [Distilleries] furnished, it was said, a ready market for the surplus grain of the country and encouraged the growing; they gave a new value to the orchard, whose superabundant fruit could at once be converted into brandy; they brought ready employ to the carpenter, the cooper, the carrier, and furnished the nation with an excellent article, which it was importing from Holland and the West Indies at great cost. … Many a neighborhood was filled with joy that an immense distillery was to be built, and a spring given to business which would bring riches to every family.[456]

But this all proved an illusion: once we look at the results of distilling, wrote B. F. Butler for the *New York Standard*, we realise that, 'more than all other causes put together,'[457] the industry diminishes national wealth. Yet the industry creates the illusion of usefulness and the illusion of free choice within the

456 ibid, 8.

457 'From the New York Standard. Observations: On the traffic in Ardent Spirits, By B. F. Butler, of Albany, N. Y. NO. IV.', Journal of Temperance 1, 18 (Nov. 23, 1832), 69.

marketplace. And part of the problem is precisely this: that Giles' rum is produced and distributed in and through the legal marketplace, its dangers consequently shrouded in anonymity and public civility. Only once the dangers of drink are literally displayed on the barrels does threat truly appear; drinkers stopping to consider their habits, and their very presence in dram shops. Only once alcohol's threat is expressed and stands clear before them, do people stop and think – only then does threat seem real. But ultimately, the story worries, people's servitude to drink, and Giles' (and our) love of money will continue to determine the state of society, and that nothing will change.

That is to say: in the story nothing changes. The custom of alcohol drinking is simply too-powerful a force.[458] But in actual fact, the story wound up becoming subject to a libel suit, submitted by Salem-based real-life distiller, and real-life deacon, John Stone. During subsequent legal proceedings, the author of the story, George Barrell Cheever, defended himself by claiming that it 'was never written or intended as an attack upon any individual,'[459] instead going on to declare that he had merely wished to advertise *literally* the problems that distilled products cause. Cheever stood accused of libel because, according to the prosecutor, Deacon Giles – the protagonist of the story – was 'clearly John Stone, who distilled rum, was a deacon in the church, and [like Deacon Giles, Stone] had once lost a relative in the vat.' Mr. Cheever, the prosecution continued, 'is enlisted under the flag which declares exterminating war on Alcohol, and Deacon Stone is enlisted under the broad stripes of the country, which protects Alcohol by law.'[460] In real life, evidently, the story was taken as evidence of a discursive-legal culture war. Cheever was eventually found guilty of libel, was forced to spend time in common jail and had to pay $1000 'for keeping the peace for two years.' Predictably, this sentencing helped propel the story to further fame, and it wound up being widely reprinted and circulated. Eventually, Deacon John Stone's distillery went out of business, and it was bought by Buffum, to be converted into a sawmill (and temporary party venue).

458 'C is for Customs, which bind us in chains,' we read in the Alphabet of Intemperance, a piece of temperance ephemera. Ebenezer Bowman, Alphabet of Intemperance (Canton, Mass.: Elijah A. Morse, date unknown).

459 Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery, 7.

460 'The Defence', in Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery, 19.

So unlike in the story, in the real world, there was resistance and there was change. Temperance advocates – recognising and stressing the central location of alcohol in American society and appreciating that alcohol and alcoholic spaces had created an illusion of the naturalness of the *status quo* – set out to produce new spaces and to reconvert existing ones. While distilleries had thus far been churning out its victims and its drunkards *ad infinitum*, temperance would employ similar tactics: reconvert spaces, occupy alcoholic space, and spread, spread, spread. So, too, with the story: the published version of it, appearing in 1844, wished the reader to know that this was no fictional tale: 'The whole is an imagination, a REALITY, a defence, which should never die. It is a story, which should be familiar to every child in all coming generations; for while there is a distillery on earth, there will be drunkenness, lamentation, and wo.'[461]

In many ways, then, temperance here would take the guise of a discourse around the nature of the American nation, one charting the country's history, its historical ties to alcoholic order, and the potential future of American freedom from drink.

AMERICA IS NOT FREE: TEMPERANCE AND NATION

'I remember, when a boy, reading a story which chilled my blood in my veins,' recalled Reverend John Marsh, an influential Connecticut-born minister and temperance activist, about a 'certain district of country … infested by a wild beast' and about how the whole district had to mobilise to fight against this terrible beast. 'Little did I then think that I should one day see the country rallied on the same spot, to hunt a more terrible monster.'[462] This new beast, declared Marsh, was frighteningly intangible – both hard to grasp and control – and took the shape of a much more difficult and insidious enemy than the one Americans faced during the War of Independence: 'The old enemy … which your fathers hunted about these hills and dales, was visible to the eye and could be touched with powder and ball,' while the present one refuses to

461 Cheever, The True History of Deacon Giles' Distillery, 8.

462 John Marsh, Putnam and the Wolf (Hartford: D. F. Robinson & Co., 1830), 3.

be neatly 'described, or destroyed by force of arms.'[463] Wrote Marsh: 'It is said to have originated in Arabia, the country of the false prophet. The aborigines of our forests never knew it.'[464] Yet it is not a wholly new threat; it has lived in the country for a long time: 'The name of this reptile is »the worm of the still.« '[465] Some Americans, wrote Marsh, would refuse to mobilise against the distillery and will protest that 'we are hunting a friend.' Distilling is a profitable industry, they might say; and do spirits not, after all, ease pain and aid labour? To this, Marsh responded with a simple lament: 'O Country, O Country!'[466]

Marsh was not alone in comparing alcohol to a national enemy invading America's borders, in historicising the country's fight for sobriety alongside the struggle for independence, and in describing opposition to temperance as a pervasive false consciousness. As such he was not alone, in trying to make sense of the threat of alcohol in America by spatialising it – as a foreign threat, an exotic menace, one forcing itself onto peaceful American communities. Drawing clear parallels to the American struggle for independence, the *Journal of Temperance* reminded its readers that some forefathers, too, had hesitated to sign the Declaration of Independence, but that it was this signing alone had ultimately secured the country's freedom.[467] Naturally, pledging temperance, was a required necessity for all readers of the journal. Also drawing parallels between temperance and the War of Independence, Vermont Governor Jonas Galusha, who fought in the war, and who – an old man now – had long consumed alcohol as part of a medical prescription, declared in 1829:

> [In the war I] put my life in jeopardy to aid in serving my country, and I am willing to do it again. An enemy, more powerful and subtle than the British, is destroying our firesides, and trampling with iron hoofs the fairest portions of our land. I present myself to join your ranks in this

463 ibid, 4.

464 ibid.

465 ibid.

466 ibid, 11.

467 'To candid men', Journal of Temperance 1, 2 (April 13, 1832), 6.

> war of extermination, and enlist under your banner bearing the motto 'Total Abstinence.' This step will, no doubt, shorten my days. BE IT SO; I stand ready to sacrifice my life in the cause, and I freely subscribe your pledge, totally and forever to abstain from the use of ardent spirits.[468]

This theme of war and sacrifice was repeated frequently. Fighting alcohol, declared Eliza Runnels, would require 'strong, untiring, active effort: it is more to be feared than the united powers of Great Britain when they trampled upon our rights and urged us to defend them.'[469] But, advocates declared, this temperance war would be still more difficult to win than any standard military foray. Wrote Thomas Adams: 'our fathers' considered it treason if anyone would 'furnish supplies to the enemy,'[470] yet in the war against intemperance, the enemies live amongst the righteous and they come from within the country's borders. More, these enemies which temperance must fight are unaware of their status as combatants. As Runnels wrote,

> While the intemperate man boasts of his freedom, he is a degraded slave to the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life. … I hear him say, I will stand by my country to defend her wrongs, and support her rights, … [while] you are trampling her sacred and blood-wrought rights[,] her holy privileges, beneath the foot of intemperance, glorying in your shame.[471]

A core issue facing the temperance struggle, then, was apparently that alcohol had come to play such a central part of contemporary life that it had shrouded Americans' very view of reality, it had spurred a false consciousness in people. This was due to a grave historical mistake, said temperance advocates, namely the perception of alcohol consumption as good and healthful and

468 'Governor Galusha's speech', Journal of Temperance 1, 1 (March 16, 1832), 4.

469 Runnels, America Is Not Free, 33.

470 Adams, Emancipation from the tyranny of intemperance, 7.

471 Runnels, America Is Not Free, 29.

the perception of its trade and production as profitable and beneficial. As the American Temperance Society declared,

> This fatal error, that ardent spirit is for men in health useful, did not prevail generally among the mass of the people in this country, till after the American Revolution. In that mighty struggle which gave birth to a nation, and in the numerous hardships and dangers to which the soldiers were exposed, they were furnished, by the government, with a portion of this poison, under the fatal delusion that it would do them good.[472]

These revolutionary soldiers' drinking habits had after the war spread 'into the community; and was extended through the country.'[473] Thus, according to this account, America had begun to face its real enemy and its real overlord only after the British had left. By linking the struggle for temperance together with American independence, temperance advocates could successfully put on display the threat of alcohol – and the origins of an alcoholic order – through a particular act of historicisation.

Americans of the early Republic generally agreed, as historian Paul C. Nagel has written, that 'national being was incomplete and unproven. Nationality therefore was something to be achieved.'[474] Temperance writer Runnels asked: 'If America is free,' then why is the country 'being burdened with the galling chain of intemperance?'[475] Other proponents of temperance repeatedly voiced their concerns about alcohol in similar terms. A temperance parable, written by John Cowen and entitled *The First and Last Days of Alcohol the Great*, presented readers with a depiction of a foreign country[476] named Na-

472 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, 1.

473 ibid.

474 Paul C. Nagel, This Sacred Trust: American Nationality, 1798-1898 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), xii.

475 Runnels, America Is Not Free, 8.

476 The process of temperance advocates visiting a foreign country relates to what I discussed in Chapter Four.

tionolia (capital city: Mansborough), governed by an emperor named Alcohol the Great. In this parable, we read of Alcohol the Great's ascent to the status of emperor and his increasing power over the people of Mansborough. With his growing prestige, clubs and societies – understood to be taverns and other drinking establishments – were founded in honour of Alcohol the Great all throughout Nationolia. Finally reaching his highest power, Alcohol makes a declaration, ending with the announcement of a grand ceremony in which all men, women, and children will 'be taught to shout aloud, »Bea lowr da ALCOHOL MOAR dy reial harish gheen!« (»Long life to Alcohol the great to reign over us!«).'[477] The people of Nationolia, thus, learn to revel in their own servitude – we may note echoes here, of temperance complaints that Americans know not what they do. Finally assuming the throne, Alcohol the Great declares war on all unconquered territories and his invading armies enjoy great success and Alcohol's renown spreads:

> Nor did it appear to make much difference whether the people were civilized, savage, or half savage, … only with this exception however, that the more advanced in civilization they were, the more earnest and systematic were they in forming alliances indissoluble with him, not to be violated; and although, he has ruled over them with whips of scorpions, grinding the vitality of life within them to the dust, yet, with a grasp fierce, as it is fatal, they continue to cling to his despotism, and crouch down to his sovereign tyranny.[478]

What had enabled Alcohol the Great's swift conquests? The 'discoveries made by [a person named] Chemical Experiment, a Professor of some distinction in commercial University, more especially the exploits of a pupil of his, known by the name of Distillery.' Distillery is appointed the position of

477 J. Cowen, N. I. M., The First and Last Days of Alcohol the Great, in the Empire of Nationolia: or, Manxman's Records of the Temperance Revolution (Providence: Bt. Albro, 1848), 31-32.

478 ibid, 40.

