Chapter 1:
**Drugs, Desire, and European Economic Expansion**
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1 In grand events like the Opium Wars of the nineteenth century and in small, unrecorded, localized encounters, drugs played a prominent role in Europe's economic expansion. Often, the drugs introduced by Europeans replaced, or significantly transformed, indigenous drugs, whose consumption was tied to the labor process. The essays in this volume explore this nexus of drugs, economic expansion, and labor, attempting to clarify how and why drugs were introduced and used and how prior patterns of their consumption—European and indigenous—shaped postcontact use.

We argue that **drugs were a common feature of European expansion because their characteristics made them a particularly effective means of propagating trade or increasing the extent and intensity of labor**. We suggest that in the early stages of European expansion drugs were introduced to draw people, quite literally, into relations of dependency with European trade partners; that in later periods of contact, when control over labor power had been consolidated through other means, drugs were used to increase the amount or the intensity of labor drawn from laboring populations; and, finally, that later still the drugs used to intensify the amount and duration of labor shifted from alcohol, opium, and marijuana, which were used to overcome both the drudgery of long, hard, physical labor and the pain and discomfort that come with it, to caffeine-based stimulants, which provided a more sober and alert workforce.

Today people everywhere consume sugar, chocolate, coffee, tea, and other caffeinated beverages; smoke cigarettes; drink "spirits" along with beer and wine; and, to a lesser extent, use drugs derived from opium poppies, coca leaves, and the hemp plant. The near universal availability of these drugs is a recent phenomenon. Before the sixteenth century, tobacco and chocolate were found only in the New World, tea and coffee were restricted largely to their areas of origin in China and the Horn of Africa, respectively, and distilled spirits, while known in antiquity, remained uncommon. Coca use was confined to South America, and opium, known in Asia and Europe primarily as a medicine, was not broadly used.

After the fifteenth century, European economic expansion entailed the movement of vast numbers of plants, animals, and peoples throughout the world, transforming the physical environment, the distribution of species, and the lives of millions of people. This movement and transformation were largely driven by the demand of an ever-expanding "world market system" for finished goods, raw materials, and the labor to collect, grow, and transform those materials into commodities, themselves traded throughout the world. This is not surprising. European geographic expansion was driven by the growth of what became a capitalist economy, with its constant need for increased production, increased consumption, increased intensity and duration of labor, and increased trade. Drugs played a vital role in this process. **EUROPE COLONIZATION of Africa, Asia, and the Americas**

This is not a secret history, and the literatures on both drugs and European expansion and colonialism often note the association of drug trade and drug use with work and labor. Beginning with Sidney Mintz's seminal *Sweetness and Power* (1985), a series of works have examined trade in goods that Mintz called "drug foods" (e.g., sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, alcohol, chocolate) and harder drugs (opium and coca and their derivatives). Many studies provide a broad historical perspective, tracking numerous drugs from their original use in their native regions to their becoming commodities consumed the world over. Some examine a single drug in great detail, often beginning with a discussion of its first "discovery" by the local peoples who became aware of its psychoactive properties, then describing its "traditional" use, its later "discovery" by Europeans, the details of the drug's entry into the European market, and finally its subsequent worldwide diffusion. Other works have still more specific foci, for example, examining the impact of a particular drug on a particular group of native peoples. These studies repeatedly show that drugs are associated with attempts to gain access to goods or labor and that people's use of drugs are deeply intertwined with the circumstances of their working lives. The far larger literature on European economic expansion also frequently notes an association of drug trade and use with access to goods and to labor as well as the use of drugs in work and leisure.

However, discussions of drugs and labor have but a small part in most works, and even those that discuss the relationship through time and over space (e.g., Courtwright's recent work [2001]) rarely make it their central focus. Convinced that there is real merit in exploring the general parameters of the relationship between drug trade and access to or control of labor but conscious of the danger of losing the sharp detail of studying a specific case, we have structured this volume as a compromise. Our introductory chapter provides an overview of the links of drugs with trade and labor, including our model of their role in European economic expansion. Thereafter, individual chapters explore particular instances of this relationship. In combination, this provides a context for considering the specific cases, and a richness of detail reveals how the conjunction of cultural and historical forces shapes local outcomes.

**Some Characteristics of Drugs**

While many factors shaped the outcome of introducing any drug into a new environment, a powerful common thread runs through all accounts: *drugs are not like other products,* and the historical process of the introduction of drugs into new places is not the same as, for example, the introduction of spinach or potatoes. Drugs are pharmacologically active; they operate by stimulating or interfering with neurotransmitters that control brain functions associated with pleasure or pain, resulting in the formation of specific patterns of reinforcement and learning; they alter human consciousness and, literally, physically transform people's experience of their world and their own condition. Drugs are powerful substances that, whether sought after or proscribed, are quickly seen as special by both those who provide them in trade and those who consume them. Thus, although the patterns of drug use in any society cannot be understood without recognizing that they are culturally constituted and that use is shaped **by drugs' symbolic associations**, attempts to understand drugs, the drug trade, and the relationship of this trade to labor that do not distinguish drugs from other goods risk ignoring a key point: drugs' pharmacological properties as often addicting stimulants, depressants, and analgesics shape the role they play in all human societies and, consequently, the role they played in European expansion. Their pharmacological properties led to widespread drug use prior to European contact and then, after contact and the globalization of trade, to the rapidly spreading demand for them. The drug trade was (as it remains today) largely demand driven.

Alcohol and nicotine are the primary drugs considered in this essay. The latter "can act as both a stimulant and a sedative." Its initial and immediate effect is "stimulation of the adrenal glands . . . [with] a resulting discharge of epinephrine." This causes "a sudden release of glucose . . . [and an] increase in blood pressure, respiration and heart rate." Nicotine also "indirectly causes a release of dopamine," causing "a reaction similar to that seen with other drugs of abuse." It appears that nicotine's dopamine-releasing mechanism is responsible both for the sensation of pleasure derived from its use and for its addictive qualities (National Institute on Drug Abuse 1998:2). While the mechanism is incompletely understood, "alcohol consumption also leads to dopamine release" (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse 1998; see National Institute on Alcohol Abuse 1996 for a fuller discussion of dopamine and reinforcement in alcohol addiction). This is probably responsible for the feelings of euphoria and increased self-confidence associated with moderate consumption; it is also the likely mechanism that leads to alcohol addiction. When it is first consumed, alcohol is also a stimulant, and, consumed in greater quantities, it is a central nervous system depressant. These multiple effects seem closely tied to the ways it is used in both pre- and postcontact situations. Caffeine also produces "increased dopaminergic transmission within the brain" (Ferre 1997), which, in turn, "could possibly produce behavioral effects similar to other dopaminergic mediated stimulants" (Garrett and Griffiths 1997).

