

DRUGS AND NARCOTICS IN HISTORY

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CONTENTS

<i>Notes on contributors</i>	page ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
Introduction	i
1 The opium poppy in Hellenistic and Roman medicine John Scarborough	4
2 Exotic substances: the introduction and global spread of tobacco, coffee, cocoa, tea, and distilled liquor, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries Rudi Matthee	24
3 Pharmacological experimentation with opium in the eighteenth century Andreas-Holger Maehle	52
4 The regulation of the supply of drugs in Britain before 1868 S. W. F. Holloway	77
5 Das Kaiserliche Gesundheitsamt (Imperial Health Office) and the chemical industry in Germany during the Second Empire: partners or adversaries? Erika Hickel	97
6 'From all purpose anodyne to marker of deviance: physicians' attitudes towards opiates in the US from 1890 to 1940 Caroline Jean Acker	114
7 Changes in alcohol use among Navajos and other Indians of the American Southwest Stephen J. Kunitz and Jerrold E. Levy	133

8	The drug habit: the association of the word 'drug' with abuse in American history John Parascandola	156
9	Research and development in the UK pharmaceutical industry from the nineteenth century to the 1960s Judy Slinn	168
10	AIDS, drugs, and history Virginia Berridge	187
11	Anomalies and mysteries in the 'War on Drugs' Ann Dally	199
	<i>Glossary</i>	216
	<i>Index</i>	217

TWO

EXOTIC SUBSTANCES: THE INTRODUCTION
AND GLOBAL SPREAD OF TOBACCO,
COFFEE, COCOA, TEA, AND DISTILLED
LIQUOR, SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

RUDI MATTHEE

INTRODUCTION

FROM the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century substances with addictive qualities such as tobacco, coffee, cacao, tea, and distilled liquor were introduced, found acceptance, and spread with remarkable speed around the globe.¹ The near-simultaneity of the introduction and the similarity in the reception and dissemination of these psychotropic substances among the population of Europe and parts of America, Asia, and Africa is striking enough to invite comparisons. To draw such comparisons is the aim of the following discussion, which will consider the transformation of these five stimulants from curiosity and rarity to commonplace commodity in the context of a number of converging and intersecting economic, social, and political processes.

The first of these is the expansion of European horizons in the wake of the great maritime discoveries at the turn of the sixteenth century. Europe's exploration of the globe not just ushered in a commercial revolution, but simultaneously helped ignite a revolution in scientific and religious thought and practice that was to have a lasting impact on the world. While the Renaissance overturned the existing canons of science and philosophy and inspired a new focus on the physical and the material, the Reformation forced a new consciousness upon man, urging him to contemplate God individually and to conduct his life according to a new personal ethic. In the practical morality of subsequent movements such as Puritanism and Pietism the new stimulants became indices of individual responsibility, and were alternately denounced as emblems of moral rot and social degeneracy, or celebrated as the embodiment of sobriety and vigilance.

The individualization of society adumbrated by Renaissance and Reformation occurred in the context of the second process, the rise of

the early modern state. Built around new bureaucratic structures, legitimized through institutionalized religion, and relying on standing armies, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century states everywhere formulated centralist commercial policies and advanced claims to regularized taxation. While at first the relevance of the exotic wares was limited to mercantilist preoccupations with the balance of trade, this changed as soon as governments began to recognize their value as taxable commodities.

Great new urban centres in western Europe formed the loci of this new political configuration. Their expansion spawned new commercial and administrative elites as well as a rudimentary urban proletariat, and redefined the boundaries between private and public spheres. The growing social stratification and the segregation of class and gender inherent in this development marks the third and final process to be examined for its particular effect on the status of the new substances and the ambience in which they were consumed.

The following discussion will consider four aspects of the stimulants as they pertain to the processes just outlined. First a brief survey will be given of their expansion beyond Asia and South America. This will be followed by an examination of the similarities in early perception. Next the controversy surrounding the new stimulants in many parts of the world will be discussed. Lastly, the question of their wider dissemination and popularization will be considered. In all cases the written sources happen to be most abundant for Europe; much of the discussion will therefore inevitably centre on that continent. Throughout, however, the widest possible geographical scope will be considered and, wherever possible, parallels will be drawn with other parts of the world.

ORIGINS AND INTRODUCTION

The age of discovery and the subsequent trade expansion provides the backdrop to the introduction of all but one of the stimulants under discussion. Good examples are tobacco and cacao, both of which were introduced in the wake of the early European colonization of the Americas. Tobacco is generally held to have been introduced from the Caribbean and Brazil by the early European discoverers. Whether or not the tobacco plant and its use were unknown to any civilizations outside the western hemisphere prior to 1492, the fact is that the first Europeans to witness tobacco smoking were members of Christopher Columbus' crew.²

The knowledge and sporadic use of tobacco remained confined to the Mediterranean world for the next half century, but spread quickly after

that. Theoretical knowledge advanced through works such as the popular *Agriculture et maison rustique*, a book on horticulture by Jean Liebault, and the *Cruydeboeck*, written by the Flemish Rembertus Dodonaeus in 1554 and held to be the oldest reference to the cultivation of tobacco in Europe.³ Jean Nicot, whose name is immortalized in the addictive substance in tobacco, contributed to the early knowledge by describing tobacco while he served as the French ambassador to the Portuguese crown in 1560.

The first group to use tobacco in Europe were the soldiers and sailors who set out on military expeditions and commercial ventures from the ports of Lisbon, Genova, and Naples. Trade took tobacco further north. In the late sixteenth century those who would later become the chief distributors around the world, the English, took up smoking. The first clay pipes, modelled after Indian examples, began to be manufactured in London in about 1580. Sailors and travellers brought the tobacco habit from Portugal and England to Holland, and further on to Norway, where tobacco appeared in the import duty tariffs in 1589.⁴

War and commerce similarly furthered the spread beyond Europe's coastal regions. The Thirty Years War disseminated tobacco into central Europe, where English troops put at the disposal of Frederick of Bohemia in 1620 were seen smoking as they marched through Saxony. Before long, Germany was cultivating its own tobacco and served as a springboard for the spread to Austria and Hungary.⁵

Further afield tobacco was introduced through commercial channels. English merchants introduced tobacco to Russia in the 1560s. In Africa and Asia tobacco penetrated by way of Portuguese and Dutch sailors and merchants. Smoking was reported in Sierra Leone as early as 1607, while southern Africa was exposed to tobacco with the Dutch founding of the Cape colony in 1652.⁶ In most of Asia tobacco penetrated in two ways. Central Asia acquired the tobacco habit via Iran, which, in turn, had come into contact with it through Portuguese commerce and Ottoman military campaigns. Japan, on the other hand, learned of smoking directly from the Portuguese. Tobacco probably spread to Korea and Manchuria with the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula at the same time that it was introduced in southern China by the Portuguese from Macao.⁷

A second substance whose introduction in the Old World resulted from the discovery of the New World is cacao. Cocoa, the drink prepared from cacao beans, originally was consumed as a spicy beverage, *xocoatl*, by the Indians of the Amazon basin, Venezuela, and Mexico. The beans were among the specimens Columbus brought back from his exploratory voyage. The first assortment shipped to Spain was

seen as useless, however, and discarded.⁸ Hernan Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, was the next European to learn of cacao; he reintroduced the bean as well as the knowledge of its application to the Iberian peninsula, where it was kept a secret during the entire sixteenth century. Aside from occasional shipments to Spain, most of its trade until the early 1700s remained confined to traffic between Venezuela and Mexico.⁹

