



Introduction: Cultural Representations of Intoxication

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Historian Phil Withington's introduction to the special issue of *Past & Present* on 'Cultures of Intoxication' (co-edited with Angela McShane in 2014) begins with a consideration of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*.¹ In the parabolic novel, drunkenness both precipitates the revolution, and ultimately poisons it, as humans and animals alike prove unresisting to the charms of various intoxicants, including beer, whisky and tobacco. Indeed, in the final 'tragic denouement' of the book, it is the pigs' emulation of the humans' culture of intoxication that means the other farmyard creatures 'looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again: but already it was impossible to say which was which'.² For Withington, 'Orwell's beautifully told fable' captured many of the concerns of his and McShane's collection in interrogating the idea 'that intoxication is a universal and essential feature of the human condition – as quintessentially human as dwelling houses, clothing, money, trade, and inequality'.³

We introduce our own special issue on 'Cultural Representations of Intoxication' by referencing Withington's citation of Orwell for several reasons. Firstly, to acknowledge the appropriation of the theme 'Cultures of Intoxication' for a symposium, held at University College Dublin in February 2020 (weeks before such in-person meetings became no longer possible due to Covid-19) from which this collection was birthed. Cultural representations emerged as a dominant and unifying theme at this event, one that many participants deemed worthy of further dedicated exploration. Secondly, to illustrate that it is difficult to write or talk about intoxication without appealing to its representations via cultural channels; and that, in turn, these portrayals provide a lens for studying the culture from which they emerge. Orwell's novel is viewed as perhaps the outstanding political satire of the twentieth century with its universal themes of power abused and utopian hopes dashed, but it is also of course very much of its time, and its assumptions and elisions reveal much about mid-century British attitudes to intoxicants. Withington's introduction, understandably for his purposes, does not attempt to historicise the cultural product itself at any length, but does note that '[a]s depicted by Orwell, [intoxication] was a source of masculine distinction that distinguished governors from the governed; that facilitated class solidarity among erstwhile political rivals; and that distracted elites from their paternalistic, social, and economic obligations'.⁴ Thirdly, to acknowledge that Withington's own introduction saves us reiterating some of the framing concepts and theoretical insights, and provides a foundation on which the

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scholarship of this collection builds. As early to mid-career scholars, specialising in much more contemporary history than the early modern era that Withington and McShane study, we are indebted to their analysis, but also contend that our collection expands upon their scholarship by providing a dedicated examination of various aesthetic, material and literary representations of intoxication. Finally, it demonstrates the growing interest in 'intoxication' as a framing for multi- and interdisciplinary scholarship on drugs, alcohol and other consumables. As Withington puts it, his co-edited volume did not 'emerge, of course, out of the historiographical blue'.⁵ Likewise, in the last two decades, there has been scholarly and popular work from journalists, sociologists, philosophers, literary scholars and neuropharmacologists that has sought to define, discuss, and disrupt our understandings of 'intoxication'.⁶ These approaches seek to

explain why it is that so many people of different ages, from totally different social backgrounds, in so many different cultures, at so many different times in history, should seek to alter their state of consciousness.⁷

Or, to put it more pithily, to explore cultural historian Mike Jay's assertion that 'every society on Earth is a high society'.⁸ What then does this current collection, beyond context-specific case studies, provide that these other contributions have not?

We contend that this collection makes a crucial departure from previous historical scholarship on intoxication, by casting cultural representations centre stage. In doing so, it seeks to investigate what is meant when intoxication is aestheticised, fictionalised, mediatised, lyricised, caricaturised, or otherwise represented and argues that the response is very much dependent on place, time, who or what is being represented, and in what medium. While the articles that follow are not the first to consider this topic, this special issue is the first body of work to make it the object of sustained analysis across multiple psychoactive substances – namely tobacco, alcohol, ecstasy, and heroin. This comparative approach touches on several themes identified in the edited collection by James Nicholls and Susan J. Owens, *Babel of Bottles*, now over two decades old, which included an investigation of literary representations of drink, drinkers and drinking places in its broader examination of alcohol and fiction.⁹ As Nicholls noted, there had been a tendency within that realm to foreground the relationship between literary representation and alcohol as a source of addiction, and *Babel of Bottles* therefore sought to move beyond this to encompass the broader 'social and subjective experience of alcohol'.¹⁰ Of particular influence for our collection, this included emphasising alcohol's role in contemporary conceptions of pleasure and leisure, which Nicholls framed as 'an essential element in understanding how we construct ideas of social interaction and responsibility in the public sphere'.¹¹ Extending beyond a sole focus on literature, Deborah Toner, in her recent chapter-length examination of the period 1850–1950, has demonstrated how portrayals of alcoholism, addiction, temperance, prohibition, and drunken consciousness in novels, poetry, plays, films, and art became increasingly 'complex, multi-layered, and ambivalent in their treatment of alcohol'.¹² The present collection of articles expands the historiographical emphasis on alcohol to embrace other substances. In particular, what emerges from this approach is the central importance of social class, gender expression and sexuality in determining how a range of intoxicating substances, practices and experiences have been represented culturally since the early modern period.¹³