Historically, stimulants have been used to enhance physical and mental performance by increasing endurance, concentration, and the intensity of physical and mental work. Not surprisingly, the use of stimulants is associated with work, and the use of stimulants to enhance labor is broadly documented. More surprising is the association with work of drugs often thought of as depressants, like alcohol, opium, and marijuana, whose use would seem unlikely to increase either the intensity or the duration of labor. Both the broader literature and the essays included here help explain this unexpected association. First, these drugs are themselves complex and, under some conditions, may act as stimulants of mental, physical, or social activity. Second, the drugs are analgesic, and the importance of pain relief for enabling workers to sustain labor under difficult physical conditions should not be underestimated. By reducing feelings of pain, drugs permit people to work when their own physical conditions or the impact of their environment might otherwise make it impossible. Depressants also help sick, cold, hungry, and hurting workers sleep, which may also permit them to labor longer and harder than they otherwise might.

The use of drugs to enhance performance is widespread. Rajputs throughout the nineteenth century took opium prior to battle to "steady their nerves and to inhibit untimely bowel movements" (Carstairs 1954:297); nineteenth-century Tibetan state couriers often used opium to overcome fatigue (Washburne 1961). The Barasana, who live near the border of Brazil and Colombia, said that "coca gives them energy, stamina, and concentration and that it staves off hunger" (Hugh-Jones 1995:52). Padden claims that whenever the Aztec state found "itself in the midst of large construction projects, it judiciously used alcoholic beverages to obtain additional efforts from its laborers" (1967). Cassinelli reports that in Yemen qat was used "by stonecutters and dock and construction workers to energize . . . them for their exhausting tasks" (1986:238). In Papua New Guinea and Southeast Asia betel nuts were chewed to alleviate hunger, thirst, and fatigue (Lepowsky 1982; Hirsch 1995). In West Africa "[k]ola was . . . distributed during communal work parties (gayya) of young men. . . . [T]he kola was both a method of compensating the youths and a way of combatting fatigue during the hard work" (Lovejoy 1995:115). Writing of Qing Chinese opium use, Jonathan Spence notes that "in the nineteenth century . . . [c]oolie laborers also began to take opium, either by smoking it or by licking tiny pellets of the drug, to overcome the drudgery and pain of hauling huge loads day after day." He then adds, "[S]hrewd yet ruthless employers, observing that the coolies could carry heavier loads if they were under the influence of opium, even made the drug available to their workers" (Spence 1990:131).

Manipulation of addiction was not unknown. Drug use was a means of keeping labor captive or rewarding people who worked long and hard. Angrosino (this volume) shows that Caribbean planters who compelled their Indian indentured workers to consume rum rather than marijuana as their drug of choice enhanced the economic return on their laborers as well as the intensity of their labor.

The pain of hard labor is not all physical. Workers separated from their families, often by force, working long hours under difficult conditions, living in poverty and squalor, and exposed to death and disease suffered emotionally. Drugs' consciousness-deadening or consciousness-altering power let people blot out or deflect this pain. Like their analgesic quality, which helped people suppress their physical pain and thus work longer and harder, drugs' consciousness-altering power enabled people to overcome or suppress their emotional pain, allowing them "to tune out the wretchedness of life" (Angrosino, this volume) and continue working in conditions where that might otherwise have been impossible (see also Anderson; Gordon; and Cassman, Cartmell, and Belmonte, this volume).

Drugs, Meaning, and the Organization of Labor

Like other important goods, drugs are embedded in systems of meaning and of power that affect the ways they are distributed and used. Considering their social and symbolic association with work helps clarify the role drugs play in the organization of labor and ways in which drugs become the basis of social rituals that make workers' lives more meaningful and more sustainable.

In this volume, drugs are often set off from other goods. Suggs and Lewis's essay recounts the important social and symbolic role of alcohol in BaTswana society. Hays shows that traditional tobacco use was ritualized in Papua New Guinea. Angrosino notes that marijuana had quasi-religious connotations in India and among Indian laborers in Trinidad. Von Gernet's (1995) discussion of indigenous tobacco use in northeastern North America stresses its use as a means of mediating relations with the spirit world. Coca was not simply used to overcome the physical challenges of working in South American silver and tin mines, it was also used to build and bind social relations among humans and between humans and supernatural forces (Nash 1993; Hugh-Jones 1995; and Cassman, Cartmell, and Belmonte, this volume).

Where drug use is restricted (as was the case among the BaTswana or as it is in Europe and America today) or where those restrictions are imposed on others (e.g., throughout much of southern Africa in the twentieth century), drugs fall into a marked category. They are, to appropriate Appadurai's term, "enclaved" commodities. Writing of these enclaved goods, Appadurai argues, "The reasons for such hedging are quite variable, but . . . the moral bases of the restriction have clear implications for . . . political, social, and commercial exchanges of a more mundane sort." He goes on to suggest that "wherever . . . any other visible act of consumption is subject to external regulation, we can see that demand is subject to social definition and control" (Appadurai 1986:24, 31-32).

There are numerous reasons drugs are enclaved. Perhaps the most obvious is that they are addictive, and their use can generate significant social dislocation. The potential for this dislocation becomes apparent when drugs are seen through the lens of Appadurai's general criteria for the exchangeability of commodities. Appadurai writes of "two kinds of situations . . . where the standards and criteria that govern exchange are so attenuated as to seem virtually absent[:] . . . transactions across cultural boundaries . . . [and] intracultural exchanges where, despite a vast universe of shared understandings, a specific exchange is based on deeply divergent perceptions of the value of the objects being exchanged." The best examples of the latter, he suggests, "are to be found in situations of extreme hardship (such as famine or warfare) when exchanges are made whose logic has little to do with the commensuration of sacrifices." He provides as examples "a Bengali man who abandons his wife to prostitution in exchange for a meal, or a Turkana woman who sells critical pieces of her personal jewelry for a week's food." In these situations, he says, "value and price have become almost completely unyoked" (Appadurai 1986:14).

Appadurai's discussion strikingly corresponds to the conditions of drug trade, which, in contact situations, was often *a deliberate attempt to bring about enormous incommensurabilities of exchange.* In other instances (e.g., trade in heroin or crack cocaine), these incommensurabilities, while not perhaps intended, remain the stereotypical result (Ratner 1993). *Drugs thus are goods that, by their nature, create and maintain exchanges or contexts where "value and price have become . . . completely unyoked" outside situations of extreme hardship.* Drugs possess characteristics that cause users to behave as they otherwise might only in extraordinary circumstances. Drugs thus are extraordinary goods, and attempts to limit or control drugs, whether in trade or in indigenous use, make considerable sense. In this volume, Hays's discussion of what people would do or what they would give up to obtain tobacco provides a clear case of drugs promoting incommensurable exchange.