While tobacco and cacao travelled from west to east, coffee went in the opposite direction and was introduced in Europe from the Ottoman Empire via trade and travel. Coffee, which is now acknowledged to have originated in Ethiopia, from where it spread to Yemen, became known and found its way to other parts of the Middle East, particularly Egypt, via the Red Sea trade beginning in the fifteenth century, 200 years prior to its introduction in Europe. Coffee was known in Cairo by 1510, and the first coffeehouse in Damascus opened in 1530. The Turkish conquest of Mesopotamia facilitated the further spread from the Fertile Crescent across the Ottoman Empire: in 1554 the inhabitants of the capital Istanbul were able to savour the new drink.¹⁰ Other parts of West Asia soon followed. Neighbouring Safavid Iran, for instance, must have been introduced to coffee within decades after its spread in Turkey, for by the early seventeenth century a number of bustling coffeehouses lined the main square of its capital Isfahan.¹¹

Europe was soon to learn of coffee as well. The first European to taste coffee may have been the German physician Leonhard Rauwolf, who learned of it in Aleppo in 1573.¹² It was not much later, in 1592, that coffee was included as an entry in the herbal treatises of the Italian physician Prosper Alpinus.¹³ Almost half a century later the drink itself made its appearance in Europe, where it was introduced to Italy and France by Venetian and Armenian merchants. Coffee was sold in Venice in 1640. In France, Marseille had its first acquaintance with coffee in 1644 and Paris soon followed suit. The first European coffeehouse opened in Venice in 1645.

Simultaneously, coffee began to be imported via the maritime trade. The Dutch, whose trade records from Mokha mention coffee beans in 1616, were the first Europeans to include coffee in their commercial activity.¹⁴ The Dutch East India Company (VOC, for *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) for decades confined coffee to its intra-Asian network.¹⁵ It was only in 1661, more than twenty years after the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC had ordered a first sample, that the home country received its first substantial supply.¹⁶

The earliest western mention of tea, which originated in China and had long been known in East Asia, is found in a work from 1559 by the Venetian author and administrator Giambatista Ramusio. Slightly

later references occur in the correspondence of the Portuguese missionaries da Cruz and Almeida.¹⁷ Despite these early accounts, however, a wider knowledge of tea in Europe had to wait for the establishment of the maritime companies. In 1607 the VOC shipped its first tea from Macao to Bantam; three years later Holland received its first shipment.¹⁸ The earliest written reference to tea in the English East India Company (EIC) records dates from 1615.¹⁹ But it was, after a ceremonial order in 1664, only in 1668 that the company placed its first public tea order directly from the east.²⁰ As well as via transshipment from China, the leaves also reached Europe via the land route between the Far East and Moscow, which became operative at approximately the same time that the west received its first maritime supplies.

Alcohol had of course been known in Europe from antiquity. From the barley drink of Sumeria to the wine in Greece and Rome and the beer of the medieval monasteries, alcohol had long been associated with religious ritual, economic enterprise, and social gathering. Tenth-century Muslim alchemists experimented with the distillation of alcohol, but only in early twelfth-century Europe does the perfect chemical separation of alcohol seem to have been performed. The large-scale introduction and consumption of distilled liquor had to wait yet longer: it did not occur in most of Europe until the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In Ireland, whiskey was a popular drink as early as 1550, but in wine-drinking France and ale-drinking England the spread of spirit drinking was much slower. France began to manufacture cognac in the 1630s, when distillers and sellers were also organized in a guild. In England spirit consumption took off in the mid-seventeenth century, mainly as a result of the ever-rising duty on beer. In Holland, where the first distillery was established in 1575, a surge in trade and prosperity as well as technological change soon spawned a phenomenal growth of the industry.²¹

Spirits caught on early in Russia as well. While it is unclear exactly when vodka made its entry into Russian social life, it is likely that spirits were first introduced by foreign mercenaries in the first half of the sixteenth century. This would seem to be confirmed by the institution of the state-controlled drink-shop (*kabak*) by Tsar Ivan in the middle of the same century.²² In these saloons distilled spirits – mostly vodka – gradually displaced other beverages such as mead, kvass, and beer.²³

EARLY PERCEPTIONS

Remarkable similarities are found in the way early modern society perceived and debated the new substances upon their introduction.

Without exception, initial classification and description occurred not under the heading of food, beverages, or entertainment, but that of medicinal agents. The context was the rapid transformation of the foundation of scientific enquiry in post-medieval Europe, where the canon of antiquity and the reasoning intellect began to guide the pursuit of science, and experimentation gradually replaced deference to transmitted knowledge. Botany, alchemy, and medicine were among the sciences thus affected. Modern botany emerged from a commingling of the medieval herbal tradition, a new interest in the classics, and the influx of living samples of new plants and exotic crops, all of which gave rise to the systematic analysis and classification of plants.

An incipient medicalization of society was another outcome of the same process. As experimental research into bodily properties and functions slowly began to undermine the Galenic humoral pathology that had long dominated medical thinking, new theories were developed about the working of the human body, the cause of ailments, and their remedies. In the resulting quest for experimental material and curative agents the new stimulants played a prominent role.

Tobacco was one of the substances that aroused lively botanical interest. Commissioned to study the indigenous flora and record new species of plants, botanists early on joined the Spanish adventurers to the New World. Thus, the private physician of Philip II, Hernandez de Toledo, who was sent to Mexico in 1559 to study the local flora, brought tobacco plants back to Spain, where they were subsequently cultivated in the royal gardens.²⁴ The title of Dodonaeus' work – *Cruydeboeck*, Book of Herbs – clearly indicates the category into which tobacco fell for the seventeenth-century European scholar. The chapter devoted to tobacco lists a long series of ailments against which it was held to be effective. Tobacco seeds and leaves are credited with healing powers for afflictions as varied as running wounds, whitlow, rashes of the face, scrophulus, and rabies. The author further pays a great deal of attention to the medical applications of nicotine, prescribing it as a remedy for injuries of head, arms, and legs, which must be washed with wine or urine prior to treatment with the leaves or the juice of the tobacco plant.²⁵

Tobacco quickly became known as a panacea. Its exotic aura explains its early seventeenth-century renown as an aphrodisiac and may have contributed to its vaguely sacral and magical connotations in the early stages of introduction. More practically, tobacco was considered to be a disinfectant in a time in which frequent outbreaks of the plague left people desperate for preventive medicine. Praised as such during the 1635–6 epidemic in Holland, tobacco maintained that

reputation during the 1665 plague of London and the epidemic that afflicted Vienna in 1679.²⁶ Those who brought tobacco back from the New World also claimed that it was capable of curing a disease they had carried with them from the Americas as well – syphilis. Others held that the substance was effective against thirst, hunger, and insomnia.²⁷ In India tobacco appears to have been used against tooth-ache and scorpion bites.²⁸ European popular imagery, finally, depicts Jean Nicot presenting tobacco to Catherine de Medici as a remedy against her migraine. Not surprisingly, the first to make commercial use of tobacco were apothecaries.

A candidate only slightly less likely than tobacco nowadays to be seen as a healing agent is cacao. Yet the beans of the cacao plant, too, were credited with medicinal qualities in the early phase of their introduction in the west. Europeans claimed that the Indians considered the spicy chocolate drink made from cacao to be good for the stomach and a cure for catarrh. The Aztecs did indeed use cocoa as a medicine against diarrhoea and dysentery and also considered it an aphrodisiac. This latter attribute, which was common to many newly introduced exotic products, crossed over to Europe, where in elite circles cocoa acquired an aura of erotic refinement.²⁹

Europeans were slow in getting used to the bitter taste of the new drink, which was taken cold and blended with chillies and other spices. The English physician Henry Stubbe, who wrote a treatise on chocolate for a curious doctor friend in Oxford, noted that its taste was considered 'bitterish and adstringent' and 'none of the most pleasant to those that are not used to it'.³⁰ He nevertheless sang chocolate's praises as a wholesome beverage, noting its nourishing quality, its capacity to 'allay splenetic fumes and drowsiness', to 'generate good blood', and to promote 'natural expurgation'.