Image 7: The road to drunkenness? The story about the Black Valley was reproduced in a variety of different forms, but originated as this allegorical poster, seeing the distillery-powered locomotive leave Drunkard's Curve and head towards even darker lands. Stedman Wright Hanks and Nathaniel Rudd, 'Black Valley Rail Road' (1863). Cornell University Digital Collections, https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:3293764.

'General Engineer to his Imperial Majesty, Alcohol the Great, in the Empire of Nationolia.'[479]

Another story, entitled *The Black Valley*, also described an allegorical country, at once strange and familiar. This country's land was once fertile and lush, but its expanse had of late been interrupted and crisscrossed by an extensive network of railroad tracks.[480] The railroad company in charge of this laying, 'The Black Valley Rail-Road,' used locomotives powered not by coal but by distilled alcohol, and these locomotives raced down the newly-laid tracks. They began at Sippington, and let passengers step onboard or alight at numerous stations, their names worsening by degree – Tippleton, Beggarstown, Maniacville, Idiot Flats, etc. – before finally terminating at Destruction.[481] This railroad had caused the population of the Black Valley Country to increase momentously, and 'the corporation of the [rail]road, by its great wealth, shrewd management, and indomitable energy, [was] exerting a world-wide influence socially and morally, as well as politically and financially.'[482] And just as the civilised population groups in Nationolia were more likely to embrace the tyranny of Alcohol than were its non-civilised populations, the spread of the Black Valley railroad – entailing also the spread of infrastructure, industry, and modern

479 ibid, 40, 41.

480 S. W. Hanks, The Black Valley: the railroad and the country, with an account of the introduction of water. An allegory (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, undated).

481 The train's entire itinerary can be found in ibid, 9.

482 ibid, 13.

ways of life – served only to further darken the valley. In order to express the threat of alcohol, the story here charted it through space; readers – invited to imagine themselves as passengers on this train – are positioned in this intemperate world. Together, then, these texts amounted to stark commentaries on present-day circumstances in America, in which industrial progress and neglect had caused a reign of drink, leading to social depravity of many sorts. Thus by extension, they also warned of the future course of modernity, of progress, and on alcohol's role in the present and future of America.[483] In *The Black Valley*, we again see this aforementioned collation of nation, history, and false consciousness; that something has gone awry in the very course of history:

> Deceived by appearances, multitudes who come down upon the Black-Valley Road are persuaded to embark in pursuit of pleasure upon this dangerous sea; and, ere they are aware, its eddies and currents bear them rapidly along toward the boiling chasm, into which the turbid waters plunge at the lower terminus of the lake.[484]

The nation, in this account, had faced a historical *deception* through alcohol; the United States, like the Black Valley, was racing down alcohol's terrible tracks. In an address to university students, Reverend Longstreet also admonished that Americans had been deceived by alcohol:

> A drunken revel … is no very uncommon thing in colleges; and it is passed off with a titter, as nothing more than a harmless recreation.

483 This suspicion surrounding railways was fairly uncommon. As I show in this chapter., the railway was used as a sign of progress in some temperance material. This link between railways and progress corresponded better with broader societal attitudes from the time. Leo Marx has written that, in 'the popular culture of the [mid-1800s] period the railroad was a favorite emblem of progress – not merely technological progress, but the overall progress of the race.' Leo Marx, The Machine and the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 27.

484 Hanks, The Black Valley, 53.

> But if we mark it, from the first whisper into the slave's ear, to the last hiccough of these youthful bacchanals – if we consider the parties with whom they begin, their relation, the time, the place, the circumstances, we will find it hard to conceive of any thing more revolting than one of these 'college frolicks.'[485]

So what was left to do? Temperance had to navigate the country out of its muddy alcoholic waters. Americans had unfortunately allowed themselves to be deceived, but Americans, many temperance advocates would happily declare, were also the inventors of the antidote to alcohol's poison. Namely, through a temperance-guided national spatial sobriety, advocates expressed the hope that America could form a guiding light for the world, a lighthouse for sobriety; the rest of the world looking to America. When they voiced such lines of thought, proponents of temperance in many ways echoed transcendentalist philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson's call on Americans to make authentically American art, to stand proudly on the world stage, and to at last let go of any remaining colonial baggage. In like manner, temperance advocates hoped to rhetorically mobilise the idea of the American nation in effecting change across the country. As in the allegorical stories above, this was largely done through spatialising threat. On this note of America guiding the world into a temperate future, Felix Gundy, Tennessee Senator and proponent of temperance, declared:

> This is a subject upon which I appeal not only to the patriotism, but to the national pride of the American public. [Temperance] is the invention of our country. It is not imported from a foreign land. It has its origins with us. … What citizen of the United States, while he acknowledges our indebtedness to the parent state, does not feel his pride of country rise and expand while he reflects, that we are paying back in the means of moral improvement … We know the prejudices which exist in Great Britain against every thing American. They are slow in believing that an American mind can produce any thing

485 Longstreet, 'The Voice of Warning', 56.

> superior to their own inventions and improvement – yet no sooner was this remedy for Intemperance presented than it was adopted and practised.[486]

This temperance pursuit had to continue. Temperance advocates, wrote reformed drunkard and former sailor Samuel Mudway Hewlett, had to 'act as a beacon-light, and prevent, so far as [they] can, others from drifting to the rocks and shoals on which I had so nearly been wrecked.'[487] As we have seen, advocates set out to do this navigation through laying out and ordering contemporary circumstances, through archiving alcoholic threats, and – sometimes – through literal mapping.

486 'Great temperance meeting', Journal of Temperance, 1.

487 Samuel Mudway Hewlett, The Cup and its Conqueror; Or, The Triumphs of Temperance, as Exhibited in the Life, Travels, and Adventures of Samuel Mudway Hewlett, During the Last Twenty Years A Lecturer on Total Abstinence, in the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Portions of the United States, and in Canada and the British Provinces, as Related by Himself (Boston: Redding & Co., Publishers, 1862), 12.

CHAPTER SIX. THE BODY: INTERLINKAGES AND SOLUTIONS

JOHN B. GOUGH VS. KING ALCOHOL

When John Bartholomew Gough woke up that September morning, he will have wished that he could forget the events of recent days. (And chances are, in fact, that he did not remember parts of them.) A famed temperance lecturer, and sober for years, Gough wrote in his memoirs that he considered drunkenness both a sin and a disease.[488] He condemned, on lecture circuits around the country, alcohol's 'cruel power.'[489] Gough, born in 1817, had been sent to America from England in 1829 upon his father's passing. In adulthood he led a largely peripatetic life, working stray jobs including as a farmhand, musician, and bookbinder in New York City. By his twenties, his drinking had gotten worse, and he eventually found himself on the downward path into poverty and squalor, losing touch with his wife and child on the way. This desperate drunken descent was stopped, according to Gough, following an 1842 encounter with a Quaker in Massachusetts who encouraged him to join a temperance society. Having taken the temperance pledge, Gough advanced to become one of the most well-known temperance lecturers in the country, relating with riveting detail stories such as 'choking his own wife or placing his child next to an open fireplace.'[490] Such Gothic tales helped him draw an audience wherever he would travel. 'What fills the almshouses and jails?' he asked fascinated crowds, before answering: 'It is drink. … Snap your burning chains, ye denizens of the pit, and come up sheeted in the fire, drip-

488 Versions of it are available online. cf. e.g. John Bartholomew Gough, An Autobiography (Boston: J. B. Gough, Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1848). The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/anautobiography00gouggoog/page/n4.

489 John B. Gough, Speech of John B. Gough at the Reception Meeting at Tremont Temple, Boston, September 17, 1860 (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1860), 79. Available via Hathi Trust Digital Library, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011623642.

490 Steven Mintz, Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 74-75.

ping with the flames of hell, and with your trumpet tongues testify against the damnation of the drink!'[491]

On a Friday in September, 1845, while at the peak of his fame as temperance lecturer, Gough arrived in New York City, checking in at the Croton Hotel, 'one of the finest temperance establishments in the city, [where he] took afternoon tea, and went out, at around half past seven, for a leisurely stroll on Broadway.'[492] And while taking this stroll, Gough mysteriously went missing. Rumours started to spread about his having been murdered and that his body had been dumped into the East River. The press speculated that perhaps Gough had ventured into one of New York's rougher neighbourhoods in search of speech-writing material – using squalid urban conditions to help illustrate his warnings about the dangers of drink. Alternatively, some thought he may have tried to recruit slum-dwellers to temperance, but that he had there made fatal enemies. At last, on the thirteenth of September, 1845, Gough was rediscovered – in a state of drunken stupor, following a week-long alcoholic binge – in a brothel in Manhattan's notorious Five Points district. He later blamed the incident on 'a plot of Boston rum-sellers,' who must have laced his soda water with alcohol in order to unveil the famous temperance man as a scam. Gough provided few further details about that week, but said that it all amounted to 'a horrible dream – a nightmare – something that [he] cannot describe.'[493] Gough's presumed wanting-to-forget is especially pertinent because, in many ways, temperance advocates more generally complained that in the reigning alcoholic order, people were unable to see

491 ibid, 75. Inside of many early Republic jails and prisons, there was heavy drinking, too. Jailers often sold liquor to the inmates to complement their earnings. Such jail conditions would gradually change with the building of new prisons, informed by new ideals of hygiene and reform, as well as on the idea of panoptic surveillance; the first one being Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia (built in 1829). cf. Norman Johnston, 'Reforming Criminals', in Norman Johnston (ed.), Eastern State Penitentiary: Crucible of Good Intentions (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1994), 21-29.

492 Xi Chen, The Making of John B. Gough (1817-1886): Temperance Celebrity, Evangelical Pageantry, and the Conservatism of Popular Reform in Victorian Society, PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 2013, 17. University of Washington Digital Library, https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/bitstream/handle/1773/25015/Chen_washington_0250E_12400.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

493 ibid, 19.

wider contexts, and could not comprehend the alcoholic patterns and pasts that determined the world.

Like a drinker waking up from a rough night, temperance advocates sought to piece together history: to reconfigure how America had ended up where she had ended up, where things had gone awry, and what should be done differently in future. And Gough's revelries from that night – his drunkenness and his presence in Five Points – might serve to expound some key temperance claims. American cities in the antebellum period were growing at a rapid pace, and infrastructures were barely able to keep up, leading to increasingly squalid urban conditions. This growth was in large part due to increased revenue made by American business ventures, industry, and concomitant trade, as well as a resultant increased flow of internal and external migration. Yet as a converse to this financial and demographic expansion, the economic and social inequalities in American cities kept growing. In cities across the country, neighbourhoods were increasingly becoming segregated by class and race, and in the country's largest cities, areas formed which were almost exclusively inhabited by the so-called lower sorts. In Providence, for instance, the district of Hard Scrabble was in 1826 described by one newspaper as a place of danger and a refuge for 'outlawed Negroes and abandoned whites.' It even opined that the notorious St. Giles district of London – made famous for providing the inspiration for Hogarth's sketches of *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* – was a 'school of morality' when compared to Hard Scrabble.[494] New York's Five Points – with its 'tenants, taverns, and vagrants'[495] – was also a district reserved for society's lower ranks. There, in the words of historian Richard Briggs Stott, 'peddlers, ragpickers, prostitutes, scavengers, beggars, and sometimes criminals' commingled on busy and loud streets, and a new subcultural male type sprung up there. Called the 'b'hoy,' this new, urban type of young working-class man was characterised as heavy-drinking and violent, embodying 'the antithesis of the sober and restrained male that was becoming the ideal'[496] in antebellum America. City officials attempted to control these populations through spatial regulation, in-

494 Quoted in Sweet, Bodies Politic, 361.

495 Elizabeth Blackmar, Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 172.

496 Richard Briggs Stott, Jolly Fellows: Male Milieus in Nineteenth-Century America (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 109.

cluding 'renewed efforts to restrict … public drinking.'[497] This regulatory thrust was enabled by attendant infrastructural improvements in the city's public waterworks – enabling water's replacing liquor as the chief nutritious beverage.[498]

Temperance advocates, meanwhile, sought to understand and explain those chaotic social patterns which characterised city life. It was a fact, wrote abolitionist and temperance advocate Wendell Phillips, that city life changed people: that '[t]he country mother launches her boy with trembling upon the temptations of city life.'[499] Similarly, Minister Ezra Gannett declared in 1846 that in Boston, as in other cities, '[t]he tendency [is] towards an increase of intemperance,' and that '[i]ntoxicated persons may often be seen in our streets.'[500] An early biographer of Gough wrote that a too-great density of experiences in cities, in combination with lax social orders, were the primary cause of intemperance:

> Here, beyond dispute, is the secret of much of the dissipation prevalent among men in great cities. The saloon is a-glitter with light, offers companionship, in attractive contrast with the dingy, six-by-nine lodging-house; and usually stands between the brothel and the theater, opening impartially into both.[501]

Cities, according to many commentators, could afford persons with a near-total anonymity, meaning that fewer checks and controls regarding persons' behav-

497 ibid, 171-172.