Drugs' powers, their attractions, and their ability to disrupt society and ordered economic relations help explain both attempts to limit access to them and the sacralization and ritualization of their use. While their ability to **induce states of altered consciousness** may be one reason for drugs' association with the **supernatural and with ritual**, an equally important reason for this association may be the need to make restrictions on their use stand up in the face of their powerful attractions. **Ritualized enclaving** of drugs embodies the literal meaning of making something sacred, declaring or making it a thing "dedicated" or "set apart." Access to the enclaved goods was often limited to those with status, power, and privilege (see Suggs and Lewis; Gordon; Ambler; Brady and Long; and Cassman, Cartmell, and Belmonte, this volume). Restriction by status is, of course, a defining feature of sumptuary laws, but restriction of use also reinforces the aura of power, distinction, and, perhaps, mystery that surrounds drug use. **As sacred goods, set aside for ritualized use by prominent members of society, drugs become embedded in multiple matrices of meaning associated with power and control**. Misusing them is a violation of the social and the cosmic order. Ritualized enclaving is thus a means of mobilizing social and symbolic power against the powerful attraction of drug use.

Simultaneously, the controls can be manipulated to create **incentives for labor**. Linking sanctioned access to drugs to labor (e.g., the provision of alcohol at the end of communal labor) can be a powerful incentive to participate in the labor process. It not only gives access to a pharmacologically powerful substance that may make people feel good, it also gives access to a good symbolically freighted in ways that make its consumption, or, more appropriately, the acceptable participation in its consumption, an event that marks and conveys status and gives the consumer an association with that which is powerful and meaningful. Thus, as Appadurai's notion of incommensurable exchange suggests one reason for restricting access to drugs, applying to drugs his notion that restrictions of any commodity are generally linked to "facilitating political, social, and commercial exchanges" reminds us that their socially sanctioned access gives them symbolic force that may amplify their already powerful attraction, **making control and manipulation of their access a potent means of influencing the organization of labor**.

The role of drugs or of their provision in association with labor may be particularly important in societies with what Wolf has called **"the kinship mode of production**" (1982). In contrast to capitalist or tributary modes of production in which **coercion** (however symbolically veiled) may underlie the control of labor, in the kinship mode of production, **symbolic systems like genealogies and mythic charters** play vital roles in allocating access to labor, which is, really, control over people. This control is often tenuous, involving conflicting claims, conflicting interests, and the potential for breakup or fission. The vast anthropological literature on kinship and exchange suggests that a key means of mobilizing labor is the controlled distribution of highly valued goods, of which women, who embody both current and future labor, are perhaps the archetype. Drugs that are also highly valued, set apart, and filled with power, including the **ability to make labor more productive and sustainable**, are another of the goods whose distribution is associated with access to labor and whose distribution is, therefore, commonly restricted, limited, or controlled, often through a form of symbolic elaboration that makes their possession, consumption, and distribution deeply meaningful.

Recognizing that drugs are agents sufficiently powerful to create incommensurable exchanges also helps clarify why they have such a devastating impact in contact situations. **Their antisocial power is hard to control where the social fabric has broken down, so embedding drugs in matrices of meaning and ritualization becomes all the more difficult.** Enforcing limits on who will use drugs or how they will be used then becomes more difficult to enact or enforce. It is in contexts such as these that we would expect to see the particularly destructive or at least uncontrolled effects Hays reports. Similarly, in the case of the BaTswana that Suggs and Lewis discuss, chiefs and elders who are upset about untraditional access to untraditional brews are responding to consumption that both challenges the social order and is, through its existence, a manifestation of the breakdown of the older social order that empowered and privileged them.

One additional aspect of drugs' relation to labor is worth stressing. Several drugs promote **a sense of euphoria, social ease, and energy that, taken together, provides a strong sense of conviviality**. Labor is social, and the allocation and deployment of groups shape society. If some drugs promote sociability, then where groups already exist, ritualized consumption of drugs may enhance this feeling. Where **the social order is more fragmented (e.g., in South African mine compounds or on plantations in Trinidad), then ritualized consumption of drugs may ease the formation of groups or help create a sense of group identity**. This enhancement of sociability and hence of group feeling seems likely to amplify other elements of the association of drugs with labor. **Misery shared with friends may make the drudgery of labor easier to sustain**; **group solidarity may make the labor process run more smoothly**, easing the individual burden as friends take up the slack; the promise of drugs as a reward and the ritualization of their consumption may facilitate calling together groups for collective labor and enhance the organization of labor in the absence of coercive means. At the same time, **drugs provide loci for political or emotional resistance to oppression and colonization.** Where drugs were used prior to contact (e.g., alcohol in southern Africa or coca in highland South America), their continued use became a means of preserving elements of precontact life, and where drug use was discouraged, **their consumption became an act of resistance**. Even where it was permitted or encouraged, drug use created spaces of resistance, unoccupied by and out of the reach of an employer's control (see Scully 1992). Whether the social groups formed around drug consumption led to political action remains an open question.

**Drugs as Trade Goods**

In addition to their pharmacological properties, drugs have certain other characteristics that make them "good to trade" and "good to exchange." Many drugs, for example, can be processed into forms that are relatively easy to transport and that keep well. This was **important when traders traveled over long distances or for long periods. While alcohol is more cumbersome to ship than some other drugs, it provides an excellent medium for the storage of surplus grains, sugars, and fruits, which are difficult to store in an unprocessed form**. Moreover, at least in North America, trade alcohol was often greatly adulterated and diluted, dramatically increasing the concentration of its purer form. In all cases, **drugs' high values** meant that they fit into the luxury trade that characterized early European expansion.

Many drugs can be combined in ways that enhance their impact or attractiveness. Sugar combines well with the bitter tropical drugs coffee, tea, and cacao; they become synergistic mixtures, as are alcohol and tobacco. One hallmark of market expansion was the combination of drugs and their recombination as they moved from localized to international trade. Finally, unlike trade goods such as metal or cloth, all drugs share a singular and—from the perspective of the trader—very valuable feature: **using them consumes them. To use drugs and still have them, the user must constantly replace his or her supply. Moreover, some drugs create a tolerance in users who then not only need to replace what they have consumed but need to consume more to achieve the same effect. In either case, exchange must be continuous. This was a feature of alcohol and tobacco** that was clearly recognized by traders in North America and the Pacific.

**Drugs and Trade: A Model and Its Details**

The **introduction of drugs was a significant and deliberate technique for the capture of labor and commodities in market expansion; they were first a tool of seduction**, inducing people to provide goods or labor. When labor could be controlled by other means, drugs became a way of increasing **the intensity or duration of labo**r. This pattern of drug use is associated with the trajectory of European expansion, which saw European presence precede control. Thus the introduction of drugs throughout the world by agents of Western economic expansion provided an effective, efficient, and **profitable means of drawing people into the market and creating in them an insatiable demand for its products.** The introduction of drugs provided a "euphemization of economic power" that Scott has claimed to be "necessary both where direct physical coercion is not possible and where the pure indirect domination of the capitalist market is not yet sufficient to ensure appropriation by itself" (1985:307). **By both increasing demand and capturing labor, drugs were a near ideal medium for promoting European economic expansion**. After control was established and more coercive means of gaining access to labor were generally employed, the problem facing colonial and imperial agents was not getting labor but **getting the most from** it. Drugs worked here too.

