Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940

Mary Murphy
Although Creating Colorado provides a wealth of data for readers curious about why the state looks the way it does, the final synthesis is not as compelling as the individual parts. A reader might well wonder whether a single Colorado was in fact ever created, except as a mapmaker's convenience. Even during the final twenty years covered in this study, as national forces played an increasing role in Colorado's development, the five individual sections, Wyckoff points out, continued to develop differently. He offers his precepts and his organizing principles of location, place, and landscape as a "larger set of ideas [that] can . . . help us understand common processes at work across the state, indeed across much of the West" (287). Nevertheless, his finely detailed accounts of the individual subsections of Colorado—in all their diversity and detail—resonate more strongly than the conceptual framework he applies to unify them. There may be common processes at work here, but they do not seem to produce even one state with common characteristics, let alone an entire region. Iowans might contemplate the degree to which Wyckoff's framework fits their own corner of the trans-Mississippi West.

Such questions notwithstanding, Wyckoff's book is a welcome contribution to the literature of historical landscape studies. Whether or not the processes he identifies can be generalized across the American West, he demonstrates convincingly that they have molded Colorado. Iowans will have to decide for themselves.


Reviewer Mary Murphy is associate professor of history at Montana State University. She is the author of Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914–1941 (1997) and "Bootlegging Mothers and Drinking Daughters: Gender and Prohibition in Butte, Montana" (American Quarterly, 1994).

Women drank, too. That is one of the underlying premises of Domesticating Drink, a book that explores the gendered culture of alcohol from the late nineteenth century to the aftermath of Prohibition's repeal. In the course of this expedition, Catherine Gilbert Murdock seeks to untangle the knotty relationship between the woman suffrage, temperance, and prohibition movements; examines the use and abuse of alcohol by women and men; and charts the rise of women's action on behalf of Prohibition repeal. The heart of her argument is that there was continuity in the domestic consumption of alcohol by respectable
middle-class women from the nineteenth to the twentieth century and that it is that consumption, which moved outside the home to the speakeasy and nightclub during Prohibition, that led not only to the downfall of Prohibition but to "the elimination of a masculine subculture based on exclusivity, inebriety, and violence within the United States" (8).

The great evil in this book is excess—according to Murdock, it was the excesses of saloon culture that led to its downfall and the excesses of the reformers that led to theirs. Neither of these is a new argument. Murdock performs a scalpel-sharp dissection of the relationships among various organizations working for and against suffrage, temperance, prohibition, and prohibition repeal, but what makes this book most valuable and interesting is her investigation into the culture of drinking in America and its profoundly gendered nature. A rash of scholars in the past two decades have delved into the masculine bastion of saloon culture; Murdock hunted for female drinkers and found them hidden beneath a cloak of social opprobrium in the nineteenth century. Drinking was so identified with male behavior and so beyond the pale of womanly behavior that a society-wide denial of female alcoholism meant women addicts were refused treatment available to male alcoholics. Female opium addicts were almost respectable in comparison to female drinkers.

Murdock's focus, however, is not the issue of female alcoholism, but the tight connection between drinking and gender; this not only worked against female alcoholics in the nineteenth century but has kept historians from looking for other patterns of female drinking. Effectively using a variety of "domestic" resources, such as etiquette manuals and cookbooks, Murdock found alcohol prescribed for "afternoon teas, caudle parties to celebrate a birth, wedding breakfasts, ... garden parties," and with every course of prodigious Victorian formal dinners (56). She convincingly argues that, in addition to male, homosocial saloon drinking, a second model of alcohol consumption existed: the moderate, domestic, heterosocial consumption of alcohol at "precisely defined social events" (66). Here the decanter rather than the beer barrel became the symbol for alcohol consumption linking sociability and drinking.

Murdock then goes on to argue that it is this integration of alcohol into sociability and entertaining that proved the downfall of the temperance movement and, by extension, the Prohibition movement. The Eighteenth Amendment prohibited the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors; it did not prohibit the purchase and consumption of them, and the subsequent Volstead Act, the enforce-
ment law for the amendment, "specifically permitted possession and consumption of alcohol within the home by the homeowner, his family, and his guests" (90). That this loophole created ethical problems is well known, but Murdock argues that it also allowed the continuation and consolidation of a domestic alcohol culture that eventually triumphed to become the mainstream pattern of American drinking. Domesticated drinking formed a middle ground between saloon culture and the dry America advocated by the WCTU and other dry radicals. This did not happen overnight or easily, and the author devotes several chapters to charting the political course dry and wet women followed in the campaigns for Prohibition and its repeal.

Murdock's overall analysis is convincing. However, in her desire to proclaim the originality and importance of her work, she occasionally falls into absolute statements that would feel comfortable on the lips of the reformers she castigates for their excess. Instead of telling us that her analysis is "correct" (10) and "absolutely accurate" (110), it would have been better to simply let her evidence speak for itself. Although she makes a strong case that the American male subculture based on "exclusivity, inebriety, and violence" has been modified, the book's evidence indicates that it has not been "eliminated." *Domesticating Drink* is a fine piece of analysis and scholarship; Murdock would have been wise to take the advice she offers to her readers: moderate claims are more persuasive.


Reviewer Duncan Stewart is a librarian at the State Historical Society of Iowa. His research interests include the midwestern Left, rural radicalism, and Iowa labor history.

Jim Bissett's *Agrarian Socialism* joins Garin Burbank's *When Farmers Voted Red* and James R. Green's *Grass Roots Socialism* as the third work dealing with Oklahoma socialism since 1976. Bissett acknowledges these authors but challenges their belief that Sooner socialism was largely an imported idea. In *Agrarian Socialism* he describes Oklahoma socialism as an outgrowth of earlier protest movements, economic conditions, and unresponsive politicians.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, low crop prices and sharecropping kept many Oklahoma farmers in poverty and provided ready recruits for the Farmers Union, and, later, the Socialist Party.