Coffee and tea were two more exotic substances which Europeans initially valued as medicinal agents rather than as ingredients of tasty beverages. Coffee beans were long sold by grocers and spice dealers as a drug. Thomas Herbert called coffee 'more wholesome than toothsome', and cited its reputation as a substance that 'confronts raw stomachs, helps digestion, expels wind, and dispels drowsiness'.³¹ A generation later, Philippe Dufour, drawing attention to its capacity to render blood 'less acrid and more fluid', noted that doctors prescribed coffee for women during menstruation and after childbirth.³² Not surprisingly, VOC records refer to coffee as 'that medicine'.³³

In England, where it was perceived similarly in the seventeenth century, coffee won the sympathy of the famous physician William Harvey, who praised its medicinal qualities. Coffee indeed became

widely prescribed by doctors, many of whom saw it as a welcome antidote to alcoholism.³⁴ This latter property, as well as its reputed anti-aphrodisiacal effect, accounts for the grudging approval coffee was given by the Puritans. For their part, the owners of the newly opened coffeehouses were naturally quick to advertise the outlandish concoction as a cure for a wide array of diseases.

As Galenic notions dominated Islamic as much as Christian medicine, it is not surprising to find that the authors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Arab and Persian medical and botanical manuals perceived coffee in much the same way as their European counterparts. Discussing the properties of coffee, they stressed its coldness and dryness; in their enumeration of remedial qualities they listed gastric and respiratory ailments; while among the negative humoral effects of overindulgence they mentioned haemorrhoids, headaches, and a reduced libido.³⁵

Tea quickly acquired the therapeutic image it has retained until today. In England, early coffeehouse proprietors advertised the new drink to unfamiliar customers as a novelty 'approved by all physicians'.³⁶ The French Cardinal Mazarin drank tea against his gout.³⁷ In late seventeenth-century Russia, too, tea was consumed mainly for medicinal purposes: many drank it before or after indulging in liquor.³⁸

No one, however, did more to make tea respectable than the physicians of the empirical medical school that emerged in the enlightened Dutch Golden Age. Substituting a contrast between salutary and unhealthy for the traditional good versus evil dichotomy, its representatives, prominent doctors like Nicolaas Tulp and Stephan Blankaart, adumbrated the secularization of medicine. Tea was one of the substances they studied for its effect on the human body, perceived by them as a hydraulic machine moved by the flow of juices.³⁹ Cornelis Bontekoe, one of the school's protagonists, thought eight to ten cups the minimum for one's health, but did not stop there. Rumoured to have been paid by the VOC to write favourably about the new drink, Bontekoe saw no problem with a daily intake of fifty to a hundred cups.⁴⁰

Distilled liquor resembles tea in that it has retained the mystique of wholesomeness of a number of ailments, its demonization by many notwithstanding. Names such as aqua vitae, aquavit, and eau de vie illustrate its reputedly medicinal qualities. Well into the sixteenth century distillation remained within the alchemist tradition and was only practised by apothecaries. The above-mentioned Jean Liebault wrote one of the first descriptions of distilling in order to 'give apothecaries a taste of distilling and stimulate them to be more and more careful

in preparing their medicines'.⁴¹ The outcome of the process, brandy, was routinely used against diseases such as plague and gout and the loss of voice.⁴² Late sixteenth-century Berlin restricted the sale of brandy to apothecaries,⁴³ while a generation later the French government even limited the privilege of manufacturing grain spirits to apothecaries and spice merchants.⁴⁴

CONTROVERSY

It should scarcely be surprising that the introduction of the various exotic substances roused a great deal of debate in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Nor is it strange that in the age of Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and Puritanism, these debates tended to be articulated in religious and moral terms, even if their true import was political or economic. The Reformation inaugurated a quest for personal salvation which centred on individual responsibility. Its ethic proclaimed salvation contingent upon self-restraint and discipline. Puritanism and its eighteenth-century successor movement, Pietism, laid even more stress on a practical morality for everyday life guided by sobriety and vigilance. The mind-altering effects of the various new stimulants alternatively fuelled fears of frivolousness and the spectre of a threatened moral order, or held out the promise of increased wakefulness, and as such inevitably figured in the deliberations of European clerics and moralists. A similar tone and substance is found in Russia, and the Islamic world, where the articulation of prohibitive measures as a 'return to the true faith' tended to be intertwined with efforts to bolster the legitimacy of (new) rulers.

Over time, debate in many countries subsided as the stimulants became irrelevant to medicine or lost their power as emblems of demonology. Even more deflecting was the shift in debate and opposition from moral preoccupation to economic concern. Moralists and preachers continued to inveigh against the satanic origin or the debilitating effect of tobacco, coffee, or liquor, but lost ground to bureaucrats who realized that the addictive substances, far from just draining bullion, might actually be turned into a source of profit. For the European early modern state, burdened by ever-growing military and administrative expenditure, tobacco, coffee, and liquor offered a welcome opportunity to expand its tax base.

With the exception of liquor, none of the stimulants became as frequent a target of official prohibition as tobacco. Rodrigo de Jerez, one of Columbus' crew and the first one to smoke in Europe, was brought before the Inquisition, accused of sorcery, and imprisoned for

seven years upon his return to Spain.⁴⁵ In 1575 the colonial authorities in Mexico issued an order forbidding the use of tobacco throughout Spanish America. In some European countries, too, tobacco soon met a great obstacle in the abhorrence with which it was received by the authorities. In Elizabethan England, for instance, tobacco early on became the subject of fierce debate. Medical reservations, mercantilist concerns over the shortage of coin the importation of tobacco was thought to cause, as well as a deeply felt apprehension about the sloth and dissolution intemperance might produce among the working classes, caused many in the upper echelons of society to oppose the new 'drug'.⁴⁶ King James I, who received anti-tobacco counselling from his private surgeon, in 1604 took an active part in the debate and published a virulent attack on tobacco and its use, entitled *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, in which he elaborated on the prevailing association of tobacco with vanity and moral corruption. Tobacco, called repulsive in smell and dangerous for the brain by the king, was subjected to a tax, but not prohibited.

Charles I continued his father's policy of discouraging the use of tobacco, albeit less vigorously.⁴⁷ For both rulers, however, moral objections were balanced by a concern over the newly developed tobacco cultivation in America. At the behest of the Virginia tobacco lobby the crown in 1620 tried to limit the use of tobacco by banning cultivation in England. In 1627 this was followed by an attempt to regulate and centralize the importation of tobacco through an ordinance that required all tobacco coming into the country to go through London. This measure, which was renewed in 1630 and 1634, failed, as did the restriction of tobacco sales to licensed persons. Much as both James and Charles disliked tobacco, they gradually deferred to its economic benefits.

Economic considerations, not moral aversion, played a decisive role in the continuing discouragement of home-grown tobacco. Cromwell in 1652 bowed to the interests of the Virginia merchants by renewing the ban on indigenous cultivation. But the measure provoked so much resistance in Parliament that he was forced to mitigate the law to the point of non-enforcement. Thus all efforts to suppress cultivation and consumption ran aground against a habit which had become firmly rooted in social and economic life of the country and its colonies.