In the remainder of this essay we concentrate on describing this pattern and accounting for it. We do so fully aware that this is not the complete story of postcontact drug use. **Precontact patterns of drug use helped shape cultural attitudes toward introduced goods.** Historical conditions of contact varied greatly, also shaping how introduced drugs were accepted and used. **Traders or others did not merely show up with any drug in any context and have their fortune made**. The notion strongly articulated by Mintz that "when unfamiliar substances are taken up by new uses, they enter into pre-existing social and psychological contexts and acquire—or are given—contextual meaning by those who use them" (1985:6) is borne out by our research, which shows instance after instance of some goods being accepted while others were rejected for reasons that often remain obscure. **Drugs acquired meanings and were incorporated into the symbolic and cultural systems of contacted peoples, and the means and meanings of their use became complex and overdetermined**. Still, the broad pattern we have identified is clear enough for us to feel that the recognition, manipulation, and satisfaction of people's desires for drugs played an integral role in European economic expansion and the growth of the world market system and that it ought to be directly explored.

**Drugs in Europe**

Sahlins has suggested that "the development of Western 'civilization' has depended on an enormous soft drug culture . . . marked by the **daily consumption of such substances as tea, coffee, chocolate, and sugar**" (1988:43). This is supported in the history of European and European American drug use, which shows that from the early sixteenth century until the early twentieth century, one drug after another was (ultimately) accepted and often welcomed as the new panacea.

Numerous studies detail drugs' entry into European trade, the ways in which they were described and used, conflicts over their qualities, and the histories of their use. All reveal the diversity of views and purposes of those engaged in trade, even in single locations at particular historic moments, let alone at different times in different locations. In Europe itself the nature, meaning, and appropriate use and distribution of goods like sugar, alcohol, coffee, tea, and tobacco were as vigorously contested as were the goals and appropriate methods of overseas expansion (see, e.g., Goodman 1995; Mintz 1985; Schivelbusch 1992; Smith 1995; Wills 1993).

Still, patterns emerge. Goodman discusses European promotional literature on tea, coffee, chocolate, and tobacco in which they are presented as means of assuaging hunger and thirst. Europeans recognized that the substances "were psychoactive . . . in their predominantly humoral terms" (Goodman 1995:134, 137). Europeans also seemed aware of the addictive nature of these goods, and "the primary literature [on early European contact with the New World] contains numerous allusions to the tobacco addiction of Europeans who lingered . . . in the nascent colonies" (von Gernet 1995:77). Early notions of addiction seem common to ours. By the early seventeenth century, people were aware of the hazard of addiction to opium, including the observation that it "being once used, must daily be continued on paine of death" (Purchas, quoted in Booth 1998:30), though through the eighteenth century there seemed to be no moral judgment attached to its use (Booth 1998:33).

Coffeehouses and other similar establishments that rose to prominence in Europe were closely linked to merchants and trade. Smith (1995:154) and Schivelbusch discuss the transformation of Lloyd's Coffee House (established ca. 1687) from a place in which "people in maritime occupations" met to discuss "the latest trade news" (1992:49ff.) into the marine insurance brokerage firm Lloyd's of London. Since "the combination of tobacco plus either tea, coffee or chocolate . . . with sugar was a critical component of diet and ritual in the eighteenth century" (Goodman 1995:137), and there was early recognition of tobacco's addictive characteristics, it seems likely that those who shipped and traded coffee, tea, and sugar knew their characteristics and how those characteristics could create or sustain trade. If sailors who possessed and consumed drugs on their own understood their properties and their value in establishing informal trade, it is likely that merchants who financed trade and trade companies and who contended over the meanings and uses of drugs were also aware of and appreciated (if that is the correct word) the power of drugs. This knowledge circulated within a culture increasingly attuned to the link between expanded notions of need and economic growth (Burke 1996:85), in part enabling the conscious use of drugs in overseas trade.

Drugs and European Expansion

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Europeans came into contact with new goods, including drugs such as coffee, tea, tobacco, coca, and chocolate. The expansion of trade also brought Europeans into new or closer contact with numerous peoples. In China, Southwest Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, people lived in polities larger, richer, and more complex than those in Europe. In the Valley of Mexico and Andean South America there were also complex societies and state systems. In much of North America, parts of the Caribbean, lowland South America, Africa, and the insular Pacific, the people encountered were members of less complex societies, including many whose leaders often lacked political power and the ability to coerce and control labor.

Drugs were commonly introduced into trade where combinations of the following factors occurred: the contacted people had an egalitarian political organization with few traditional mechanisms for controlling labor or claiming rights to materials; the contacted people lived in an environment or a fashion that made flight easy and pressure difficult to apply; those creating contact were relatively few in number and had little power relative to the contacted population. Thus drugs were most commonly introduced by isolated traders operating well beyond the frontiers of their own society or when the people contacted were highly mobile (e.g., were foragers or nomadic pastoralists) and were therefore not susceptible to controls introduced by Europeans or indigenous leaders acting as their agents. These conditions most resemble those occurring in what White (1991) calls the "Middle Ground" and that Wolf (1982) associates with the "forward edges of capitalist expansion." These were areas in which Europeans had not established control, in which they were outnumbered (often enormously), and in which European culture was not dominant. Here, where "merchants created commodity frontiers and labor frontiers . . . exchanging . . . [goods from the industrial centers] for local products" (Wolf 1982:306), the introduction of drugs played a significant role in promoting, establishing, and maintaining exchanges that could not otherwise be easily controlled.

Our data show that the introduction and use of drugs to draw people into exchanges for labor and goods seem strongly associated with the contacted group's level of political organization. **Over 86 percent of the small-scale societies in our sample (thirty-seven of forty-three cases) showed evidence of drugs used to gain access to trade or labor, while less than half that rate (five of twelve cases) is reported for complex societies.** Conversely, figures for the distribution of drugs used as a means of increasing the duration or intensity of labor virtually reverse this pattern: fewer than 20 percent (four of twenty-three) of foraging and fishing societies, which generally are small and lack elaborate political organization or stratification, show evidence of drug use to increase the intensity or duration of labor, **while drugs were used this way in all (thirty-seven of thirty-seven cases) of the more complex and industrial societies in our sample**.