498 Catherine McNeur, Taming Manhattan: Environmental Battles in the Antebellum City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014).

499 Wendell Phillips, On a Metropolitan Police (Boston: J. M. W. Yerrinton, 1863), 6. Karen Halttunen has written about one counter-figure to the 'self-made man,' namely the 'confidence man.' This was a nineteenth-century urban character type who would swindle and corrupt young and innocent boys and girls from the country. Karen Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

500 Ezra S. Gannett, The Temperance Cause: A Discourse Delivered Before the Boston Young Men's Total Abstinence Society (Boston: W. M. Crosby & H. P. Nichols, 1846), 5.

501 Carlos Martyn, John B. Gough: The Apostle of Cold Water (New York: Funk & Wagnals Company, 1893), 44.

iour were in place than in rural life. This loosening of controls in turn led to a loosening of morals and alcohol provided the perpetual fuel for this loosening.

The anonymity and liquidity of city life held true not just for the lower classes. Jean Brillat-Savarin, the famous French gastronome, wrote about the drunken revels he enjoyed with fellow *beau mondes*, on a nightly basis, while residing in New York City.[502] T. S. Arthur, author of the famous temperance story *Ten Nights In a Bar-Room*, observed that despite the evident damages and chaotic circumstances which alcohol brought to the city, liquor was more readily available there than in other places. In the city, he wrote, '[alcohol's] right to plunder, enslave and destroy the people has been established under the safe guarantee of law.'[503]

As we have seen throughout this book, temperance advocates closely associated alcohol consumption with decay, both urban and bodily. Yet in an urban context, the terms 'slavery' and 'enslavement' designated not just subjugation and physical debasement but, they referred also to economic dependency and precarious life. In a discussion of Gough's rhetoric of enslavement, historian John W. Crowley has noted that Gough's describing himself as a 'slave of habit,' and as someone who was poor because he drank and continued drinking to forget his poverty, did not constitute a direct parallel with 'the tribulations of the plantation slave.'[504] And more, Gough was not alone in describing his past drunken life as one of enslavement; many temperate experience speakers discussed at length the relation between drink and economic distress, and encouraged and supported the establishment of temperance benefit societies (akin to insurance cooperatives). Thus, as Ian Tyrrell has written, the 'Washingtonians sensed the economic roots of their precarious social condition, yet they blamed drink, not the banking system.'[505] Drink, money, and dependency were frequently posited as interconnected issues by temperance orators. 'Why should a young lady refuse to marry a Son of Temperance?', began a

502 Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste, or Transcendental Gastronomy* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blackiston, 1854). The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/physiologytaste00brilgoog/mode/2up

503 T. S. Arthur, Grappling with The Monster: Or, The Curse and The Cure of Strong Drink (New York: J. W. Lovell, 1877), 15.

504 John W. Crowley, 'Slaves to the Bottle: Gough's Autobiography and Douglass's Narrative', in Reynolds and Rosenthal (eds.), The Serpent in the Cup, 121.

505 Tyrrell, Sobering Up, 169.

joke from the time. The answer: 'Because he might refuse to sup-porter.'[506] This quip, which circulated in mid-century popular magazines, rested on a wordplay-based misunderstanding, one that precisely encapsulates the strand of temperance thought that associated drinking habits and personal finances. That is, in order to ensure financial stability, a man must pledge lifelong sobriety (promising to not 'sup porter'); which the 'young lady' misunderstands as the man not wanting to 'support her.'

As I showed in the previous chapter, much temperance discourse – including especially that which revolved around market forces – described not just economic hardship but a particular kind of alienation wrought on by modern life. Gough's describing his week-long alcoholic binge as a 'nightmare' – as confusing, as unreal – might equally have served as a metonym for how many temperance advocates regarded modern life. And in cities, this alienation was apparently particularly pronounced. There, distance and anonymity had produced a distinctly strange existence. Another joke from the time suggested this very idea, that city-dwellers had developed into an entirely different sort of person, blinded by what was before them and more used to the distant, exotic, and strange than the close-by, familiar, and domestic. It went: 'A little city girl who rode into the country the other day, pointed to a field of pumpkins and exclaimed, »Only look, mama, what nice great oranges.« '[507] Indeed, the speedy growth of American cities in the first half of the nineteenth century led to precisely such questions as raised by this joke. Urban historian Thomas Bender has summed up these fears surrounding American cities: 'Divorced from nature, would America become artificial, corrupt, and bad – like Europe? Was the democratic experiment paradoxically doomed by progress?'[508]

Many temperance advocates talked about their turn to sobriety in terms akin to awakening from a bad dream. John B. Gough described a 'feeling

506 'Joker's Olio', Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion 1, 21 (Nov. 22, 1851), 335. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/gleasonspictoria01glea/page/n9.

507 'Joker's Olio', Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion 1, 25 (Dec. 29, 1851), 399. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/gleasonspictoria01glea/page/n9.

508 Thomas Bender, Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 1975), 8.

of relief' and a sense that he had broken free from the 'chains of alcohol.'[509] Others described a jubilant feeling of realising they were not alone. And Gough scandalous and public relapse was not the only one, as public binges were a relatively common tale in antebellum America. Edgar Allan Poe, whose stories frequently featured themes surrounding drink and delirium tremens, vanished on the streets of Baltimore in 1849 for five days, was subsequently found, 'drunk, disheveled, and sick,'[510] and died before he could sober up.

And as Gough's contrition after his binge suggests, there was a sense in temperance thought that this alcoholic-induced alienation and economic precariousness caused a loss of control of the workings of not just one's mind but of one's body. In the body, in other words, the alcoholic order as described by temperance advocates came to crystallise. The body became a vector through which larger phenomena and spaces – the public, the Atlantic, the country – were made expressible and visible. And ultimately, for temperance to succeed, these bodies needed reforming. For to temperance advocates, bodies formed a central nexus of threat. Advocates were beginning to see drinkers as a distinct *type* of person, their thoughts reflecting the nineteenth-century food writer Jean Brillat-Savarin's famous saying (adjusted for drink, of course), 'tell me what kind of food you eat, and I will tell you what kind of man you are.'[511] Contemporaries, in other words, were coming to regard the body as a *descriptive* space, one telling the dangers of alcoholic order, but also as a space that could dictate *prescriptive* solutions.

In what follows, I chart key strands in temperance engagements with the body. I show, first, that in temperance discourse, the dangers of drink were frequently inscribed onto the body. This *inscription* enabled the body to become a space of *description*, one uniquely capable of showing the quotidian and gradual yet far-reaching dangers of alcoholic order. These dangers were related to fears of passivity and activity and were couched in broader gender- and race-related discourses. Second, I argue that such engagements with the

509 Tyrrell, Sobering Up, 173.

510 Gately, Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol, 286.

511 Brillat-Savarin, The Physiology of Taste, 25. The Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/physiologytaste00brilgoog/mode/2up.

body could support temperance claims that drink and drunkenness constituted a roaming and difficult-to-contain force. With particular regard to the cholera epidemic of 1832, I claim that in temperance thought, bodies were understood as a central cog in the wheel of alcoholic order, that bodies were in large part responsible for spreading alcoholic dangers in space, dangers which, in turn, were found in bodies. Yet the *descriptiveness* of the body, I finally posit, also aided *prescriptive* solutions: changing alcoholic bodies and changing those spaces that *abetted* and *made* alcoholic bodies would also, temperance advocates ultimately hoped, prevent the perpetuation of alcoholic order.

THE DRUNKARD: A SPECIES

The 'following truths are established, viz.,' we read in the *Fifth Report* of the American Temperance Society: 'Ardent spirit as a drink is not needful.' And '[i]t is not useful'; [i]t is a poison which injures both the body and the mind.'[512] Antebellum temperance writers and advocates went to great lengths to prove these very claims, that drink was not good for health, for society, for humanity. In previous chapters, I have discussed advocates' identifying drink as running a corrupt American public, drink as a core part of an unjust system of slavery and a producer of slaves and of degeneracy, as well as a symptom and cause of modern alienation. Many of these aspects of temperance thought could be identified directly in drunkards' bodies; bodies could become archival items of alcoholic order, storage units of alcoholic threat.

The American Baptist Publication Society, founded in 1824 in Philadelphia, published an anonymous anonymously-penned temperance parable entitled *The Marvellous Doings of Prince Alcohol*. It declared in its introduction, that many 'men of the goose-quill have thought it not amiss to set forth the deeds of [Napoleon] Bonaparte; but what was Bonaparte, or any other manslayer of ancient or modern days, to the mighty Alcohol?'[513] This text presented an account of warfare between 'Prince Alcohol' and his enemies,

512 'American Temperance Society. Transcript of the Fifth Report of the Society', The Journal of Temperance 1, 8 (July 6, 1832), 29.

513 The Marvellous Doings of Prince Alcohol: An Allegory. By One of Alcohol's Enemies (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, date unknown), 8.

the 'Temperance Battalions,' in similar manner to Nationolia and other stories (discussed in the previous chapter). Yet its description of alcoholic order, through explanation of conditions on a battlefield, is worth detailing. Bellicose Prince Alcohol's first line of fortifications, in this account, was made up of distilleries; the second, of wholesale groceries in which liquor could be purchased: '[t]heir magazines were copious, and their guns of enormous caliber. The effects of a single discharge might sometimes be seen one thousand miles.'[514] The third line of fortifications, readers are told,

> embraced a great variety and a countless number of small, mischievous garrisons, which were called Taverns, Grog-shops, Retailing-stores, &c. &c. Under Alcohol's last commission, their number was vastly increased; he caused them to be stuck up on every turnpike, at all the cross-roads, at every corner in every city, town, village, and settlement where he could get foothold.

Thus spatial infrastructures, in this interpretation, were what afforded alcoholic order its immense reach and power. It was these material spatial foundations that made alcohol at once so ubiquitous and so difficult to combat. But more, fixed infrastructures were crucially complemented by moveable parts – human bodies, combatants in the name of Prince Alcohol, who were engaging in, moving within, and helping push forward alcoholic order. The first division of soldiers was composed of moderate drinkers. 'Those who belonged to this division were not required to perform duty; their reviews were not frequent nor laborious; their marches were short, and generally performed in the most pleasant part of the day – the morning.' Nonetheless, this division was of crucial importance to Prince Alcohol: '[i]t was, in many respects, the very basis of all his military operations, since all his advanced companies received their recruits, either directly, or indirectly, from this division.' These moderate drinkers, moreover, were engaged in ideological work; their large banner sported a pro-alcohol slogan on one side: '»A little wine for the stomach's sake;« and on the other a bottle of cordial, and a glass of bitters with

514 ibid, 36.

this motto: »Medicine to the body – health and cheerfulness to the soul.« ' The Sip-often Battalion was the name of the next division, followed by The Drink-deep Battalion. The final division was known as The Drunken Posse, although Prince Alcohol called it the 'Legion of Honour.' Notably, in this move into the stomach and body, the human body proved a pivotal battleground and space in this war.