England was not unique with its royal opprobrium. In Denmark, too, the king personally objected to the smoking of tobacco. Simon Paulli, professor of botany and private physician of King Christian IV, wrote a treatise against tobacco at the ruler's instigation.⁴⁸ Elsewhere, the Church became the most vociferous opponent of tobacco. Pope

Urban VIII witnessed with growing concern how laymen and priests alike enjoyed their snuff even in church, and in 1642 issued a Bull against smoking in St Peter's, threatening violators with excommunication. Renewed by his successor Innocent X in 1650, the Bull was rendered ineffective by the granting, five years later, of a concession for the sale of tobacco and brandy in the papal domain. It was officially repealed by Pope Benedict XIII, who seems to have been an avid snuff taker himself.⁴⁹

In Holland, where in medical circles tobacco roused the same curiosity as tea, doctors and public moralists differed in their opinion about its medicinal merits and its recreational permissibility.⁵⁰ While one Dutch doctor claimed that his smoking habit had helped him survive the plague of 1635–6,⁵¹ a Flemish poet said that the 'two cordials' of the discovery of America, gold and tobacco, have 'done more mischief than the two great diseases, scurvy and the pocks'.⁵² The most virulent vilification of smoking, or drinking tobacco, as it was called, came from the pulpit, even though opposition did not necessarily arise from clerical ranks. More typically, it was laymen who condemned smoking, associating it with vanity and idleness. None of this had much practical effect beyond the prohibition of tobacco in the Dutch navy and the land army of Prince Maurits.

The fire hazard, in addition to clerical resistance, led to a ban on smoking in many cities and principalities in German-speaking Europe after the peace of Westphalia. The city of Cologne issued a ban as early as 1649. Its example was followed three years later by Bavaria, which restricted prohibition to peasants and other commoners, by Saxony in 1653, and by Württemberg in 1656.⁵³ The city of Bern in 1661 outlawed the use of tobacco on the ground that it harmed human reproduction, and even instituted a tobacco court, which was only abolished in the mid-nineteenth century. In Austria tobacco was banned on a number of occasions in the late 1600s.⁵⁴ In some German towns restrictions on smoking in public remained in effect until the 1848 revolution.

Official aversion to tobacco, encouraged by the clergy, was not confined to western Europe. In Russia, a clerically-led reform movement persuaded Tsar Mikhail Romanov to prohibit the use of tobacco in 1634, promising deportation to Siberia for those who disobeyed him. Offenders risked being bastinadoed or having their nostrils slit – and at times the death penalty.⁵⁵ In 1649 Mikhail's successor Alexis, acting at the instigation of the puritanical 'Zealots of Piety', reaffirmed the ban in a new Law Code. The ban was enforced erratically and did little to stem the immense popularity of tobacco in Russia, but remained in place until 1697, when Peter the Great repealed it.

Further east, Shah 'Abbas of Iran (r. 1587–1629) outlawed the use of tobacco in the early 1600s, allegedly because it had been introduced by his archenemies, the Ottomans.⁵⁶ His successor, Shah Safi, repeated the ban when he acceded to the throne.⁵⁷ In the neighbouring Ottoman Empire, religious opinions were divided. Sultan Murad IV in 1633 used a huge fire that destroyed thousands of houses in Istanbul as a pretext to prohibit the use of a substance associated with political opposition.⁵⁸ The rulers of Japan and India outlawed tobacco as well in the early 1600s.⁵⁹ All this had little effect and, as in Russia and western Europe, tobacco smoking continued its unstoppable march in Asia.

Cocoa in Europe long remained a 'Catholic' drink prepared exclusively by Spanish monks in their cloisters. It met few adversaries, all of whom are found in the country's clerical circles. The main controversy over the use of chocolate in sixteenth-century Spain was whether it should be seen as a food or a liquid, with consequences for its use in periods of fasting in either case. Cocoa's alleged passion-raising properties also seem to have been a topic of discussion.⁶⁰

In contrast to cocoa, tea in time became a quintessentially 'Calvinist' drink. Catholics and, to a lesser extent, Lutherans rarely treated alcohol as a major problem. Calvinism and Puritanism, on the other hand, tended to condemn alcohol as satanic and eagerly welcomed tea as an emblem of sobriety and moral restraint, almost as a divine alternative. England is a good example. There the incapacity of tea to intoxicate helped spur its acceptance in religious circles followed by social reformers concerned about the working classes. Even the Dutch physicians who described its effects in the bio-functional terms of their school – alcohol makes ill, tea heals – converged with more traditional religious views in crediting tea with increased vigilance and piety.⁶¹

While tea by and large escaped the admonishments of seventeenth-century moralists, controversy was not altogether absent. An example of a written pronouncement against tea is the book by the above-mentioned Simon Paulli, which warns against the excessive use of tobacco as well as tea. The latter, the author notes, hastens the death of all past the age of forty.⁶² In eighteenth-century England people like Jonas Hanway and John Wesley inveighed against tea for its allegedly effeminate aura and the indolence to which it was believed to lead.⁶³ Others reserved their invective for the 'superfluous money wasted on tea and sugar' by the poor.⁶⁴ In contemporary Germany, finally, the centralizing Prussian state campaigned against tea in the northern provinces it was bringing under its control, pronouncing the drink far less nutritious than the traditional beer in which it had an important economic stake.⁶⁵

Coffee aroused far greater religious and political controversy when it spread from the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula to other parts of the Muslim world.⁶⁶ In the Ottoman Empire, religious leaders, who watched in horror how the coffeehouse began to pose a challenge to the mosque as a place of congregation, in the late sixteenth century repeatedly urged the sultan to prohibit the use of coffee.⁶⁷ In Safavid Iran, the scene of similar campaigns in 1645 and 1694, coffeehouses rather than coffee were targeted.⁶⁸ While moral objections inspired the ulama, secular authorities saw more cause for concern in the association of coffeehouses with political debate. When during the Candia wars in the 1660s tempers in coffeehouses ran high, the Ottoman Grand Vizier Köprülü ordered their closure. The long-term official reception in the Ottoman Empire was hardly less ambivalent than in Europe, however. While religious aversion and a fear of social and political disruption led to prohibitive measures, the income coffee generated eventually overcame most resistance.⁶⁹

The association of coffee with idleness and unrest was not confined to the world of Islam. In Restoration England, too, coffee found opponents in those who saw in coffeehouses hotbeds of sedition and watched their proliferation with suspicion. In an effort to muzzle the political opinions voiced in the myriad new coffeehouses that sprang up after the Great Fire of 1666, officials advised King Charles II to suppress these 'nurseries of idleness and pragmatism'. They received unexpected assistance in their campaign from the women of London, who expressed their concern about the side-effects of coffee drinking with the submission of a 'Women's Petition Against Coffee'. Calling coffee a beverage that caused domestic disorder and made men sexually inactive, the women – who were not allowed in coffeehouses – complained that their husbands spent idle time and money away from home, as a result of which the 'entire race was in danger of extinction'.⁷⁰ These considerations eventually led the king to issue a proclamation in 1675, ordering the closing of these establishments. Within ten days the measure had to be repealed over a storm of popular protest.⁷¹

In most other European countries the introduction of coffee does not seem to have been accompanied by much discussion beyond an occasional protest from wine purveyors or beer brewers who feared for their livelihood. The only objection to coffee, François Valentyn wrote in the early 1700s, came from suffering beer brewers.⁷² Taxation rather than prohibition became the norm in government reaction. The French government, for instance, in 1692 monopolized coffee by instituting a coffee tax and by restricting imports and sales to tax farmers. Taxation motivated the English authorities as well. Seeing its revenue from beer

dwindle as coffee grew in popularity, the English government in 1663 was quick to license coffeehouses and levy an excise duty per gallon of coffee sold. As the enforcement of this tax was soon found to be rather cumbersome, it was replaced in 1689 by a simple customs duty of 5s per pound.