Numerous accounts of contact illustrate drugs introduced to gain access to goods or labor. In 1785, Bernardo de Gálvez, the viceroy of New Spain, **insisted that the Apaches be given generous amounts of distilled spirits such as brandy or mescal so that "they will acquire a taste for these drinks [to] . . . oblige them to recognize their dependence on us"** (1951:47). Mining in the west and northwest of the Valley of Mexico was labor intensive, and there was always a shortage of labor (Taylor 1972), so "gifts" of food and, more importantly, alcohol were "given" to workers to recruit and maintain a large labor force. In the end, gifts of alcohol let mining operators accomplish something even the Aztecs were unable to do: **transform the Chichimecas (the generic name for northwestern Mexican bands of foragers) into a sedentary population inhabiting the newly** constructed mining towns. In 1715 a typical Hudson's Bay Company trading post gave away to native peoples "2,900 lbs. of Brazilian tobacco, 170 lbs. of leaf tobacco, 190 lbs. of rolled tobacco and 950 gals. of brandy. . . . Liquor was not the only trade commodity that was dispensed extravagantly in an effort to win the loyalty of Indians" (Yerbury 1986:44, 70). Bishop's analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trading with the Ojibwas shows that between 1780 and 1829 brandy, rum, and wine were the primary media of exchange. Bishop also claims that the Ojibwas learned to bargain for "stronger" rum by playing one trader off against another (1974:15-247).

Peter Mancall notes, "By the eighteenth century, traders in furs and skins . . . knew that liquor, particularly rum, was an ideal trade good, and they pursued it vigorously" (1995a:43). Russian and Yakut traders took advantage of the Yukagirs by fostering their dependency on trade items that included brandy, tobacco, sugar, and tea (Graburn and Strong 1973:43). Chinese merchant traders also managed to foster dependency relations with border peoples. The Mongols developed such a craving for caffeine taken in the form of bulk tea *(zhan cha)* that, at the turn of the twentieth century, they were trading three sheep for one five-pound slab of the poorest grade of Chinese pressed tea (Jankowiak 1993). A late-eighteenth-century traveler described "Bushmen" as "free from many wants and desires, that torment the rest of mankind" and "detesting all manners of labour yet easily induced into slavery by a little meat and tobacco" (Sparrman 1975, quoted in Pratt 1986:46; see also Gordon 1996). Crais notes that though seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch merchants eschewed trade of alcohol in southern Africa, they did trade tobacco, which Crais calls "a rapidly consumable luxury." He also explicitly comments that "for this reason, [it was] recommended that the Company emphasize it." Crais provides a clear example of drugs creating incommensurable exchange when he quotes a late-seventeenth-century account describing Khoikoi selling cattle for tobacco until they became the impoverished servants of those supplying it (1992:166-67).

A closer examination of the Pacific sandalwood trade and North American fur trade reveals more details of the roles of traders and natives. In the 1840s, as part of a larger triangular trade network that balanced trade of two drug foods, tobacco and tea, on a fulcrum of sandalwood, Australian entrepreneurs began to trade extensively in the islands of Southwest Melanesia. Shineberg (1967) reports that at the outset of the trade, the islands on which the Australians established their trade—New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Loyalty Islands—were both isolated and virtually unknown. Their inhabitants, like other Pacific islanders, lacked iron, which became the primary item of initial trade. Shineberg also notes that European traders who sailed long distances on relatively small boats could not maintain control over the local populations with whom they traded.

Shineberg describes "a discernable trend in Melanesian imports," noting that "the goods required by a community varied . . . with the length and intensity of its contact." This developmental cycle of trade demands tended to proceed as follows: "1. Hoop or bar iron, metal fish-hooks, beads, cheap iron-mongery . . . glass bottles and calico. 2. A wider range of metal tools . . . as well as axes, adzes, cloth and drapery of all sorts. 3. Tobacco and pipes. 4. Muskets, powder, superior edge tools, and still more tobacco" (Shineberg 1967:146, emphasis added).

Local demand and desire played a strong role in shaping trade. Shineberg writes, "The keen competition [between traders] of 1847-9 strengthened the bargaining power of the islanders," and "the tastes of Melanesian buyers were carefully studied to obtain advantage over rivals." Sandalwood traders were forced to keep up with the constant shift in desired goods, increasing not only the difficulty (in 1848 a Captain Towns wrote to his merchant backer that "we have great difficulty in hitting on the Article to suit the fancy of the natives") but the cost of trade. "What was 'good trade' at a certain place and time was a matter of great moment to contending traders: it was therefore a common subject of letters from captains and traders to Sydney" (Shineberg 1967:146, 149), providing further evidence that traders' selection of trade goods was shaped by native desires.

The introduction of tobacco provided relief from the natives' constantly changing tastes and "the problem posed . . . of hitting upon 'the fancy of the natives.' . . . [B]y the middle of the [nineteenth] century . . . [p]ipes and tobacco became indispensable items of trade. . . . The passion for tobacco suited the trader admirably. It was comparatively cheap trade, it was small and compact to carry, and, above all, it was expendable, creating as much demand as it satisfied." Moreover, while other items went in and out of fashion, tobacco remained a constant, such that "after the end of 1849 there was no export cargo destined for the islands that did not include tobacco" (Shineberg 1967:150, 151).

In North America, alcohol parallels tobacco's role in the sandalwood trade. "The logic of the trade was obvious. The Indians' demand for durable commodities such as guns and blankets declined over time as they acquired as many of them as they could reasonably use. Their demand for alcohol, by contrast, seemed to be constant[,] . . . and since no alcoholic drink lasted long, Indian drinkers had to return to traders to get more" (Mancall 1995a:43). The striking parallel is not surprising. In North America, as in the South Pacific, isolated traders at great distances from larger European American populations sought goods from the native peoples among whom they traveled.

The diary of Archibald McLeod, a bourgeois of the North West Company who ran a trading post at Fort Alexandria, west of Lake Winnipeg, shows that in North America, as in Melanesia, pressure for the trade of alcohol and tobacco was not all one-sided. Phillips's massive study of the fur trade shows Europeans trading alcohol to attract trade and also natives demanding it. Phillips also documents both native and European resistance to its use in trade (1961: 109, 214, 401, 620-21; see also White 1983; Mancall 1995a). In the 1670s, when the French attempted to outlaw trade in alcohol, Iroquois who were on their way to Montreal with furs to trade "immediately . . . turned and took their pelts to Albany, where Dutch traders willingly supplied their desires."18 In fact, "*the Indians demanded these beverages* [wine, spirits, and especially brandy]" such that "the *coureurs de bois* found their largest profits in the sale of brandy to Indians who had collected furs" (Phillips 1961:214, 212-13, emphasis added; see also Phillips 1961:401 for when Quakers tried to end the trading of alcohol in Pennsylvania).

Competition and alternate sources of alcohol played a prominent role in shaping trade. Phillips provides evidence of this competition in Rhode Island and notes that in 1731 two French fur traders in western New York, claiming that stopping the sale of brandy had hurt their trade, stated that they "must allow the Indians some drink or they would take all their furs to the English" (1961:144, 456). While the use of drugs may have begun as a European gambit, native demand powerfully shaped the trade.