All these battalions were in charge of spreading the reputation of Prince Alcohol throughout the land, of imposing and reinforcing his rule, and were ordered 'to multiply prisons, hospitals and halters.' Battalion members were fiercely loyal and came from many walks of life. 'There were women who were once chaste and beautiful; rich men who were once respected; poor men who were once rich; preachers who were once admired; professors of religion who were once thought pious.' Thus here we note again common temperance tropes of alcohol's causing destitution and furthering alienation. Industry, we read, was one of the first victims of war.[515] Yet certain ambiguities inherent to temperance thought – and these were ambiguities which temperance thought often highlighted – are also apparent. Industry is slain, yes, but the alcoholic industry continues its reign unchecked and unchallenged. And we note an ambiguity also in the makeup of battalion members: they are at once active participants in the war for alcohol, but also the chief victims of this war. This ambiguity formed a general dialectic around which temperance thought oscillated.

ENGENDERING AMBIGUITY: PASSIVITY AND ACTIVITY IN THE INTEMPERATE'S BODY

For Prince Alcohol, bodies were the advanced guard of alcoholic order, yet their debased state also uniquely showed the dangers of this alcoholic order. In a discussion of the genealogies of racial and gender constructions in the Americas, literary scholar Robyn Wiegman has shown that ideas of femininity and ideas of race developed in close conjunction with each other, and frequently dialectically: to be a man was to be active while to be a woman was to be passive; a male slave's supposed passivity put him on a scale close

515 ibid, 37, 41, 41, 42, 43-44, 27, 45, 72.

to the feminine. White women's subjugation, moreover, established intellectual links between their status and that of lower peoples.[516] In temperance discussions of the drunkard – in temperance attempts to define and fixate the drunkard – these economies of status came also to play an important role. Temperate accounts of the drunkard's body showed him (the drunkard was usually assumed to be male) as on one hand hyper-masculine (and, as such, dangerous), as feminised (and, as such, of lesser worth), and as racialised (and, as such, debased).

(i). The Hyper-masculine Drunkard | 'I am fully persuaded that in all the trials for murders which take place,' wrote a Mr. Poynder in an 1832 issue of the *Journal of Temperance*, 'the brutalising effect of spiritous liquors are involved.'[517] This claim of drunken brutality formed an important trope within much temperance thinking and was much repeated. Men, it was claimed, were prone to becoming brutes through drink. Drunk, they would descend into violence, crime, deceit, and engage in otherwise foolhardy acts. 'Nothing arises our compassion more,' we read in temperance writer Jane C. Campbell's short story 'The Drunkard's Home,' than 'the man who »has learned to love the draught,« lowering him to the level of the brute.'[518] And this trait of drunken brutality was one that ran in direct opposition to the reigning masculine ideal of the time. Historian Holly Fletcher has detailed a key 'ideal type masculine figure' of the antebellum era, one which she called the self-made man: 'He was white, upwardly mobile and individualistic. During the day, he returned home to a domestic, feminine oasis from the capitalist fray. A total abstinence lifestyle was a natural choice for such a man.'[519] Temperance advo-

516 Robyn Wiegman, American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), cf. especially 21-28.

517 'Intemperance and crime', Journal of Temperance 1, 8 (July 6, 1832), 30.

518 Jane C. Campbell, 'The Drunkard's Home', The National Temperance Offering (New York: R. Van Dien, 1850). Uncle Toms Cabin & American Culture: A Digital Archive, University of Virginia, http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/sentimnt/snesjccat.html.

519 Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement, 7. Carolyn Purnell has written that this ideal of the self-made man constituted a long legacy of the Enlightenment. Carolyn Prunell, 'The Self-Made Man', in The Sensational Past: How the Enlightenment Changed the Way We Use Our Senses (New York and London:

cacy relied on and reproduced this ideal type of man in its laying out the dangers of alcohol. Alcohol was frequently portrayed as a producer of hyper-masculinity. That is, certain aspects of the self-made man – individualism, hustle, drive, etc. – in many temperance accounts came to take over the body of a drunkard, but in the body of the drunkard these attributes were morphed. Independence, a masculine trait and virtue, was privileged in the drunkard, but it was a corrupted independence, totally free from necessary self-restraint. Upward mobility was turned into a downward spiral; excessive individualism in a drunkard was translated into an inability to keep away from the stimulants of the street; exaggerated hustle and drive caused a meanness, a lack of sympathy, and an impulse for violence.[520] Reformed drinker and temperance advocate Samuel Mudway Heath recounted how much drinking there was on Mississippi steamboats, and linked this drinking directly to violence:

> Every one who has travelled on those Southern boats is aware that quarrels among the officers and crew are frequent. It is a word and a blow, and frequently the blow precedes the word. The head steward on our way to St. Louis had a »difficult« with one of the hands, and stabbed him, the consequence of which was that he was put on shore by the Captain, at the next landing.[521]

Blows preceding words, in Heath's account it is as if bodies and not full individuals are the perpetrators and victims. And alcohol has made shocking acts of violence mundane, nothing more than 'difficult.' Yet temperance accounts of drink-induced violence were intended to shock, of course. Such accounts were at their most shocking when it took the form of violence against wives

W. W. Norton & Company, 2017), 27-45. Ned C. Landsman has emphasised that a distinguishing feature of American Enlightenment thought entailed a strong emphasis on virtue and its cultivation. This might, I suspect, partly explain the ease with which Americans integrated temperance into the self-made man ideal. Ned C. Landsman, From Colonials to Provincials: American Thought and Culture, 1680-1760 (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997).

520 ibid, 15.

521 Samuel Mudway Hewlett, The Cup and its Conqueror, 40.

and other family members.[522] Women, according to Fletcher, formed the chief symbolic casualties in the temperance struggle.[523] Temperance here underscored female dependency and male power. A drunk husband, violent and unable to support his family, made the solution of sobriety salient. The female narrator of a temperance tale entitled 'A Poor Man's House Repaired' recounts how her heavy-drinking husband would destroy household items and threaten physical violence while his helpless family looked on in disbelief.[524] The violent drunkard thus brought hyper-masculinity into a domestic setting, and the wife and children formed the passive victims of his active destruction.[525]

The drunkard lost control of his body and his cravings, always asking, as in the poem entitled 'The Rum Maniac': 'may I not have rum, / To quench this burning thirst within?'[526] More, this active loss of control through an alcohol-induced hyper-masculinity also always led to a loss of status. One temperance poem, entitled 'Woman's Prayer,' had a widow lament the death of her husband, saying that, 'like mildew blight had covered his name.'[527] Not only did temperance accounts emphasise and condemn alcohol's causing a female dependence on a non-productive and violent drunken brute, but hyper-masculinity, too, led to an early grave. Alcohol caused women to become widows, further entrenching their vulnerability. Yet the dangers of alcohol were frequently focalised through widows; paradoxically, this meant that in some instances women ended up taking an active role, while men

522 Numerous temperance tales also intimated that drunkenness led to incest. cf. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, 'Temperance in the Bed of a Child: Incest and Social Order in Nineteenth-Century America', in Reynolds and Rosenthal (eds.), The Serpent in the Cup, 60-92.

523 Fletcher, Gender and the American Temperance Movement, 19.

524 The Poor Man's House Repaired, Or The Wretched Made Happy: A Simple Narrative of Facts Communicated by a Lady (New York: The New-York Temperance Society, 1825).

525 In the early Republic, rape was understood as an explicitly gendered crime, with active men and passive women. Frequently, drink was blamed as the instigator for this crime. Sharon Block, Rape and Sexual Power in Early America (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1.

526 'The Rum Maniac', American Temperance Union, 1851. Brown University Digital Repository, https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:29735/.

527 S. M. I. Henry, 'Woman's Prayer' (c. 1860-1900). Brown University Digital Repository, https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:29883/.

came to constitute the passive victims of alcoholic order. This leads to my second point.

(ii). The Feminised Drunkard | While accounts of the hyper-masculine, violent, and erratic drunkard emphasised the male body's control and power over the female's, drunkards were also portrayed as victims of drink and, as such, assumed a passive role. Here it was men who became dependent on drink, died, and left nothing behind but poor widowers. This, too, of course, ran directly counter to the ideal of the self-made man. A temperance poem entitled 'The Song of the Drink' described a woman sitting with her husband in front of a gin shop:

> She sat with his head in her lap,
> Of what a man had once been,
> That with her poor tatters she tried to wrap,
> To cover, and hide, and screen.

The woman's drunk husband has not only suffered a pathetic loss of status – a loss which, by hiding his body from view, the woman has to literally cover up – but the woman holds in her arms a body that had once been a man but is no longer.[528] 'Drink, drink, drink,' she sings, addressing liquor vendors:

> O drink sellers! out your dole,
> With hands that won't shrink, while ever coins clink,
> Destruction to body and soul.[529]

528 This scene reflected a larger cultural notion, in that 'women were seen as key in promoting the health and morality of the nation.' Barbara Cutter, Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels: The Radicalism of American Womanhood, 1830-1865 (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003), 8.

529 'The Song of the Drink' (c. 1843-1860), Brown University Digital Repository, https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/item/bdr:30237/.

Here alcohol is both understood and presented as a source of failure, financial and status-related, but it also portrayed the drunkard, a feminised body become, as a new and different human. This passive human reflected characteristics typically attributed, since the eighteenth century, to women. The word 'manly,' in antebellum America, 'was rich with connotations of an acquired sense of civilization and duty.'[530] The drunkard had given up all his duties, had descended from a civilised state; he was passive, mute, dependent – feminised.[531]

(iii). The Racialised Drunkard | As we have seen, the drunkard, reduced in temperance discourse to a body, was a character redolent with gendered imagery – the drunkard as an active offender *and* as a passive victim. Yet as literary scholar Glenn Hendler has written, this gendered discourse was also accompanied by a motif of civilisational and racial descent: 'Typically, at one stage in the narration of a drunkard's descent into absolute dejection he is described as a man so far from normative masculine identity that he has also lost his whiteness, at least insofar as whiteness is a visible condition of the skin.'[532] This racial degeneration was expressed through a focus on a drunkard's redness, a redness dramatically contrasting with the white and pale faces of his daughters and wives. 'Such color coding, the passage from red and brown to white,' continued Hendler, 'might be legible in other than racial terms if

530 Jim Cullen, '»I's a Man Now« : Gender and African American Men', in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (eds.), Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 79.

531 Passivity was a central middle-class feminine ideal in an Anglophone context from the early eighteenth century. Karen Harvey traced this to the development of a two-sex binary. Karen Harvey, 'The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies, and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth Century', The Historical Journal 45, 4 (December, 2002), 899-916. Keith Thomas listed silence as one of the eighteenth-century feminine virtues in Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', Journal of the History of Ideas 20, 2 (Apr., 1959), 195-216. As the economy increasingly moved out of the household, dependency became increasingly a feminine virtue, linked with a stoic comportment, which Nancy F. Cott famously termed 'passionlessness.' Nancy F. Cott, 'Passionlessness: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850', Signs 4, 2 (Winter, 1978), 219-236.