Germany was the exception to the rule of limited opposition to coffee. Resistance came in part from those who, wary of French influence, rejected coffee as a foreign drink and a fashionable luxury.⁷³ More serious was the mixture of state hunger for taxes and mercantilist fears of foreign imports, which made coffee fall under the axe of prohibitive measures for a good part of the eighteenth century. German officials assumed that large coffee imports would harm the sale of barley and malt used in the production of beer. The distinctly Prussian imprint of German attitudes toward coffee is reflected in the disciplinary character of official policy. Various German states in the eighteenth century issued decrees which forbade the consumption of coffee to the poor on the land and the working classes in the cities, allegedly in an effort to encourage public health but, more truthfully, in an attempt to protect the country's beer brewers. In some cases, ordinances that limited the enjoyment of coffee to nobles and clergymen led to popular revolt.⁷⁴ Abolitions of these and similar measures had to wait until the Napoleonic wars.

Given the visible effects on the immoderate user of alcohol, it is hardly surprising that the most adversarial reception of all was reserved for distilled liquor. From the Reformation onward, reactions in societies where Satan's abode, the tavern, was often found next door to the house of God tended to be expressed in stark moral language.⁷⁵ State measures meant to curb inebriation in seventeenth-century Europe were as numerous as clerical tirades against public intoxication: both are too numerous to list. However, just as government injunctions against spirits fought a losing battle against the need for tax revenue, so pious admonitions failed to deter the poor from indulging in their favourite vice.

Perhaps the best example is Russia, where the state began to monopolize the sale of alcohol as early as 1540. The profit-versus-morals dilemma was at the heart of the anti-liquor acts of 1649 and 1652. In part introduced at the behest of the church reform movement which encouraged people to attend church rather than spend time in taverns, in part to deflect precious grain from alcohol production, these acts curbed public drinking by abolishing the drink shops. The state, concerned about its tax revenue, simultaneously monopolized spirits, which yielded a higher tax profit than the traditional alcoholic beverage.

ages. The result of these prohibitionist measures was meagre, for illicit drinking places sprang up overnight. Naturally, state revenue fell drastically as well. In 1662 drink shops were reopened for the combined benefit of the thirsty population and the cash-hungry government.⁷⁶

SPREAD AND POPULARIZATION

The substances examined here exhibit similarities not only in the patterns of their introduction and initial application but also in the manner in which they became disseminated and gained popularity among various segments of society.

As this process occurred in the context of the seventeenth-century commercial revolution, its near-simultaneity was anything but coincidental. Coffee, tea, and chocolate at first were exceedingly expensive drinks and therefore outside the reach of all but the well-to-do. As a regular supply system came into being, however, prices fell and the substances became more affordable.

But while the large-scale commercial traffic in new commodities accounts for their introduction and affordability, the explanation for their popular appeal cannot be reduced to mere availability. Other factors, relating to profound social changes that were simultaneously taking place in European society, merit consideration as well. Between 1500 and 1800, in the words of Roger Chartier, 'people [in the west] began to imagine, experience, and protect private life in a new way'.⁷⁷ Family life and individual freedom acquired new meanings as part of a redefinition of the boundaries between the public and private spheres. The encroachment of the bureaucratic state caused people to seek refuge in the intimacy of family life. At the same time, however, people sought to 'constitute a private life outside the constraints of the family', a private life, that is, on the basis of freely chosen forms of social and political association. The emerging administrative, commercial, and intellectual elites of Europe's secularizing urban centres engaged in new forms of social interaction, created new affiliations, and frequented new gathering places, ranging from Masonic Lodges to scientific societies and literary salons.

In this permutation of public and private spheres the stimulants played the role of tokens marking shifting class and gender lines. Except in the case of tobacco and liquor, popularization of what initially were expensive novelties occurred as a 'downward' movement, with ordinary people gradually adopting consumer habits that once were the exclusive domain of the wealthy who, in turn, often emulated the fashion of royal circles. In a desire to uphold class boundaries, society's upper

strata tended to react to this by embracing a different stimulant or, eventually, by elevating the ambience of proper consumption to the level of exclusivity. No less salient in this process are the gender aspects. A clear differentiation between private and public space also became inscribed in a segregation between male and female spheres.

The popularization of tobacco followed a somewhat ambiguous trajectory in that the two opposite sides of the social spectrum acted as catalysts in its wider appeal. While sailors and soldiers spread tobacco among the common people, Europe's royal houses helped to popularize its use among the elite. An example is the transmission of the tobacco leaf from Lisbon to the French court, where the Queen Mother Catherine de Medici (r. 1560–89) developed a belief in its curative power. The adoption of the substance, which briefly came to be called *catherinaire*, precipitated its spread to other countries, where many were eager to imitate French ways. The sending of tobacco seeds to Italy by Cosimo de Medici's ambassador in Paris led to the cultivation of the plant in Tuscany. The papal nuntius in Lisbon simultaneously introduced the seeds to the Vatican, where they were planted in the gardens. Tobacco at this stage was associated with religious circles, as the name *herba santa* or *herba sacra* indicates.⁷⁸ The 'smoking sessions' various German courts organized in the early 1700s – the most renowned 'Tabak-Kollegium' being that of Frederick William of Prussia (1688–1740) – accelerated the acceptance of tobacco among the elite beyond the Rhine.⁷⁹

In the spread of tobacco we find perhaps the best example of a commodity whose varied use reflected social divisions. As tobacco smoke offended many in the upper classes and as pipe smoking was seen to be inelegant for ladies, taking snuff became a way for the elite to distinguish itself from the populace. Thus the Italian clergy mostly used tobacco in the form of snuff. Snuff was introduced in France under Louis XIII and became particularly popular at the court of Louis XIV, in part, it is said, because the king hated the smell of tobacco smoke.⁸⁰ From France the habit spread to other countries. England's upper classes adopted snuff under Charles II, who took to it while in Paris, and soon High Society shunned the pipe, which was relegated to the lower classes.⁸¹ In Germany, finally, where snuff was introduced by French Huguenots after 1685, the manner in which social distinctions were marked by different ways of consuming tobacco is reflected in a satirical verse from the turn of the eighteenth century:

Ein Landsknecht raucht, ein Höfing schnupft Tabak
Doch wer ist hier am meisten fein?
Der eine bläst ihn fort, der andre zieht ihn ein!

A mercenary smokes, a courtier snuffs tobacco
 But who's the most refined here?
 The one blows it out, the other inhales it!⁸²

Seventeenth-century Holland appears as something of an exception to this rule for, as Dutch genre painting suggests, pipe smoking was common among all classes. Scenes by painters such as Jan Steen and Adriaan Brouwer, while mostly depicting the labouring classes, show that in the United Provinces a wide range of social groups as well as both sexes enjoyed their pipes. With growing French influence in the eighteenth century, however, snuff became common among the upper ranks of Dutch society as well.