McLeod's diary reveals his attempts to use tobacco and alcohol to gain or maintain trade but also shows the impact of native demand. In one entry McLeod records an attempt to use tobacco to induce people to come to his post to trade with him. "Saturday 15th November 1800 . . . Sent La Rose with Roy's step-son to the Thunder's tent, to try to prevail with his wife . . . to send her fine [?] furs here. I sent 3 feet of Tobacco for an encouragement of them to do so." About one month later, McLeod supplied alcohol in place of tobacco and tried to bring a group rather than an individual in to trade. He also openly notes that he was being played off against a competitor and had to provide the alcohol for free as a means of keeping the trade at his post. Native demand is again reflected in a diary entry telling that locals he wanted to hunt for him were "not at all ashamed to send me word if I do not send them rum they'll not hunt for the Fort" (1965:129, 143, 130).

If McLeod sometimes gave away alcohol or tobacco to induce people to trade with him, in his view it was because people often demanded tobacco and alcohol from him, in effect inducing him to provide them with those goods if he wanted their trade. Once the trade in drug foods was established, it could take on a life of its own.

These accounts of the sandalwood trade and the fur trade reveal some of the pressures and complexities that shaped the role of drugs in early European trade with small-scale societies. Where the European population was small and distant (in both time and space) from larger European populations, Europeans did not control the conditions of trade. Accounts further suggest that even where Europeans were able to create demand through the introduction of drugs and drug foods, they were still unable to completely control that trade. Contacted populations played an active role in shaping trade. They had desires and made demands, and they were willing to insist on the satisfaction of those desires. While Europeans created trade and tried to control it, there is evidence that native preferences, even for certain kinds of alcohol and tobacco, strongly influenced the market basket of goods that Europeans supplied.

Moreover, European competition for access to or control over indigenous resources provided local populations with the ability to seek alternative and, from their perspective, better trade offerings. Competition thus further reduced the control that early European traders had over local populations and the conditions of trade, shifting the balance of power in trade toward the local populations. That under competitive conditions alcohol and tobacco became, and remained, important items of trade suggests both the degree to which trade was driven by local desire for drug foods and that, from a European point of view, these drugs were powerful weapons for inducing trade, the heavy artillery of competition.

In sum, Europeans turned to the drug trade when they lacked the means for controlling with whom and under what circumstances native peoples would trade, so the dominant period for the introduction of drugs, almost by definition, occurred prior to effective establishment of imperial or colonial control over indigenous peoples and their territories. In these circumstances drug foods were used to induce trade, and traders were very conscious of the role these goods could play; they used them and fought to be able to use them. Both this reality and an intimation of what would follow are captured in Caliban's lines from Shakespeare's *The Tempest:*

When thou cam'st first,
Thou strok'st me and made much of me, wouldst give me
Water with berries in't, . . .
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
. . . and then I lov'd thee
And show'd thee all the qualities o' th' isle.

Brady and Long, Hays, Ambler, and Mancall provide accounts of trade in Australia, Melanesia, Africa, and North America, respectively, that clarify the kinds of goods sought in return for drugs, the ways precontact use shaped demand, and the ways in which larger economic imperatives led Europeans to press this trade.

**Drugs and the Intensity or Duration of Labor**

People have frequently used drugs in their struggle against the drudgery of hard, repetitive, or difficult labor. Labor-enhancing drugs were employed well before the advent of mercantilism or market capitalism and are by no means a European contribution to world culture. After areas were colonized and incorporated into European empires, the goal was not gaining access to labor or goods—that was taken care of by means of slavery, corvée, debt peonage, the *mita,* the *encomienda,* indenture, and other means of forcing indigenous labor to work on colonial projects. Only rarely after these measures were in place and generally in the face of competing demands for labor (as in parts of southern Africa) did the provision of alcohol or tobacco remain a means of acquiring or retaining a labor force. Assuming that the workers were already present and that they could not simply melt away**, drug use was promoted or condoned as a cheap means of keeping people working longer and perhaps harder than they otherwise might have**. Drugs became a reward to make people more willing to work long hours under difficult conditions; they were used as **stimulants or pain relievers** to permit people who might have been subject to coercion to work longer and harder than they might otherwise have been able; drugs were also used to create debts or physical addictions that kept laborers bound to the job.

Once European colonies were well established, the relationship of drugs to labor and trade became more complex. Although the parameters of early contact were relatively similar the world over, there was great variation in the nature of the colonial or imperial enterprise, including differences in the kind and degree of control these systems were able to (or wished to) impose and in the nature of the resources and sources of wealth being sought. Differences between particular imperial or colonial systems also evolved over time. Moreover, the European approach to drugs and drug use changed, sometimes driven by new attitudes toward drugs and their use in Europe, sometimes as a result of new circumstances in the colony or the colonial project. Indigenous use patterns also influenced colonial patterns of drug use. Carefully documented cases—like alcohol in southern Africa (see Crush and Ambler 1992; Gordon, this volume) and North America (see Mancall 1995a; Eber 1995)—show that drugs were favored and opposed by many parties for many reasons, precluding any one European conception of appropriate drug use or any single local response. Local preferences and restrictions shaped consumption patterns. However, the inflections arising from local preference do not obscure an important common theme: in an attempt to increase productivity, **drugs were regularly supplied as a means of making difficult, dangerous, and unpleasant work physically and emotionally sustainable.**

Roughly thirty years after the conquest of the Incas gave the Spaniards control over a highly stratified society with a precontact means of compelling labor, "perhaps 90 percent of the increase in coca leaf production was directed to the newly concentrated population in Potosí," and "neither the use of coca in that way [i.e., in the mines at Potosí] nor the large population was a traditional circumstance or condition" (Murra 1986:51-52). Traditional or not, **coca was seen as an important means of labor management**. A sixteenth-century mine owner arguing against attempts to ban coca chewing as a "pagan" custom claimed, "If coca were abolished the Indians would not go to Potosí. Neither would they work nor mine" (Gagliano 1963, quoted in Sanabria 1993:40). From this owner's perspective, coca was being used to attract labor, though others have suggested it was needed to help Potosí's workers function under the harsh conditions they endured, and using coca to drawing out more, and more intense, labor is well documented. June Nash's *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us* shows coca being used by miners and being provided by mine owners as a means of overcoming and perhaps making possible work that takes place in unimaginably difficult conditions. Nash writes at the beginning of a section titled "Coca," "The one solace that workers have on the job is coca . . . **to help them endure physical discomfort, fatigue, and despair**." She goes on: "Coca breaks in the morning and afternoon are as established a part of **the routine** of the mine as the coffee break is of the office." The importance of coca (and alcohol) in making people willing to engage in unpleasant tasks is apparent when, elsewhere in her book, Nash quotes at length a miner discussing his life in the 1920s. Having joined the army to escape poverty, he had been "forced to become a strike breaker." Recounting that experience, the miner says, "The company paid us all. They gave us cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, and when the strike was over, they gave us fifty to one hundred pesos as a tip." Nash concludes her discussion of coca by noting, "Management is well aware of the importance of coca in that it makes the inhuman conditions of the mine tolerable. As a result they keep the pulpería [the company store] well supplied with good coca. . . . 'If we ran out of coca,' one administrative clerk told me, 'we would really have a revolution on our hands'" (1993:198, 36, 200).