532 Glenn Hendler, 'Bloated Bodies and Sober Sentiments', 132.

not for the consistency with which temperance tales make reference to both Native Americans and Black slaves.'[533]

Some accounts went so far as to suggest that drunkards had come to constitute a new race of people, even a seemingly new species.[534] An anonymous writer was uncommonly explicit, in publishing a treatise on the 'Moral Physiology and Pathology' of 'the disease' of liquor drinking. The treatise exclaimed that to understand drunkenness, one has to think in terms of categories and in terms of space: one has to undertake a 'Topographical Survey' in order to properly be able to stake out the '*Boundary Lines* of *all the forms* of drunkenness.'[535] When one does this, our author continues, one finds that liquor drinking is a 'genus,' drunkenness a 'class.' And it follows in this system of classification that the drinker is a distinct 'species,' one with numerous sub-species: the 'animal drunkard,' the 'rowdy drunkard,' the 'convivial drunkard,' and so on. Nevertheless, all these sub-species share similar traits. Because they share similar traits, through effective identification their existence can be controlled, and possibly even – through temperate reform – reconverted. If left unchecked, however, this species will continue to proliferate and possibly continue to degenerate.[536] An article in the *Journal of Temperance* echoed similar worries of perpetuation, claiming that '[m]ore than twenty classes of the most cruel diseases spring from drinking, as its natural fruit;

533 ibid, 132-133.

534 The drunkard's morphing-into a species here resembles the trajectory sketched out by Michel Foucault's in his history of the development of the concept of homosexuality. He identifies a gradual shift in western ideas surrounding sodomy, arguing that with the coming of the modern era, discourse surrounding sex moved from inexact, unstable ideas and towards seemingly exact, stable, and systematic ones. While sodomy had long been a punishable act, in earlier times it was regarded only as a temporary deviation – and was not seen as constitutive of a person's character. Under modern sexuality discourses, instead, according to Foucault, 'the homosexual [would become] … a species.' Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 43. Incidentally, Peter Ferentzy, a sociologist and expert on historical addiction, has observed that, had Foucault been based in the United States and not in France, his history of sexuality would likely have instead been a history of addiction or drugs. Peter Ferentzy, 'Foucault and Addiction', Telos: Critical Theory of the Contemporary 125 (2002), 167.

535 Thoughts on the Moral Physiology and Pathology of the Disease Liquor Drinking, with Advice Hints (Boston: Redding & Co., Publishers, 1862), 4. Emphasis in the original.

536 Quotes from ibid, 4-12.

and these are *hereditary*, increasing, if the cause continues, till the family becomes extinct.'[537] In this understanding of drunkenness alcohol caused and spread diseases, and these eventually grew to become hereditary in drunkards – spreading in drunkards' bodies but also in their offspring.

The *Fourth Report* of the American Temperance Society went even further than this, declaring that drunkenness itself had 'become hereditary,' and that it was 'transmitted from generation to generation.'[538] Drawing on a Dr. Darwin, the report stated that, 'when chronically diseases arise from the use of ardent spirit, they are liable to become hereditary, even to the third generation; and if the cause is continued, to increase till the family becomes extinct.'[539] This hereditariness was suggested, too, in George Cruikshank's story *The Bottle*, discussed earlier in this book, which followed the downfall of a family due to the father's introducing alcohol into the household. In the story, the husband went mad, the wife wound up dead, and the children were left orphaned, thus presumably perpetuating the familiar alcoholic cycle. Moreover, in the allegorical story about the country of *Nationolia*, discussed in the previous chapter, drunkards were described as undergoing a process of classification: 'into first blood royalty, second blood nobility, and various grades of *hereditary* aristocracies and privileged classes of many sorts.'[540] This same story had drunkards use a different language from that of the non-drinkers. ('Gerey yn tosiagh yn gerey', for instance, meaning, 'Beginning of the end! end of the beginning!'[541]) Reflecting similar patterns, in the story about Prince Alcohol and his soldiers, a member of the Drunken Posse was heard speaking in a seemingly foreign tongue: 'Reshun has … said, … to all … that these shentlemen … have said. They has 'spressed my mind … ix … ix … sack … ly. Indeed if … I was … elo … squent, I could say a great … deal … more.'[542] In these temperance accounts, drinking was a process of becoming strange and foreign, of bodies morphing, with implications of degeneration and dejection always attending.

537 'Alcohol vs. Health', Journal of Temperance 1, 1 (March 16, 1832), 3. Emphasis mine.

538 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, vol. 1, 2.

539 ibid, 3.

540 Cowen, The First and Last Days of Alcohol the Great, 24. Emphasis mine.

541 ibid, 28.

542 The Marvellous Doings of Prince Alcohol, 54.

Yet to further explain the dejection of a drunkard, temperance material went beyond verbal description; advocates also made efforts to visually depict the descent caused by alcohol, to show the drunkard's having become a new species. Advocates recognised the efficacy of putting on display the damages of alcohol through depictions of drunkard's bodies. The present conditions and likely future of America as displayed by the drunkard constituted the sad truth, advocates emphasised. The writer of *Prince Alcohol* claimed that he had seen all that he had put down into his parable, 'that [he] was much distressed at the sight of these things, and wet [his] couch with tears.'[543] The apparent truth which advocates set out to record, was to them obviously empirically provable as well as plainly visible. The *Fifth Report* of the American Temperance Society reflected on the efficacy for temperance mobilisation in seeing and putting on public display the drunkard's plight:

> Hard must be the heart that bleeds not, cruel indeed the nature that weeps not, while surveying the emaciation of body, the bloated ghastliness of countenance, the paralization of nerve, the poverty, and consequent meanness, that slowly … yet surely creeps on their constant customers; [or while seeing] the gradual prostration of intellect, the destruction of honor, the obliteration of shame, the forgetfulness of religious obligation and even of common honesty, the loss of delicate feeling, the withering of reputation, the insensibility to character: in a word, the *destruction of the men*, and their transformation, first into *brutes*, and then into *fiends*, which is the constant and palpable effect produced in their hell-assisting manufactories.[544]

By this account, drunkards underwent a predictable development, in which their humanity was destroyed and, stepwise, they turned into a new species: a brutish fiend.

To visually explicate the drunkard's hyper-masculinity, temperance tales frequently included pictures of drunkards in the midst of a fit of rage. Such

543 ibid, 76.

544 Fifth Annual Report of the American Temperance Society, 120. Emphases mine.

Image 8: A drinker. From Mason Locke Weems, The Drunkard's Looking Glass (1818), 4. Out of copyright. https://books.google.de/books?id=PBkwAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Image 9: A drunkard. From Mason Locke Weems, The Drunkard's Looking Glass (1818), 22. Out of copyright. https://books.google.de/books?id=PBkwAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

images emphasised the drunkard's violent rage and dangerous manner, glaring eyes included. Other depictions took a more measured approach, displaying the face of a drunkard, as if exhibiting a curious scientific specimen. In *The Drunkard's Looking-Glass*, temperance author M. L. Weems' book-length exposé on drunkenness, readers are presented, first, with a drinker before his descent: his mien slightly fiendish and his eyes in a mild stupor. In the accompanying text, Weems went on to compare this condition of the early-stage drinker to that of a swine that had just eaten mushrooms. The farmer, 'who understands the nature of mushrooms,'[545] must not look elsewhere to find out what pains the swine, for the symptoms of mushroom-eating amongst swines, we read, are well-known and easily perceptible. Similarly, with a drinker, 'the symptoms of his disease are visible all over him. Every feature is a tell tale; every grin and stare betrays him. Only look at his eyes, see how they twinkle! – his cheeks, how they swell and redden!'[546] As the drinker descends – as the *drinker* becomes a *drunkard* – his condition worsens, and visibly. The reader is provided a picture: the man's hair is now in a mess, his face wrinkled and warted, scarred and scabby, and wearing just an undershirt, badly torn at the seams.[547] In the published pamphlet to the aforementioned poem entitled

545 Weems, The Drunkard's Looking Glass, 4.

546 ibid.

547 This description stood, of course, in stark contrast to contemporary ideals surrounding health, vitality, and youth. Such a near-obsession with youth was parodied in Hawthorne's short story 'Dr. Heidegger's Experiment,' which recounted the discovery of water from the Fountain of Youth by the eponymous doctor. His

'The Drunkard's Song,' we see a drunkard so far reduced that he has come to resemble a simian or a feral animal (reproduced above). In spite of all this, continued many temperance orators, this visual degeneration was but one final sign of decline. The Presbyterian minister and prominent temperance advocate Lyman Beecher held that, '[t]he effect of ardent spirits on the brain, and the members of the body, is among the last effects of intemperance, and the least destructive part of the sin.'[548] The temperance project, thus, had to effect timely arrest.

Many temperance accounts presented drunkards as a new species; the result of alcoholic order, the embodiment of alcoholic orders, as well as the spreaders of alcoholic order. I have shown that in many temperance accounts, the drunkard appeared a new species, one produced by alcoholic order. They were a result of and perpetuated the desperation caused by the rum trade, they embodied the estrangement produced by the alcohol industry, and they polluted the country's cities and homes. This new species, advocates warned, would proliferate, unless it was arrested in its tracks. And a primary problem with drunkenness was precisely that drunkards were at once perpetrators and victims, at once active and passive agents. The problem lay in their moving about and in their reinforcing alcoholic order, in their being difficult to contain. Changing those spatial conditions and infrastructures that had helped produce the drunkard became a key aim of temperance. And part of this temperance change had to include wide-scale bodily reform, had to entail convincing all Americans to take part in the struggle for temperate change. The necessity for this all-encompassing participation is shown nicely in societal and temperance reactions to the cholera crisis of 1832.

THE CHOLERA EPIDEMIC OF 1832

In the aforementioned *Fifth Report* of the American Temperance Society, published in July of 1832, we have heard drink being declared neither 'need-

adult test subjects drink the water and soon begin acting as adolescents, fighting for the attention of the female experimenter. Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'Dr. Heidegger's Experiment', in Nathaniel Hawthorne, Twice-Told Tales (Edinburgh: William Peterson, 1851), 231-243. The Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/dli.bengal.10689.9120/page/n1.

548 Beecher, 'The Nature and Occasions of Intemperance'.

ful' nor 'useful.' Ardent spirit, this report declared, 'is a poison which injures both the body and mind.'[549] This exposé of established 'truths' continued, as follows: 'Let it be born in mind, that the men who use ardent spirit, and especially the men who furnish it for the use of others, *are inviting the ravages and preparing the victims of that fatal disease*.'[550] Here, the report was concerned with the cholera, a disease which had recently broken out in Europe, and was swiftly sweeping American quarters.

We now know that cholera is an infectious bacterial disease that is typically caused by the drinking of impure water. Symptoms of disease include diarrhea and dehydration, which often translates to grave confusion and loss of consciousness in the victims of disease. If improperly cared for, cholera can prove deadly within mere hours. Before the nineteenth century, the bacterial disease had largely been confined to Asia, but in 1830 it reached European Russia and Poland, and it was reported in England by 1831. The speed and intensity with which the disease descended upon Europe was facilitated by some of the great achievements of the nineteenth century. Namely, with the nineteenth-century increased rapidity of ocean travel, the improvement of road infrastructures and the building of railroads, as well as the growth in global commerce and travel, the disease could spread more rapidly than ever. The growth of cities and dense urban neighbourhoods throughout this industrial world, moreover, complicated the maintenance of hygienic standards. In other words, this Asiatic cholera's *haunting* the west resembles very much the centripetal force that I argued for in the Chapter on the Atlantic.[551] That is, with the spread of European and American commerce across the globe, phenomena from these global outsides would come to affect the world's commercial centres.

The speed and terror with which the cholera hit Europe made its arrival to the New World seem only a matter of time. As medical historian Charles Rosenberg has written, 'it is difficult indeed to re-create the anxiety

549 'American Temperance Society. Transcript of the Fifth Report of the Society', 29.

550 ibid.