Unlike tobacco, which spread with lightning speed, coffee everywhere needed a few generations to become common. In the Ottoman Empire, where coffee had been known for a long time, popularization beyond Istanbul gained momentum in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when coffeehouses opened in many provincial towns in Anatolia. In Europe, genuine popularization had to wait until the quandary between supply and demand had been solved. Maritime supply allowed for the quantities that made prices affordable and thus increased popularity. But only growing demand warranted increased supplies. In Holland, for instance, supplies did not reach substantial levels until the 1690s.⁸³

Interestingly, Valentyn asserted that it was the English who had taught the Dutch to drink coffee.⁸⁴ Coffee indeed had been known somewhat longer in England, where it was introduced by Levantine merchants, who also opened the first coffeehouse in Oxford in 1650. London followed two years later. The drink quickly caught on, for a 1660 VOC report, commenting on an order for coffee from Amsterdam, noted that coffee was beginning to become popular in Europe, but 'especially in England'.⁸⁵ By 1661 London already boasted more than a dozen coffeehouses, a number which was to proliferate after the Great Fire of 1666.

Nevertheless, coffee deliveries from the east in these early days remained erratic, and the drink was therefore subject to great price fluctuations. It was only with the drop in prices in the early eighteenth century that coffee gained in popularity in England. Coffeehouses at that time began to spring up in the large cities and assumed an indispensable function as gathering places for those engaged in commerce and insurance. In Holland, meanwhile, where the first coffeehouse had been established in 1663-4,⁸⁶ there was 'hardly a house of standing where coffee is not drunk every morning'.⁸⁷ Not only people of standing, but even the 'little people', indeed the servants of the

well-to-do, had acquired a taste for coffee.⁸⁸ Many coffeehouses in the larger Dutch cities were located in the vicinity of the stock exchange, where merchants and city administrators gathered to discuss and conduct business.

In France the court appears to have consumed coffee well before it was available to the general public. The country's first public coffeehouse opened in 1672, but it had more success with newly introduced brandy than with coffee, which was little appreciated by the local population. This was to change with the opening of the famous coffeehouse Procope in 1686. By distinguishing itself from the popular alcohol-purveying cabarets through a sumptuous decor and an air of sophistication, Procope managed to attract a high-class clientele that took advantage of the opportunity to gather separately from the common man. Soon others followed this example and coffeehouses proliferated.⁸⁹

German-speaking Europe received its coffee not just from the west but, bordering as it did on Ottoman territory, acquired it via the eastern overland trade as well. Vienna, Regensburg, and Nuremberg came into contact with coffee through the Turks. Vienna had four coffeehouses in 1688, a number that was to grow to sixty-eight in 1787.⁹⁰ Due to their proximity to Holland, the western regions tended to receive their supply via the East India trade. Just as the English taught the Dutch to drink coffee, the latter spread the drink to Germany. Coffee was introduced at the court of Brandenburg by the above-mentioned Bontekoe, who was the private physician of Frederick William. The acceptance at the elite level must have stimulated consumption in coffeehouses, the first of which was opened in 1671 in Hamburg. Often established and run by foreigners, coffeehouses soon spread to other places as well.⁹¹ Yet in Germany, too, where coffeehouses lacked the Dutch and English association with commercial vitality, coffee long remained an exclusive drink and, as elsewhere, the middle classes only took to it in the early eighteenth century. At that time special coffee sessions, so-called 'Kaffeekränzchen', began to be organized by and for women. These gatherings were occasions for the exchange of news and gossip, and may be seen as the female response to the coffeehouses which by then had clearly become a male domain.

The story of the popularization of chocolate runs somewhat parallel to that of coffee. Due to a lack of familiarity with cacao following Spanish secrecy, the Dutch or the English in the sixteenth century would take all they deemed valuable upon capturing a Spanish ship but throw overboard any cacao they found.⁹² By the beginning of the next century, however, word of the new drink began to spread. Italy was the

first country after Spain that became familiar with cocoa. In 1606 the drink was known in Florence. The breakthrough north of the Pyrenees came in 1615, when Anna of Austria, the eldest child of King Philip III, was married to Louis XIII and offered Spanish chocolate to her new husband as part of her bridal gift. The drink rapidly gained ground among French courtiers, its popularity helped by the status of Spain as the origin of fashionable and chic trends.

Following Spain, France quickly imbued cocoa with an aura of sensuality and luxury. Louis XIV and his Spanish wife Maria Theresa continued the court's infatuation with chocolate. Soon France made itself more independent from Spanish supplies by cultivating cacao beans in its own West Indian colonies. The aftermath of the War of the Spanish Succession also brought cocoa to the Austrian domains of Spain where, due to low taxation, it became a popular drink among the aristocracy and the wealthy.

Holland and England became active in the transshipment of cacao – Amsterdam became the largest port of entry following the Dutch seizure of Curaçao in 1634 – but consumption in both countries seems to have been introduced from France. In Amsterdam various coffee-houses offered chocolate around 1665.⁹³ In London's early coffee-houses chocolate was still served as a cold drink – eating chocolate only began in the nineteenth century with the invention of a method to combine cocoa butter with chocolate liquor. In 1657 a Parisian shop-keeper established the first chocolate shop in the English capital. The price in the mid-seventeenth century of 10s to 15s per pound made chocolate, even more than coffee, an exclusive beverage, a status it retained throughout the eighteenth century. A few of London's early chocolate houses, such as White's Cocoa House, later turned into respectable clubs for the aristocracy.

As well as in its East Asian lands of origin, tea established itself as the favourite drink primarily in the north-west European countries active in importing it. Otherwise, tea became a household beverage in those countries and regions where religious reform movements were most keen to propagate an alternative to alcohol. These include, besides Holland and England, the United States, at least until 1773, most of northern Germany, and Russia, where tea became a national drink as well, albeit not until the end of the eighteenth century. Exceptions to this pattern are the countries in south-west and south Asia, from Turkey to India, which also adopted tea. There, changing trade routes, the feasibility of indigenous cultivation, and the growing influence of Britain, British India, and, in the case of Turkey and Iran, Russia, caused tea to replace coffee in the nineteenth century.

As was noted before, England initially received its tea via Holland. The first direct delivery from China to England seems to have taken place in 1666, four years after the coming of Catherine of Braganza from Portugal as Charles II's bride had introduced tea as a fashionable drink for ladies.⁹⁴ For some time to come, however, tea continued to be considered 'a rarity' and lagged behind coffee in popularity.⁹⁵

The main reason for this was that tea, more than coffee, was prohibitively expensive at 60s a pound or eight times the weekly wages of a labourer. As long as the supply was dependent on private merchants, tea deliveries remained scanty and erratic. This situation ended when in 1686 the EIC decided to include tea in its regular imports from Asia. The result was a great increase in the quantities supplied. Whereas less than 200 pounds had annually been delivered in most of the period from 1675 to 1686, almost 5,000 pounds was imported in 1687, while three years later the company shipped over 40,000 pounds.⁹⁶ In the process the EIC gained the upper hand over the private traders who dominated the coffee trade.