Elsewhere, alcohol was the drug of choice. Arguments were made for providing beer to miners on the South African Rand, like the one claiming that "at Kimberly [the diamond mines,] familiarity with the glass has built moderation in the black man, while it is admitted that better work is got out of him if he sees the prospect of a cheering glass at the end of a day's labor. . . . On these [Transvaal] fields also . . . the 'boy' so humored and refreshed [with alcohol] is the better labourer" (van Onselen, 1976:50). Scully (1992) shows how agricultural labor in South Africa was enhanced through the notorious "tot" system, **which saw field workers receive cheap wine and liquor as part of their pay**. Eber provides similar evidence for alcohol's use in highland Chiapas during the 1930s, citing Ruth Bunzel, who quoted a coffee planter's lament: "[T]ake aguardiente [raw brandy] away from the Indian and what will become of coffee? Coffee plantations run on aguardiente as an automobile runs on gasoline" (1940:363, quoted in Eber 1995:30).

Less potent drugs were also employed to enhance labor. Audrey Richards noted that since the Bemba did not customarily eat a morning meal on awakening, when they began working in copper mines (drawn to them by corvées and the need for cash payment of hut taxes), mine operators thought the Bemba's lack of breakfast slowed their work. **Breakfasts of cocoa and white bread then became compulsory for the miners** (Richards 1939). Timothy Burke's wonderful study of commodification and consumption in Zimbabwe shows European colonists attempting to increase the demand for tea by marketing it as a labor enhancer:
*[M]arketers actively sought to give public expression to the anxieties and complaints that characterized African daily life in the cities[:] . . . obtaining work, staying employed, fending off crippling sickness, and achieving upward mobility. . . . [A]dvertisements also played very strongly, especially in the 1940s and 1950s,* ***to white preconceptions about lazy and indolent African workers****. . . . In one ad, a son tells his father that he is always exhausted and will lose his job soon. His father wisely suggests, "Do as I do my son. Drink a cup of refreshing tea when you feel tired." The son's white employer notes the subsequent improvement and tells him, "I am going to give you a better job." (1996:152-53)*

While we cannot always ascertain exactly what drug consumers hoped to gain (relief from physical discomfort, good company, emotional comfort), the consumption of tea or cocoa and perhaps of coca or alcohol as well followed less from a desire to achieve an altered state of consciousness than from the need to overcome the fatigue of daily labor. This seems so even for the initial use of opium among nineteenth-century Chinese coolie laborers and Javanese manual laborers. They received it from their employers, who presumably knew that though "from a clinical point of view morphine does not act as a stimulant in humans, by removing the dull irritation of routine aches and pains, opium would surely induce a feeling of vigor, alertness and energy" (Rush 1990:35) that would help people overcome the pain of hard labor and thus help them work longer and harder than they could have without the drug.

Using drugs to increase the intensity or duration of labor was not an outcome of European expansion. Prior to contact, non-European populations had appreciated drugs' energizing effects, which had been provided by those organizing labor and sought out by laborers themselves. **European expansion did create a massive number of people who needed to be spurred on to produce under constraints of time and cost**. This and the replacement of traditional with new and often much more powerful drugs—most prominently, distilled liquors but also coca(ine) and opium—as well as softer drugs like caffeine and nicotine greatly intensified the relationship of drugs to labor. Details of how this process of intensification played out in particular cases, the rich complexity of the outcomes, and the motivations of both workers and their employers are revealed in the essays by Angrosino, Suggs and Lewis, Gordon, and Cassman, Cartmell, and Belmonte.

**Coffee and Tea and a New Role for Alcohol**

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a modern, industrialized chemical industry emerged with the ability to isolate, mass produce, and deliver (both globally and, through the development of hypodermic syringes and wooden matches, individually) large quantities of drugs far more potent than their preindustrial predecessors. Industrialized drug production occurred even though many drugs, including alcohol, were increasingly stigmatized, while caffeine and nicotine became the preferred, socially accepted choices.

From their introduction in Europe, coffee and tea stood in contrast to alcohol. If alcohol caused inebriation, coffee and tea sobered (Burnett 1999; Schivelbusch 1992**). If alcohol was associated with vice, coffee and tea were associated with virtue**. Unlike taverns, coffeehouses were places where sober men gathered as equals to intelligently consider their affairs and the affairs of the day. In the eighteenth century coffeehouses replaced taverns as sites at which businessmen gathered, and **coffee conveyed not only the image of "sobriety" but also of "honesty, reliability and moderation**" (Smith 1995:154ff.). While not all coffeehouses evolved into Lloyd's of London, they were associated with business, and a man who wished to make his way in business was far better seen in a coffeehouse than a tavern (Schivelbusch 1992; Smith 1995; Courtwright 2001; Burnett 1999; Pendergrast 1999; Weinberg and Bealer 2001).

Coffee's association with sobriety was partly a continuation of its roles in Ethiopia, Yemen, and then the Muslim Middle East, whence it came to Europe. While coffee's increased popularity in Europe is often linked to the rise of capitalism (it was perceived as the ideal beverage for sober, ascetic businessmen rationally calculating their costs), in the Middle East coffee was first considered an aid to concentration, valued in Sufism and study (Weinberg and Bealer 2001). People in the Middle East and later in Europe shared the perception that coffee consumption drew together gatherings of men who engaged in lively but sober discourse; this led to **attempts by rulers to restrict its consumption on the grounds that it promoted sedition** (Mathee 1995; Anderson, this volume; Weinberg and Bealer 2001; Schivelbusch 1992). As with many drugs, prohibition failed, and, at least in Europe, coffee and tea became the accepted beverages of the rising, sober middle class. Drinking coffee or tea came to be considered not only an aid to work but also a means of marking oneself as a sober, respectable member of society; their consumption increased.

Later, the consumption of caffeinated beverages no longer demonstrated bourgeois respectability, but **their association with energy, with mental acuity, and, particularly, with sobriety remained**. As legal and social pressures restricted the consumption of alcohol and hard drugs, the drinking of coffee, tea, and cacao, often consumed with sugar, either directly or in sweets, cakes, and candy, increased. The active agents in these drugs are the methylxanthines discussed by Anderson. Stimulants and hunger suppressants, they are felt to promote clear thinking and provide energy, and they have few deleterious side effects.

The **change of preference** occurred in **everyday life** and within **institutional structures**. As **European and American military technology and battle strategy** changed from tasks that relied on brute force to tasks that required more sustained and focused attention (i.e., flying an airplane and operating computer-controlled artillery), the preferred drug foods for enhancing job performance changed from alcohol, often used prior to World War II as a stimulant, however momentary, to overcome physical fatigue and thus sustain the work effort, to other drugs, including synthetic manufactured drugs, that enhance a person's ability to concentrate. **Pilots in both the Vietnam War and the Persian Gulf War** used **caffeine pills, ritalin, methadone, methamphetamine, and dextrose** tablets as temporary means to enhance concentration and thus performance.