551 Contemporary European accounts of the cholera frequently described its arrival as a haunting and terrifying 'cloud,' as if a spectre. cf. Projit Bihari Mukharji, 'The »Cholera Cloud« in the Nineteenth Century »British World« : History of an Object-Without-an-Essence', Bulletin of the History of Medicine 86, 3 (Fall 2012), 303-332.

with which Americans … awaited'[552] this outbreak. Finally, in the spring of 1832, the disease evidently arrived in Quebec City, with the Quebec Board of Health reporting in June that year on 'several deaths from a yet unknown disease.'[553] Soon, reports on the cholera came in from Montreal,[554] from upstate New York, and it had 'reached New York City by the end of [June], Philadelphia and Cincinnati by mid-July, Boston and Baltimore by mid-August, and New Orleans by early October.'[555]

Worried about their continued health, well-to-do denizens of northern cities promptly escaped to the countryside, while southern planters left their plantations for higher, drier grounds. Nonetheless, most inhabitants could not easily and immediately escape, and 2,500 cholera-related deaths had been reported in New York City by the end of two months.556 As panic about the cholera spread, '[r]oads leading from Albany, New York, Philadelphia, and other eastern cities, clogged up with families leaving for the country.'557 The city of New York at this time found itself in a state of exception: industry was at a standstill and upwards 100,000 inhabitants left during the epidemic. '[T]he sky had become clear', according to historian Robert Lacour-Gayet, 'because the usual factory smoke had been dispelled; the colors of the houses stood out with extraordinary brightness, and hardly a sound was heard in the streets.'558

Doctors in the United States were at a loss at what to do. According to historian Paul Starr, '[g]ood English doctors'[559] had seen no reason to migrate

552 Charles E. Rosenberg (ed.), The Cholera Bulletin (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 1.

553 Michael Zeheter, Epidemics, Empire, and Environments: Cholera in Madras and Quebec City, 1818-1910 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 72.

554 On 19 June, Montreal reported 165 new cases and 88 deaths; on 20 June, 274 new cases and 149 deaths; on 22 June, 113 new cases, 41 deaths. S. L. Kotar and J. E. Gessler, Cholera: A Worldwide History (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2014), 100.

555 Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 84.

556 ibid.

557 Charles E. Rosenberg, The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 24.

558 Robert Lacour-Gayet, Everyday Life in the United States before the Civil War 1830-1860 (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1969), 91.

559 Paul Starr, The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The Rise of a Sovereign Profession and the Making of a Vast Industry (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 39.

to North America during the colonial era, and the medical profession in the United States would take a long time to mature into a systematic body of thought and practice. Naturalistic causation continued to intermingle with older moral explanations for disease (some doctors blamed the cholera on 'God's wrath'[560]) and, more, in the early Republic, a reigning attitude was that whoever practiced medicine was tantamount to a medical authority.[561] Indeed, because medicine was such a democratic field, reaching for the liquor cabinet will have been many Americans' first reactions upon hearing about the cholera.[562] A few medical schools had been established in order to formalise medical knowledge, but the reaction to the outbreak of cholera in 1832 shared similarities with reactions to the 1793 outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia: medical commentators were split on the cause and appropriate treatment of the outbreak. Some, like Benjamin Rush, rejected the contagion-theory of disease, and demonstratively stayed put in the city. Instead, Rush believed there was but one cause for disease in the world: 'morbid excitement induced by capillary tension.'[563] He did not, however, assume that outside factors had no impact on people's health: the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 had proven consequential in his considering possible links between drink and disease, convincing him that temperate persons fare better in fighting illness.[564] Nonetheless, Rush did not accept the concept of contagion,

560 Not only was there in medicine a 'marriage between religion and science,' but more generally, many Americans interpreted the epidemic as a 'visitation of divine wrath.' Irving H. Bartlett, The American Mind in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), 31.

561 According to Walters, '[e]very man, so it seemed, could be his own doctor, lawyer, or political oracle.' Walters, American Reformers, 147.

562 A popular manual for household medicine, published in Tennessee in 1830, explained that, '[w]hen laudanum [a blended drink containing alcohol and morphine] cannot be had in time, a glass of strong whisky or brandy ... may be given.' Gunn's Domestic Medicine, or Poor Man's Friend (Knoxville: 1830). (Reprinted. Charles E. Rosenberg (ed.), Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

563 Starr, The Social Transformation of American Medicine, 42.

564 Brian S. Katcher, 'Benjamin Rush's Educational Campaign against Hard Drinking', American Journal of Public Health 83, 2 (February, 1993), 273-281. The yellow fever in part led also to Philadelphia's city government becoming the first one in the country to consider erecting public waterworks. Domenic Vitiello, Engineering Philadelphia: The Sellers Family and the Industrial Metropolis (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013), 25.

which – according to historian Jack Larkin – at the time was 'nearly a folk belief,' and a highly controversial matter amongst physicians.[565]

With the medical community split and unassertive as to the appropriate course of action, and with disease spreading fast, the summer of 1832 proved a difficult season for many. George J. Mountain, a preacher in Quebec City, reflected on the period as follows:

> [W]hen did we ever know such a year as this? – when did this city, since its foundation, witness such scenes? – pestilence and horror stalking abroad in her streets – dismay in every countenance – death knocking at every door – none knowing who might next be the victim.[566]

This sense of despair and confusion was reflected in accounts by medical practitioners. *The Cholera Bulletin*, a publication which began circulation in New York City on 6 July, set out to 'allay unnecessary public excitement in a season of threatened peril, to communicate to the public accurate and full statements of the extent of evil, and to diffuse valuable and practical suggestions as to preventive measures.'[567] The editor complained that in recent weeks, 'clamour against the physicians of New-York'[568] had been voiced by the public, in response to their haphazard response to the outbreak of cholera. Physicians penned letters to the editor which were then published in the *Bulletin*; frequently these described their treatment of victims and came with recommendations, implicit or explicit, to other practitioners. One, reflecting Benjamin Rush's longstanding emphasis on the importance of blood-letting in curing illnesses and ailments, wrote:

565 Larkin, The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 77.

566 George J. Mountain, A retrospect of the summer and autumn of 1832 being a sermon delivered in the Cathedral Church of Quebec, on Sunday, the 30th December, in that year (Quebec: Thomas Cary & Co., 1833), 6.

567 The Cholera Bulletin 1, 1 (New York: July 6, 1832), 1.

568 ibid, 2.

> I ordered hot water, and while it was preparing, took away between 20 and 30 ounces of blood – gave camphor water (made by mixing two drams saturated alcoholic solution with one pint of water,) in table spoonful doses, put his feet in the warm bath, and put him into bed. Then rubbed him with a dry brush, and in half an hour all his symptoms were mitigated.[569]

An opinion expressed amongst many in this publication was that the idea of contagion had to be expelled from the public's mind.[570] Instead, hygiene and proper diet should prove the main avenue through which to halt the further spread of this disease. When the disease first broke out in Canada, one article in the *Bulletin* argued, all efforts should have been undertaken to feed, bathe, and care for the poor and intemperate:

> All this should have been done – and if these precautions had been taken, thousands would have been saved – and why? because humanity would have removed them from the influence of causes, which are shown to predispose to the disease – poverty, intemperance, and filth.[571]

Indeed, as in the above, what most practitioners and commentators were able to agree upon was that intemperance was a chief cause of cholera, as well as a contributor to its rapid spread. George J. Mountain, the preacher in Quebec, mused that it could not be mere coincidence that, '[a]mong those who have been swept off, there were many drunkards.'[572] The image of the disease soon transformed from that of a 'poor man's plague to

569 The Cholera Bulletin 1, 3 (New York: July 11, 1832), 19.

570 Medical men chided the idea of contagion as 'unphilosophical' and 'empiric,' the latter of which at the time was a near-synonym for 'quack.' Rosenberg, The Cholera Years, 78.

571 The Cholera Bulletin 1, 3 (New York: July 11, 1832), 18.

572 Mountain, A retrospect of the summer and autumn of 1832, 15.

a disease of depraved habits,' leading an 1832 Philadelphia broadsheet to simply state: 'QUIT DRAM DRINKING / If you would not have the / CHOLERA.'[573] In response to the cholera breakout in his city, the mayor of Troy, New York, called for 'efficient means to suppress *nocturnal dissipations*' and saw it imperative that 'regulations' be put in place regarding '*the retailing of ardent spirits*.'[574]

To temperance advocates, such sentiment was manna from heaven. That is not to say, of course, that temperance advocates celebrated the arrival of the cholera. But for years advocates had been voicing concerns about the perils of the consumption of spirits, and about the dangers of letting the alcoholic order continue as before. Now, with medical men and others coming to their side in great numbers and with the American public witnessing and experiencing the evident dangers of alcohol, these advocates could find solace in the legitimacy of their archival efforts, and could strengthen their hope that things should, could, and would change. Expressing such hope, the *Journal of Temperance* exclaimed that, '*The affinity of the disease with the intemperate and vicious is an* EXTRAORDINARY *characteristic*. – We say »*extraordinary*« because it was never before known that drinking ardent spirit was a preparation for sudden destruction of this kind.'[575] One article on the cholera reported that a healthy and otherwise 'uniformly temperate' young man in New York had 'concluded that it would be safe to use brandy as preventative for the cholera. He kept himself partially intoxicated for a week and died of his wretched invention.'[576] Members of a local temperance society in Albany travelled to Montreal to research the links between drinking alcohol and cholera and classified the victims as follows: »'Intemperate' 140; 'Free drinkers' 55; 'Moderate drinkers, mostly habitual' 131; 'Strictly temperate' 5; 'Members of the Temperance Society' 2; 'Idiot' 1; 'Unknown' 2.'« [577] Similar documentation was

573 Osborn, Rum Maniacs, 93.

574 Quoted in Kotar and Gessler, Cholera: A Worldwide History, 112. Emphasis in the original.

575 'Rum and Cholera', Journal of Temperance 1, 10 (Aug. 3, 1832), 40. Emphasis in the original.

576 'Rum and Cholera Record', Journal of Temperance 1, 11 (Aug. 17, 1832), 43.

577 James H. Cassedy, 'An Early American Hangover: The Medical Profession and Intemperance, 1800-1860', Bulletin of the History of Medicine 50, 3 (Fall 1976), 409.

done in Albany as well.[578] Such archiving hardly mattered, however: the idea that temperate persons did not – could not – in large numbers fall victim to cholera had already established itself as a truism.[579]

In this vein, the *Cholera Bulletin* asked the managers of the City of New York: 'is it not their duty to provide against the spread of the disease, by adopting measures, which will materially diminish the number of poor, intemperate, and filthy citizens.'[580] Following the epidemic, it became evident to many that 'cholera could not have thrived where filth and want did not already exist.'[581] And many Americans would have agreed with Richard Gooch, an English emigrant to New York City, that, '[t]he streets of New York [and he may as well have mentioned any other major American city] … are generally kept in the most beastly condition. Filth of all sorts is hourly shot out of every house into them, and, in plain English, New York is one huge *dunghill*!'[582] Gooch also asserted that 'half' of New York's inhabitants go to bed drunk on a nightly basis, presumably in order to ensure sleep in such chaotic environs.[583] Thus in spreading future outbreaks, spatial solutions to future epidemics had to be drawn up. Causes and conduits of poverty and disease had to be eliminated as best possible. The streets of American cities, covered with filth, had to be cleaned up and uniformly paved. The manifold animals which roamed the streets had to be cleared from urban spaces. Sewage systems had to be developed in order to ensure better general public hygiene. Waterworks had to be built, ensuring clean alternatives to alcoholic beverages. Finally,

578 The Temperance Text-Book recorded these gathered statistics. Intemperate deaths were 140; free drinkers, 55; moderate drinkers, 131; strictly temperate persons, 5; members of temperate societies, 2; idiot, 1; unknown, 2. The Temperance Text-Book, 59.