A good example of shifting consumer habits is eighteenth-century England, which saw the decline of the coffeehouse and the rise of the tea garden, catering to men, women, and families.⁹⁷ Curiously, tea in the course of time became Britain's democratic drink par excellence. The beginning of tea's downward movement was facilitated by its noted reputation as a drink without intoxicating properties. Unlike coffee, which was rumoured to be 'bad for the head', tea was also recommended for ladies as much as for gentlemen. An influential periodical such as the *Spectator* in the early eighteenth century no doubt further contributed to this when it advised its readers that 'all well-regulated households served tea in the morning'.⁹⁸

Even so, the tax slapped on it by the English government – instituted in tandem with that on coffee – long continued to make tea unattainable for the masses. A flourishing black market was the result. Large-scale smuggling did not stop until 1784 when William Pitt repealed the high government duties and caused the EIC to import enough tea to satisfy demand without raising prices. Tea by then was no longer seen as an exclusively upper-class beverage: originally consumed unsweetened, it was now taken with sugar – now affordable as well – and had become the indispensable drink for the English working classes starved for cheap calories.⁹⁹

Protestant Holland, as England, did not really become a tea-drinking country until the turn of the eighteenth century. Doctor Bontekoe's approval may have had some influence on popular acceptance, but falling prices, resulting from regular supplies, are likely to

have played a greater role. The growing popularity of tea in Holland in the early eighteenth century is illustrated in the increasing amounts shipped by the VOC. In 1691 the Amsterdam directors of the company, no doubt encouraged by the recent English decision to allow the import of tea from Holland by licence, issued an order for 15,000 to 20,000 pounds.¹⁰⁰ In 1715, 60,000 to 70,000 pounds were requested for the home country; in the following year the order went up to 100,000 pounds, reaching 1 million pounds in 1724.¹⁰¹

Beer and ale for centuries had provided nutrition for the labouring classes in northern countries. Judging from the description various travellers gave of public drunkenness of men and women in the early 1600s, distilled liquor may have replaced these drinks in Russia earlier than in western Europe.¹⁰² There, spirits continued to be used medicinally until the mid- and late seventeenth century, when brandy began to be consumed in some quantity.¹⁰³ Brandy consumption received a fillip when in European armies it became customary for soldiers to drink before engaging in battle. Indeed, some hold the land wars of the late seventeenth century and in particular the campaign waged by Louis XIV against Holland in 1672 responsible for the spreading popularity of spirits.¹⁰⁴

Nor did grain-based spirits become popular in north-western Europe before the mid-seventeenth century. Changes in technology had some impact on this development, for large-scale distilling became possible only with the improvement of distilling apparatus. Cheap and easy access to ingredients played a role as well. Baltic grain, entering Holland in unprecedented quantities, came to be used for the manufacture of Dutch gin or genever. The distilleries that sprang up in the town of Schiedam around 1630 profited from these cheap imports as well as from the fact that distillers learned how to make their own yeast.¹⁰⁵ The lower price of grain-based liquors compared to wine or sugar-based ones such as rum contributed to a quick spread among various social classes. As a result, the number of distilleries in Schiedam increased from 11 in 1650 to 120 in 1775.¹⁰⁶

The availability of cheap sugar similarly reduced the cost of manufacturing sugar-based spirits.¹⁰⁷ This development continued thanks to the establishment of a West Indian sugar economy. Rum, made from sugar cane, was popularized following the capture of Jamaica in 1655. It replaced beer in the British navy. True popularity, however, remained confined to England and Holland, the countries whose West India Companies imported most of it from overseas.

Introduced in the seventeenth century, liquor followed the other substances in gaining a solid place in people's diets in the eighteenth

century. In England, for instance, gin began to rank with beer and ale as the favourite drink of the labouring classes in part as a result of a government promotion of indigenous spirits. The quantity of British spirits on which duty was charged increased from about 800,000 gallons in 1694 to over 6,000,000 in 1736.¹⁰⁸ So popular did gin become among the masses that anxiety about the state of productivity and public morality led to a reversal in state policy in the form of the prohibitionist Gin Act. The Act came too late to be effective, however. By the time it was passed, liquor had become too much of a popular drink to be curtailed. Not even tea, the alternative espoused by social reformers, was able to accomplish that feat.

CONCLUSION

The seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed the rapid global spread of tobacco, coffee, cocoa, tea, and distilled spirits. With the exception of liquor, all were introduced from newly discovered lands and therefore held out the promise as much as the threat of the unknown. Heralded for their medicinal qualities by some, they were greeted with suspicion by others. Doctors, pursuing new avenues of medical insight, debated the wholesome qualities of coffee and cocoa, claiming them to be alternatively beneficial or detrimental to the body and the mind. Everywhere preachers railed against the supposedly diabolical properties of tobacco and liquor.

If discoveries, missionaries, and adventurers were responsible for the acquaintance with the stimulants, private merchants, sailors, and soldiers further disseminated them around the globe. Levantine traders were instrumental in the spread of coffee; soldiers brought cocoa and tobacco with them across the Pyrenees. At the other end of the social spectrum, European royals, embracing chocolate and tea, stimulated and accelerated their adoption by elites.

Introduced in a period of worldwide religious ferment, the substances evoked apprehensions that resonated with the social transformation introduced by Protestantism in the west and the appropriation of religious symbols in the bureaucratic empires of Islam. Prescribing discipline and sobriety, European reform movements stressed individual responsibility as a prerequisite for salvation, and evaluated the stimulants on the degree to which they accorded with a life of moral restraint and moderation. A secularized variant, especially active in eighteenth-century Britain and Germany, demonized those stimulants it saw as undermining the moral fibre of the poor.

Fierce controversy notwithstanding, the quantities consumed in the

first half century of introduction were without exception small. Supply, accordingly, was intermittent and weakly organized. This situation only changed when the newly established East and West India Companies began to include the commodities in their commercial activities. Sustained deliveries ensured guaranteed supplies, which in turn brought down prices to levels that made consumption affordable beyond the wealthy. A mass market, however, came into being only in the eighteenth century, when the stimulants had trickled down to the labouring classes for whom they provided the sole relief in a dreary life and a necessary dietary component.

The state everywhere played an important role in this latter process. At first wary of, or indifferent to, the new commodities, it quickly realized the potential profits accruing from mass consumption. The persistence of religious or moral sentiments that favoured curbing measures notwithstanding, bans were never enforced for long and, before long, revenue-hungry governments even began to stimulate consumption. The duties they imposed caused prices to go up, but the legalization and orderly distribution that accompanied taxation also spurred further growth in trade and consumption.

Neither increased availability at affordable prices nor mere state encouragement could have brought about the rising popularity of the stimulants at the turn of the eighteenth century. Religious and social moralism contributed to increased consumption by welcoming those stimulants whose intoxicating qualities were negligible. The main catalyst, however, was a changing social climate in western Europe, embodied by a burgeoning entrepreneurial class, prospering on new commercial and financial opportunities and open to new products brought from afar. Tobacco, coffee, chocolate, and tea gained widespread popularity in the contexts of the rise of new forms of entertainment, new forms of assembly, and new affiliations. Coffeehouses, salons, lodges, and clubs emerged as new venues for the expanding urban citizenry or simply for men who sought to escape the confinement of their homes.

In this development both class and gender differences became inscribed in the nature of the stimulants and the places where they thrived. Taverns, once the gathering place for a variegated crowd, now turned into the precinct of the labouring classes, their role as centres of culture and entertainment for respectable citizens taken over by coffeehouses. The latter, in turn, over time lost their preeminence to the private club, where commoners had no place. Whereas an incipient bourgeoisie, endowed with increasing financial means and an appetite for the exotic, embraced snuff, developed a taste for coffee, and con-

sumed chocolate in elegant surroundings, the labouring classes began to frequent taverns and drink shops where tobacco and spirits provided oblivion. The business men began to conduct in coffeehouses, finally, relegated women to the exchange of gossip over coffee and tea in the private sphere.