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the consumption of coffee, tea, and then caffeinated cola beverages increased (see Pendergrast 1993, 1999; Burnett 1999; Anderson, this volume) as these **beverages became part of daily life at home and at work, and the promotion of stimulants continues to be significant in our own day**. A recent New York Times article, for example, reported that some companies such as Snapple, Celestial Seasonings, Coca-Cola, and Procter & Gamble are expanding their beverage labels to include herbal drinks that, much like the early-twentieth-century Coca-Cola ads, claim to enhance a person's alertness, concentration, and memory retention (Barnes and Winter 2001:A1). That these products emerged first in a less commercialized "health food" market suggests that the demand for them is driven by twenty-first-century clerical and professional workers self-medicating to enhance their productivity.

Conversely, the **increased antagonism toward alcohol** (and later to opiate and coca derivatives and marijuana) seems linked to **the rise of capitalism**, the incorporation of large-scale, expensive machinery into production, and the **concomitant rise in and need for work discipline**. E. P. Thompson's classic "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" stresses that undisciplined alcohol use and an **artisan's control over his labor time were part of preindustrial work patterns**. The famous "Saint Monday" that workers celebrated in Great Britain was not simply a day off but a day for continuing heavy drinking, and attempts to control the consumption of alcohol were part of an overall attempt to **discipline labor and rationalize the production process** (Thompson 1967; Gutman 1977 describes similar holidays in U.S. labor history).

Though prior to industrialization **plantation workers, miners, sailors, and others doing hard physical labor were often given alcohol as a portion of their wages,** throughout the nineteenth century alcohol lost favor with employers, and they often attempted to limit or prohibit its consumption. As Courtwright pithily notes, "As the social environment changed, becoming more rationalized, bureaucratic, and mechanized, the distribution of cheap intoxicants became more troublesome and divisive. *A drunken field hand was one thing, a drunken railroad brakeman quite another*" (2001:178, emphasis added). **Worries about the effect of drug use on control over labor**, coupled with xenophobic concerns about Asian immigrants, racist attitudes toward African Americans, worries about crime, evidence of an increased use of purer and more powerful products such as morphine and then heroin, and social reforms, including the professionalization of medicine and **increased government regulation**, led to similar pressures for restrictions on the use of opiates, cocaine, and marijuana (Courtwright 2001; Pendergrast 1993).

If manufacturers sought a sober workforce, some labor leaders did too, arguing that alcohol, not religion, was the opiate of the masses and that sober workers would be more capable of promoting their class interests. Others in the labor movement claimed that taverns were the workers' political clubs and that attempts at prohibition were in fact attacks on the institutions in which worker solidarity was constructed and maintained both by fostering conviviality and camaraderie and by providing a venue for political discussion and organization. Drink was thus seen as both the friend and foe of the working man.

These oppositions barely scratch the surface of the complexities of drug consumption. *Rivethead,* Ben Hamper's autobiographical account of life on the General Motors assembly line, describes workers drinking and using drugs on the job with attitudes that clearly **make consumption acts of quiet resistance**. But drinking to blot out the mind-numbing repetitiveness of life on the assembly line is also what permitted Hamper to work day in and day out. Drinking may thus have paradoxically kept an experienced worker on the job. Indeed, on-the-job drinking may simultaneously be an **act of shared resistance that makes the work experience more meaningful a**nd more sustainable even as it embodies opposition. To close the circle, Hamper's graphic description of the physical and emotional toll of his drinking highlights the cost of using alcohol and drugs as an anodyne. In Hamper's account, **drinking created worker solidarity** and was an act of resistance, an anodyne to drudgery, and a labor enhancer. It played a role in the social reproduction of the working class and **wreaked havoc with his family life**, first as the child of a drinking father and in his own adult life, and with his health.

From at least the eighteenth century on, these contradictions and complexities abound wherever one looks at conjunctions of drink and labor within the metropolitan arenas of European American culture.35 Still, the broad trend was for the restriction of alcohol consumption or opiates and the acceptance of stimulating bitter beverages like coffee and tea.

The increased consumption of bitter brews was not solely driven by the attempts of employers and reformers to sober up their workers. Mintz (1985) has pointed out that the British urban laboring class's switch to sweetened tea was part of **a complex shift in labor patterns, gender roles**, and **diet** that saw it occupy several new niches in new workers' lives. Those who consumed tea or coffee and sugar were not simply the passive victims of soft drug lords who pushed these goods, they demanded them just as the natives of the New World and the South Pacific demanded alcohol and tobacco. Consumers wanted hot, bitter beverages because they fit in with their new lives, making possible, for example, quick and cheap warm meals. **Stimulants, coupled with large doses of sucrose, also gave cold, hungry, poor workers a noticeable kick of energy.** It is an irony worth noting that when members of the new European and American ruling class promoted their workers' consumption of bitter beverages they were promoting drugs once prohibited because of their "revolutionary" potential, revealing again how much the perceptions of drugs' qualities and hence the conditions of their "proper" use are socially constructed.

Not surprisingly, ferment over drug use in Europe and among "white" Americans affected the attitude toward the use of "hard" drugs and alcohol in the colonies, and the ambiguities, contradictions, and disputes surrounding metropolitan consumption are also manifest in colonial drug use. Van Onselen (1976) shows that as mining operations on the Transvaal shifted from relatively simple surface mining to deep pit mines requiring elaborate technology, great capital investment, and steady labor, the mine owners tried to restrict miners' access to liquor. Essays in Crush and Ambler (1992) detail the complexity of this process. They—and van Onselen—describe the conflicts among Europeans who were, sometimes simultaneously, trying to restrict (see, e.g., Courtwright 2001:175), control, and profit from native liquor consumption in southern Africa.

The combination of **gender roles**, indigenous attitudes toward drink and work, **residential and organizational patterns associated with an industrialized labor process**, and the ways in which **state pressure for temperance were imposed** made some drinking behavior simultaneously an act of resistance, an attempt to overcome the drudgery of labor, and an effort to enact continuities of local custom. Thus if the big picture of drug use following industrialization reveals a general pattern of pressure to restrict alcohol and hard drugs and to replace them with the stimulants found in bitter beverages, a closer look reveals a broad stream composed of numerous eddies and whirls. In the end, drug use in colonial circumstances takes on all the complexities of drug use in metropolitan areas with the added complexities of precontact patterns of use and multiple loci of power and interest.

Still, through all the complexities of considering different stages of contact or relations of production, an underlying pattern remains: humans find drugs attractive; they are powerful agents for gaining access to labor power, for gaining some control over it, and for increasing people's ability or willingness to work long and hard under difficult conditions. The chapters that follow detail variations on these themes.