579 The Journal of Temperance did report on the appearance on the market of a claimed 'anti-cholera brandy,' but declared that '[i]t is impossible to elucidate the mischief which accrues from this most pernicious practice,' and warned against purchasing it, claiming it has provably 'totally failed in practice.' 'Anti-Cholera Brandy', Journal of Temperance 1, 18 (Nov. 23, 1832), 71.

580 The Cholera Bulletin 1, 3 (New York: July 11, 1832), 17.

581 Rosenberg, The Cholera Years, 2.

582 Richard Gooch (Toby Widdicombe, ed.), America and the Americans – in 1833-4 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 15.

583 ibid, 9.

temperance advocates hoped (as had the mayor of Troy), a more general discussion on the trade of liquor might flourish.

In other words, concerns surrounding disease and bodily harm eventually pushed temperance discourses, increasingly towards the fields of government and planning, anticipating postbellum and twentieth-century histories of temperance and prohibition. Indeed, the outright prohibition of alcohol would become a slogan for temperance reformers towards the mid-nineteenth century, and the state of Maine would be the first to implement a *de facto* state-wide ban, in 1850.

In part through the cholera scare, temperance claims revolving the body's constituting a vector that could spread alcoholic perils and diseases became widespread and accepted. Citizens were recommended – by temperance advocates but also by doctors, preachers, and politicians – to abstain from alcoholic drink and to instead consume water. (This recommendation would have probably worsened the impact of cholera, water being a leading cause of cholera, and water consumption 'arguably the most dangerous habit of all'[584] in early-Republic America.) In the body, as such, a solution to alcoholic order could be found. The body, so long a victim and conductor of alcoholic problems, could now resist alcohol's reign. '[Those] who use ardent spirits, and […] furnish it for the use of others, are inviting the ravages and preparing the victims of that fatal disease,'[585] wrote the *Fifth Report* of the American Temperance Society. The drinker, the seller, the and non-intervener were by the account of the Society all guilty; and cholera was not the main reason for death and destruction – it was alcohol: 'In one [city] half the men […] who died in 1828, were, according to […] physicians[,] killed by it. […] What would be thought of the men who, for the sake of money, should directly sell disease?'[586]

So the body came to comprise a singular *nexus* of threat. It formed a definable, tangible entity which – moving through other spaces – polluted, tainted, destroyed. The drunk body's ubiquity meant that disease could spring up potentially everywhere. And this being so had wide-scale consequences: everyone would

584 Peter Mathias, 'The Brewing Industry, Temperance, and Politics', Historical Journal 1 (1958), 106.

585 'American Temperance Society. Transcript of the Fifth Report of the Society', 29.

586 Permanent Temperance Documents of the American Temperance Society, Vol. 1, 118.

have to play a role in containment; a bodily focus left little need for and afforded little utility to those explicitly patronising attitudes for which early temperance had otherwise been criticised. And despite their concreteness, a contemporary widely-accepted truth was, as I have previously written, that spaces were plastic, mouldable, changeable. Just as city officials sought to remove street-dwelling pigs and pave roads, and just as temperance activists wished to close taverns and regulate trade, so people began seeing bodies as subject to 'spatial cures'; the alcoholic body became subject to hygienic regulation and reformation. *Thinking* temperance through the body thus transcended moral suasion, the dominant logic ascribed to early temperance. *Thinking* a clean body *paved the way* for political measures, informed by and infused with Christian morals *and* emerging techniques of spatial re-ordering. Cleaning streets would, technically, entail multi-pronged efforts: removing pigs, reducing street waste, paving and patrolling. Wrote Russell Thatcher Trall, Americans should finally come to realise that the consumption of alcohol is unnatural: 'Now what is alcohol? Does alcohol grow? Is it found a constituent principle in any thing that has life? Never!'[587]

Temperance advocates treated the alcoholic body as a sign of the magnitude of alcoholic damage and dangers, as an archival nexus of alcoholic order. Through the body, temperance advocates could point to the caroming, difficult-to-contain nature of alcoholic order, as well as its massive scope – an order tainting American public space and preventing the establishment of a healthy public sphere. Alcoholic bodies spread cholera around the country, and part of the problem was that these alcoholic bodies were unaware of their being perpetrators and actors within an order.

Finally, then, that even John Gough – temperance man *extraordinaire* – could fall off the wagon and again had to submit to the dangers of alcohol did not delegitimise temperance claims. His fall could, instead, aid the cause of temperance. Gough and his ilk could serve as living proof: his temporary (re)lapse showing that, truly, no one was safe from intoxicating spirits – those spirits unfortunately running America.[588]

587 Trall, The Philosophy of the Temperance Reformation, 2.

588 Indeed, Gough's career was far from over: his notoriety, according to George H. Jensen, would keep on increasing after the incident in the Manhattan brothel. George H. Jensen, Storytelling in Alcoholics Anonymous: A Rhetorical Analysis (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).

CHAPTER SEVEN. EPILOGUE: FROM PHILADELPHIA TO WASHINGTON

In the year 1838, a grand building in the neoclassical style, named Pennsylvania Hall, was erected in Philadelphia. Located just a few blocks away from Independence Hall, where the Founding Fathers had convened to sign the Declaration of Independence, Pennsylvania Hall was intended to function as a 'Temple of Free Speech.' Its location was far from coincidental: Philadelphia was celebrated as the nation's first capital, as the birthplace of American liberty, and as a place where ideas could be exchanged freely (not least since Benjamin Franklin had established his publishing business there). Since the Revolution, this reputation was nurtured by many Philadelphians.[589] Yet it was also a city geographically located comparatively close to the Mason-Dixon Line, and one that enjoyed both close commercial and cultural links to the South. Indeed, the conventional idea that the Mason-Dixon Line formed a border – physical and mental – in the antebellum period, has been challenged by historians, precisely on account of Philadelphia's status as an at once northern and southern city.[590] More, this proximity to the South had meant that Philadelphia had long formed a refuge for escaped slaves and was home to a substantial population of free Blacks.[591]

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589 A. Kristen Foster, Moral Visions and Material Ambitions: Philadelphia Struggles to Define the Republic, 1776-1836 (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), 6.

590 Daniel Kilbride, An American Aristocracy: Southern Planters in Antebellum Philadelphia (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 1. In Philadelphia, southerners could enjoy both a conservative and genteel atmosphere as well as experience an urbanity that could not be found in the South. The Percy family of Alabama effectively commuted, from the 1820s onwards, between their southern plantation and Philadelphia – in the latter they enjoyed northern entertainments and luxuries, without being confronted with the apparent snobbishness characteristic of the Yankee metropoles of New York and Boston. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, The Percy Family: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1994), 87.

591 In 1810, Philadelphia had a free Black population of 9,653 and 3 slaves. In 1820: 0 slaves, and 12,110 free Blacks. Gary B. Nash, Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840 (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 134.

In this Temple of Free Speech, events to further the cause of abolitionism and temperance were to be held. In conjunction with Pennsylvania Hall's opening, however, leaflets began circulating around the city, admonishing all 'Unionists' (and hence, in this reading, all supporters of the continuation of slavery) and all opponents of women's rights to gather outside to protest. While temperance advocates spoke inside, members of this would-be mob met in taverns and on surrounding streets, shocked by the things apparently going on inside Pennsylvania Hall. Rumours were floating around of male-female commingling, of female attendees convening with strange men behind closed doors, even of female public speakers. More, apparently, there were Black audience members at this event. Such rumours carried clear sexual connotations: women meeting with men behind closed doors in this age would have immediately evoked pornographic scenarios in many. And that Black men were present in the same building as white women would have elicited further fears, ones resting on a long pedigree of racism as well as, more recently, anti-abolitionist propaganda (to opponents of slavery, abolition automatically also meant racial amalgamation).[592]

Once the first event – consisting of a series of temperance orations – was finished, it was time for abolitionists to speak and, to the surprise of many, three women walked up on stage. Word spread to the protestors outside, and a riot erupted. Angelina Grimké (a famous writer, abolitionist, and daughter of a southern slaveholder) was on stage, in front of 3,000 spectators, when the first stone flew through the window.[593] Yet instead of backing down, which would have been the 'proper' thing for a woman to do, Grimké excitedly started speaking. Audience members later recounted how she had to shout to be heard (shouting, too, being beyond the realm of female propriety).[594] William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist, described how Grimké's 'eyes flashed, her cheeks glowed, as she devoutly thanked the Lord that the stupid repose of

592 Grimsted, American Mobbing, 36.

593 James A. Morone, Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), 162.

594 Jackson B. Miller has suggested that Grimké's shouting had the effect of performing the 'wailing' of a slave. Jackson B. Miller, 'Performing Pennsylvania Hall: Aural Appeals in Angelina Grimké's Abolitionist Discourse', Liminalities: a journal of performance studies 3, 3 (2007), 9.

[Philadelphia] had been distributed by the truth.'[595] Spurred on by the mob outside, Grimké spoke, shouted, and screamed for over an hour. And when she was finished and once the police had established a safe corridor and exit route out of Pennsylvania Hall, she and others walked out, defiantly holding hands with Black audience members.[596]

The angry crowd did not disperse following the closing of this ceremony, and Pennsylvania Hall was burned down two days later. (Firemen arrived at the scene on time but were so fearful of the crowd that they only saved the neighbouring buildings.) Abolitionists and temperance advocates were furious, one newspaper writing that, '[t]he beautiful temple consecrated to Liberty, has been offered a smoking sacrifice to the Demon of Slavery.'[597] These entanglements – between race, slavery, gender, drink, and the public – were made frequently in antebellum America; shared organisational and intellectual ties and tactics linked temperance with abolitionism. Philadelphia's free Black community was organised in 80 temperance societies, and these helped take care of the sick and 'bury members that may die.'[598] Also in Philadelphia, some four years after the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, a procession of Black temperance activists marched down Lombard Street to commemorate the end of slavery in the Caribbean. This temperance march was attacked by an angry white mob and riots ensued. While in Cork, Ireland, Frederick Douglass recalled this incident:

> Well, such was the feeling in this … city, that the display of the banner brought upon these poor colored people an infuriated mob! Their houses were burnt down in different parts of the city, and their churches were burned to the earth, themselves turned out of the city, and the city authorities and police did nothing to prevent it![599]

595 ibid.

596 ibid, 163.

597 Ira V. Brown, 'Racism and Sexism: The Case of Pennsylvania Hall', Phylon 37, 2 (2nd Qtr, 1976), 135.

598 Douglass, 'Intemperance and Slavery: An Address Delivered in Cork', https://glc.yale.edu/intemperance-and-slavery.

599 ibid.

With and through this incident at Pennsylvania Hall, I think it is possible to shed some light and reflect upon what I have treated throughout this book.

I began this work by pointing to what geographer Edward Soja might have called the 'silenced spatiality'[600] of the history of temperance activism. That is, while antebellum temperance was a heavily spatial phenomenon, – and while an analytical focus on space can help us understand temperance better – historians of temperance for a long time largely centred their research on questions of the success and appeal of temperance, finding answers in organisational structures, leadership changes, or in status motives of participants. Only recently have matters surrounding temperance geographies and space been taken seriously by scholars. Participating in this move towards temperance spaces, I shifted my concerns from traditional historiographical concerns of what happened where and how, to instead inquire about and explore the makeup of a temperance imagination. By paying close attention to the inner logics of temperance thought, I identified a recurring *modus operandi* as constituting an engagement with space, which, as Fernand Braudel wrote, has consistently formed history's 'enemy number one.'[601] In their archiving of, resisting, and fighting alcoholic history, temperance advocates seemed to appreciate such historical spatial antagonism. The incident at Pennsylvania Hall was a concerted event, and one that ably shows how activists sought to make their cause known through the public, through altering public space, and through building new spaces. With this in mind, to understand the inner workings of temperance, I argued, it helps to appreciate temperate 'poetics of space': the ways in which temperance advocates interacted with, how they talked and wrote about spaces, and what such spatial engagements might tell us about the way the world looked to temperance advocates.