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NOTES

- 1 Strictly speaking, sugar should be considered in this category as well, especially since it bears a striking resemblance to the substances discussed in this essay in the way it was perceived in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Europe. I have chosen not to include sugar, however, because for most of the period considered here sugar was seen and used as a spice, and as an ancillary substance rather than a separate stimulant. For sugar, the reader is referred to Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985). Its title notwithstanding, this otherwise excellent book focuses primarily on the Anglo-Saxon world in its discussion of the spread of sugar.
- 2 Some have claimed that tobacco originated in Africa and was used in various parts of the world prior to its introduction in Europe. See, for example, Leo Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1920-2), 1; and Lotherd Becker, 'Zur Ethnologie der Tabakspfeife', in Sergius Golowin, ed., *Kult und Brauch der Kräuterpfeife in Europa* (Allmendingen, 1982), pp. 5-25. For a refutation of the non-American origin of tobacco, see Günther Stahl, 'Zur Frage des Ursprungs des Tabaksrauchens', *Anthropos*, 26 (1931), pp. 569-82. The use of tobacco in South America is exhaustively discussed by Johannes Wilbert, *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America* (New Haven, 1987).
- 3 G. A. Brongers, *Pijpen en tabak* (Bussum, 1964), p. 14; Ned Rival, *Tabac, miroir du temps* (Paris, 1982), p. 13.
- 4 See Jacob M. Price, 'The Tobacco Adventure to Russia: Enterprise, Politics, and Diplomacy in the Quest for a Northern Market for English Colonial Tobacco, 1676-1722', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 51 (1961), p. 8.
- 5 G. D. J. Schotel, *Letterkundige bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den tabak, de koffij en de thee* (The Hague, 1848), p. 81; Friedrich Tiedemann, *Geschichte des Tabaks und anderer ähnlicher Genussmittel* (Frankfurt a/M, 1854), pp. 165-6.
- 6 Tiedemann, *Geschichte des Tabaks*, p. 191.
- 7 See Ernest M. Satow, 'The Introduction of Tobacco into Japan', *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 6 (1878), pp. 68-84.
- 8 This information is derived from Gillian Wagner, *The Chocolate Conscience* (London, 1987), pp. 7-18.

- 9 See Robert J. Ferry, *The Colonial Elite of Early Caracas: Formation and Crisis 1567-1767* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 45ff.
- 10 For coffee in the Ottoman Empire, see Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, 1985).
- 11 See Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios de D. Garcia y Figueroa de la embajada que del parte del Rey de Espana Don Felipe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1903), II, pp. 378-83; and Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, 2 vols. (Brighton, 1843), II, p. 25; and Fedot Kotov, *Khozhenie kuptsa Kotova v Persiyu*, ed. N. A. Kutznetsova (Moscow, 1958), pp. 43, 80-1. See also Rudi Matthee, 'Coffee in Safavid Iran: Commerce and Consumption', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37 (1994), pp. 1-32.
- 12 Leonhard Rauwolf, *Aigenliche Beschreibung der Raiss . . . inn die Morgenländer* (Laugingen, 1582; repr. Graz, 1971), pp. 102-3.
- 13 In Prosper Alpinus, *De plantis Aegypti liber* (Venice, 1592), p. 62.
- 14 See W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Pieter van den Broecke in Azië*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1962), I, pp. 92 and 107.
- 15 For the early Dutch coffee trade from Mokha, see C. G. Brouwer, *Cauwa ende Comptanten: De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Jemen 1614-1655/The Dutch East India Company in Yemen 1614-1655* (Amsterdam, 1988).
- 16 W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. II: 1639-1655 (The Hague, 1964), p. 114; and J. A. van Chijs, ed. *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia Anno 1661* (Batavia and The Hague, 1890), p. 3.
- 17 William H. Ukers, *The Romance of Tea: An Outline History of Tea and Tea-Drinking through Sixteen Hundred Years* (New York, 1936), pp. 52-5.
- 18 T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* (Leiden, 1954), p. 48.
- 19 See Sir Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886; repr. 1985), p. 906.
- 20 See John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company*, 3 vols. (London, 1810; repr. 1986), II, 210-11.
- 21 John J. McCusker, 'Distilling and its Implications for the Atlantic World of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Production, Marketing and Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages since the Late Middle Ages, Proceedings Tenth International Economic History Congress* (Louvain, 1990), pp. 7-19.
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- 23 Vera Efron, 'The Tavern and Saloon in Old Russia', *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 16 (1955), p. 494.
- 24 Rival, *Tabac*, p. 12.
- 25 See Brongers, *Pijpen*, pp. 16-25.
- 26 Count Corti, *A History of Smoking*, trans. from German by Paul England (London, n.d.), pp. 99-100, 167.
- 27 Rival, *Tabac*, p. 15; C. M. MacInnes, *The Early English Tobacco Trade* (London, 1926), pp. 16-16; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), p. 197.
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- 30 Henry Stubbe (Stubbs), *The Indian Nectar or Discourse concerning Chocolate* (London, 1662), p. 35.
- 31 Thomas Herbert, *Some Years Travel into Divers Parts of Africa, and Asia the Great* (London, 1638), p. 241.
- 32 Philippe Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate* (The Hague, 1685), pp. 113-16.
- 33 Algemeen Rijks Archief (Dutch National Archives, The Hague), *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) 1185, 29 Aug. 1650, fol. 618.
- 34 Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (London, 1956), p. 15.
- 35 For the early Arabic manuals, see Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, pp. 61-71. Examples of Persian botanical dictionaries are Muhammad Mu'min Husayni, *Tuhfah-i Hakim Mu'min* (Tehran, n.d.; new edn, 1360/1981-2), p. 212; new edn, p. 697; and the ones discussed in K. Seligmann, *Ueber drey höchst seltene persische Handschriften: Ein Beitrag zur Litteratur der orientalischen Arzneimittellehre* (Vienna, 1833); and Aladin Goushegir, 'Le café en Iran des Safavides aux Qajar à l'époque actuelle', in Hélène Desmet-Grégoire, ed., *Contributions au thème du et des cafés dans les sociétés du Proche-Orient* (Aix-en-Provence, 1991), pp. 75-112.
- 36 Ellis, *Penny Universities*, p. 74.
- 37 Ukers, *Romance of Tea*, pp. 66-7.
- 38 Smith and Christian, *Bread and Salt*, p. 230.
- 39 Karl Wassenberg, *Tee in Ostfriesland: vom religiösen Wundertrank zum profanen Volksgetränk* (Leer, 1991), pp. 67-94.
- 40 Schama, *Embarrassment*, p. 172. Bontekoe was certainly handsomely rewarded by the East India Company after he had written his book.
- 41 Gregory A. Austin, *Alcohol in Western Society from Antiquity to 1800* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1985), p. 176.
- 42 Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800*, English trans. Siyân Reynolds (London, 1973), p. 171.
- 43 Austin, *Alcohol*, p. 178.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- 45 Corti, *History of Smoking*, pp. 38-9, 50; Rival, *Tabac*, p. 13.
- 46 Larry Harrison, 'Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered: A Note on the Fate of the First British Campaign against Tobacco Smoking', *British Journal of Addiction*, 81 (1986), pp. 553-8.
- 47 MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, p. 82.
- 48 D. Simonis Paulli, *Commentarius de abusu tabaci et herbae thee* (n.p., 1665).
- 49 Tiedemann, *Geschichte des Tabaks*, pp. 143-4; Corti, *History of Smoking*, pp. 128-32, 198-9.
- 50 Brongers, *Pijpen*, p. 37. See also John Landwehr, *De Nederlander uit en thuis: Spiegel van het dagelijkse leven uit bijzondere zeventiende-eeuwse boeken* (Alphen a/d Rijn, 1981), pp. 63-5.
- 51 Schama, *Embarrassment*, p. 197.
- 52 In the anonymous 'Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered, Collected out of the Famous Poems of Joshua Sylvester, Gent', which, in turn, is included in the anonymous *The Touchstone or Trial of Tobacco . . . with a Word of Advice against Immoderate Drinking and Smoaking* (London, 1676). James I's *A Counterblast to Tobacco* is included as well.

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 71 Ellis, *Penny Universities*, pp. 94-7.
 72 Valentyn, *Oost-Indiën*, v, p. 198.
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