600 This is a reference to Edward W. Soja's identifying a 'silenced spatiality' of historicism. Edward W. Soja, Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 13.

601 This can be understood as both a statement on 'history' in the sense of 'what happened' (struggles of power, territorial expansion, the struggle for access and public rights, etc. can all in many ways be read as struggles in, through, and for space); and as a statement on 'history,' in the sense of a discipline that concerns itself with time and not space (the latter would be reserved for geographers). Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1966), 326.

In Chapter Two, I showed that the history of antebellum American temperance can in many ways be read in parallel with greater changes in American society at the time – often taking spatial form. From this vantage point, then, temperance can be seen as an intervention into wider societal discourses, and as an attempt to pin down a central source for problems facing the country and the world. Advocates did this pinning-down by locating and articulating an alcoholic order. To this end, alcohol's attributes would shift from the Puritan-era 'Good Creature of God'[602] (as famously articulated by Puritan clergyman Increase Mather), towards that of a dangerous, threatening substance. This took work, as the gradual changes in temperance thought evince: early commentators saw moderation as imperative, accounting for threat only in 'ardent spirits' (beer, wine, and other drinks were still considered healthy and generally harmless). But over time, temperance came to mean total abstinence, its advocates contending that alcohol-as-such was a poison and rejecting the notion that it could ever be safe, or even clean. Russel Trall – a pro-temperance physician – warned further that alcohol was often 'drugged with still other poisons'[603] while Thomas Trotter, another physician, insisted that alcohol should rightly be considered 'one amongst the narcotics.'[604] Similarly, temperance sentiment came over time to emphasise the adverse impact alcohol had not just on individual bodies, but on the world itself, in the shape of an order.

This alcoholic order was traced by temperance advocates, I recounted in Chapter Three, in discourses surrounding the American public. This American public, to temperance advocates, had been in large part built on and continued to be shaped by alcohol. For a temperate future to become common sense, I posited, the damages done by alcohol to the public had to be

602 Increase Mather, 'Wo to Drunkards', Evans Early Imprint Collection, University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=evans;cc=evans;view=toc;idno=N00124.0001.001.

603 Trall, The Philosophy of the Temperance Reformation, 3.

604 Trotter, An Essay, Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical, 40. Richard W. Howland and Joe W. Howland have pointed to Rush's and Trotters' both describing the 'disease syndrome' of alcohol abuse 'independently' but at the same time, each beginning their writings on alcohol in 1785. Richard W. Howland and Joe W. Howland, '200 Years of Drinking in the United States: Evolution of the Disease Concept', in John A. Ewing and Beatrice A. Rouse (eds.), Drinking: Alcohol in American Society – Issues and Current Research (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978), 39.

archived. Through this archiving, a temperate future could arise: archiving could open up a view on new ways of public engagement and new publics; and the present American public would be – had to be – disturbed. In Philadelphia, such disturbance took shape in material infrastructure: Pennsylvania Hall's presence in the centre of the nation's first capital could symbolise and embody, even produce the necessary conditions for, a temperate future.

Through engagements with the public and through temperance archiving, the dangers and threats of alcohol could be put on display. This was frequently done, as Chapter Four suggested, through an intense scrutiny of the history of alcohol in an Atlantic setting. The Atlantic world had in part been made by alcohol – the slave trade and the slave system, New England's historical prosperity, and American industrial ventures were all connected to the Atlantic. And American and Atlantic spaces had, ever since, been coloured by this history. The Atlantic thus proved a space uniquely capable of expressing temperance claims surrounding the massive scale and the innumerable interlinked networks which constituted alcoholic order. And the Atlantic could help express fears of alcohol-induced invasion and degeneration, all while also pointing to the material, ever-present subjugation of people, subjugation produced by alcohol. That temperance advocates and freed Blacks defiantly marched out of Pennsylvania Hall holding hands – that they put their rejection of this history and of this subjugation on display – would be a part in their moulding a new future.

I showed in Chapter Five that temperance engagements with the past and present state of the country on one hand entailed temperance advocates – having undertaken their archival surveys – taking control of the 'ship of state,' pleading to the American public that they be allowed to map and navigate the future course of the nation. Temperance advocates were capable of doing this, as they saw it, because only they had identified the pervasive alcohol-induced ideological false consciousness in American society. And only temperance activism could – to reuse Garrison's memorable recounting of the incident in Pennsylvania Hall – cause Americans to be 'disturbed by the truth,' could make Americans finally see past their drunken ideological stupor.

This alcohol-induced alienation, I argued in Chapter Six, was demonstrated by temperance advocates as produced and perpetuated by the drunkard's body – a body that constituted at once an archival piece of evidence and a space for reform. The drunkard was both the prime victim and an prom-

inent lackey of alcoholic order. Through drink, temperance advocates held, persons lost control of their bodies and eventually distanced themselves from their true nature and lost sight of their surroundings. Drinking to excess in temperance thought would to be a constitutive part of a person's character. Yet the development of this social fact – of drunkenness not being a temporary aberration, and of the drinker coming to constitute a separate species – meant, too, that punishing an individual drinker for their deviations made little sense. While colonial Americans had tended to employ methods of public shaming to humiliate an excessive drinker (for instance, by forcing said drinker to walk around in public with a hollowed-out liquor barrel around his torso[605]), with the drinker a species, those circumstances producing this species had to, instead, be changed. As I suggested in the final part of this chapter, the cholera epidemic of 1832 seemed finally to prove certain key claims frequently made by temperance advocates: that the consumption of alcohol was not merely an innocent act – that this consumption was part and parcel of an order, and that this order's survival was ensured by the continued spread and dangerous moving-about of alcoholic bodies. These bodies, these core pieces of alcoholic order, were dangerously unaware of the damages they were inflicting onto themselves and onto the world. In Pennsylvania Hall and elsewhere, temperance advocacy thus also had to always entail deliberate bodily resistance: temperance advocates putting their sobriety and their temperate, healthy bodies on public display in front of angry crowds.

In his essay 'Reform and the Reformers,' philosopher Henry Thoreau called on those engaged in reform initiatives in his age to engage less with sentimental narratives surrounding, for instance, the plight of of the poor. Reformers, Thoreau held, should stop producing narratives made simply to elicit emotions and tears in the listener or reader, narratives which ultimately will not lead to any kind of meaningful change. Instead, he encouraged reformers to more directly interact with their material and spatial surroundings, to pinpoint precisely from *where* change might come and *what* this change might look like. The reformer, Thoreau wrote, 'exhibits only fair looking words, resolve and solid words for the underpinning, convenient and homely words

605 Alice Morse Earle, Curious Punishments of Bygone Days (Chicago: H. S. Stone and Company, 1896), 134.

for the body of the edifice, poems and flights of the imagination for the dome and cupola.' But, he asked, what are mere words? How could fanciful language possibly change anything? '[A]las, when we ask the schemer to show us the material of which his structure is to be built,' this schemer has nothing to show for. When a man wants to build a new house, he does not first come to Thoreau in order to take pity on the state of Thoreau's little shed. No: the man sets out and builds a house. This, according to Thoreau, should be the strategy of reform.[606]

Thoreau, famous for living in intentional solitude and for advocating the virtues of calm and stillness, complained, as it were, of reformers' building castles in the sky and of never moving beyond this practice of building. He held that reformers failed to properly take in and attempt to alter their actual, real-world surroundings. I have, however, in this work set out to show the contrary: that the castles in the sky which temperance advocates constructed did have foundations under them; that temperance advocates did engage critically with their surroundings; that they were not the sentimental saps of which they have sometimes been accused. In identifying and defining alcoholic order, I have asserted, temperance advocates *mattered* threat. They located those connections and historical-material links which enabled the proliferation and continuation of alcohol's pervasiveness, and they set out to change this order. Confronted with Thoreau's cynicism on the matter, I had to recall a recent visit to Washington, DC.

In Washington, DC, countless monuments and memorials stand proudly, telling the world that this man, this war, this event must be remembered (or, at any rate, must not be forgotten). And in this city, I walked past the National Archives, past an imposing statue called *Future*, sporting an engraving: 'What is past is prologue.' I knew it was Shakespeare (absent original contraction), but temperance was clouding my mind, and I thought about how neatly this notion fits with its basic logics: that to ensure a better future, the past had first to be documented, had first to be prologued.

Some fifty metres down the street from this statue, there is a monument that, indeed, has in many respects been forgotten. It stands quite anonymous-

606 All above quotes from Henry David Thoreau, 'Reform and the Reformers', Henry David Thoreau Online, http://www.thoreau-online.org/reform-and-the-reformers.html.

ly, unassumingly, on a small plaza by the northeastern entrance to the National Archives and celebrates a moment in time that is also largely forgotten. It is Washington's Temperance Memorial. With its quaint, small-town aesthetics, and its inlayed writing – espousing *Charity, Faith, Hope*, and *Temperance* – it appears both anachronistic and anatopic, out-of-time and out-of-place, in Washington's otherwise bustling downtown. Not just representing and celebrating but *making* sobriety, it once functioned as a fountain, promising clean, cold drinking water to Washingtonians at a time when spirits and beer prevailed as drinks of choice. (Compellingly, maybe tellingly, for decades it stood opposite *Apex Liquor*, one of Washington's more prominent liquor stores, now closed.) It was erected by Henry Cogswell, a wealthy dentist, who dedicated much of his free time and fortune to making America sober – including the erection of temperance fountains around the country.

This fountain-memorial was meant to herald and celebrate a coming future – the sober future – while also producing this future, in space, both *spelling out* and *spilling out* this future. By ordering space, by providing clean, sober alternatives to ardent spirits. But now, perhaps as if to signal temperance's loss of relevance, as if to perform the ultimate demise of alcoholic threat, as if to signal temperance's infertility, – and in a Freudian gesture – the fountain no longer spouts water. Still, the monument survives; it remains in place, stands there as a trace, as a 'forgotten reminder,'[607] of a sober future. Anyway, while one might today be inclined to think that temperance failed, this is not made obvious by this memorial: while this dried-up temperance fountain has been reduced to a piece of street furniture, it is nevertheless still used – by tired tourists, resting on its ledge, drinking water out of plastic bottles. In some ways, perhaps, temperance – documenting the world, archiving the past – had produced a future.

607 'Forgotten reminder' is a term by Michael Billig, from his elucidation of the concept 'banal nationalism.' Banal nationalism, so Billig, takes shape in practices and symbols that have become so taken-for-granted that they are considered a natural part of life: flags, currency, food, media, etc. These serve, in Billig's words, as 'forgotten reminders.' Michael Billig, 'Banal Nationalism', The Nationalism Project: Nationalism Studies Information Clearinghouse, http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm.

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Space and Order in Antebellum American Temperance

By the early nineteenth century, the movement against the use and distribution of alcohol was seeing a huge surge in popularity in the United States. Through speeches, stories, poems, plays, paintings, and parades, anti-alcohol organisations and activists railed against the dangers of drink, arguing that the continued use of alcohol would lead to the not-so-gradual downfall of individuals and families – even of the known world.

The present volume explores this era in American activist history. It specifically charts how US anti-alcohol sentiment of the period engaged with real-world spaces and circumstances. An analytical focus on space reveals that temperance – far from being simply religiously or spiritually motivated – dealt seriously with apparent contemporary circumstances. This engagement with the real world in part lent temperance its appeal: abstinence from alcohol would improve manifold spaces that mattered to contemporaries, including the nation, the capitalist marketplace, as well as each individual's body.

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