Withington noted elsewhere that his co-edited volume provided a ‘timely reminder that intoxication is an important subject of social and cultural history’.¹⁴ This collection, at first glance, clearly appears to focus on the latter more than the former. Debate has rumbled – and sometimes flared – in this journal as to the relationship between cultural and social history, and these debates are in some ways central to the concerns of this collection.¹⁵ To what extent is cultural representation reflective of the social relations present in practices of intoxication? How much can we read into lived experiences of intoxication through their artistic portrayals, bearing in mind the central ‘problem’ or burden of many cultural sources that such representations (even in their most social-realist, kitchen-sink register) are not mirror images of everyday life? In other words, what relation does *Animal Farm* or any other (less canonical) representation of intoxication bear to everyday life, societal mores, or any other topic of social history?

Before we attend to these questions however, we pause to reflect on what work ‘intoxication’ does in our collection. Intoxication, as a framing device, has been employed particularly fruitfully by a range of early modern scholars. For Benjamin Breen, most recently, provocatively delineating the ‘Age of Intoxication’ not only disrupts popular understandings of the period as the ‘Age of Reason’, but also draws attention to the fact that all kinds of substances might be and have been considered ‘drugs’.¹⁶ Indeed, archaeologist Andrew Sherratt reminds us that ‘[s]uch usages and definitions, however, are very recent ones ... [arising] within the context of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution’.¹⁷ The use of the descriptor ‘intoxicants’ therefore provides a capacious category; coffee or sugar can be considered alongside opium or St.-John’s-Wort, collapsing boundaries between ‘illicit and licit, recreational and medicinal, modern and traditional’.¹⁸ Crucially, many of these intoxicants played important roles in both the British and Portuguese empires, and other historians have also recently drawn attention to the globalising effects of intoxicants and intoxication.¹⁹ But it is also apparent that intoxication provides an umbrella term for scholars with more contemporary concerns. As sociologist Angus Bancroft contends,

distinction between categories ... are largely arbitrary and a function of social power, not chemistry ... The history of drugs and alcohol has been a spiral of moral panic and myth-making which has made these malleable categories appear solid and immutable.²⁰

Another important analytical function that Bancroft ascribes to a focus on intoxication is that of the lived experiences of the consumer, which are ‘not ingrained in the pharmacological properties of the substance, but are shaped by culture, environment and individuals’ characteristics, [past] experiences and expectations’.²¹ Paying attention to this lived experience has been a latent concern of ‘the field of drinking studies’ which, as Mark Hailwood recently noted, over ‘the past 20 years has seen a growing body of work across the humanities and social sciences successfully rescue alcohol consumption from the enormous condescension of previous academic treatment’.²² Arguably such a pivot towards a history of experience is even further from materialising in modern drugs history. If Virginia Berridge could, in a review essay published in 2003, remark that ‘the more recent [policy] history of national UK or US drug use and control have been relatively neglected’, this is clearly no longer the case.²³ The field is now dominated by histories that concentrate on diplomatic and political machinations, in imitation of what William McAllister describes as the ‘supply control’ logic of twentieth-century

international drug policy.²⁴ Furthermore, some historians have arguably too easily sided with medical, legal and now neuroscientific conceptions of drugs and psychoactive substances as ‘addictive’, reifying the power dynamics to which Bancroft alludes.²⁵ As Alex Mold noted in a 2007 review essay, ‘the science of addiction is just one part of the story ... regulatory responses over the last 150 years ... have [also] been related to broader social and cultural concerns’ (often, it must be said, with a racialising logic).²⁶ Modern histories that attempt to tell the story of the consumer, rather than ones more sympathetic to the law-enforcement official, doctor, diplomat, or other traditional authority figure, are rare. Partly this is of course a methodological problem; how to access the authentic voice of the consumer or user when they only appear in official documents, newspapers and other archival material in highly mediated and pejorative form, if at all.

We argue that this collection goes some way to addressing these imbalances in the historiography. Of course, as we touched upon in the opening paragraphs, there will be those that question what such representation can really tell us, either about lived experiences, practices, or social history more broadly. Withington, for example, argues that ‘[t]he “ecstasies” of most people remain far beyond the historical record and, by their very nature, are notoriously difficult to recollect and convey’. He goes on to suggest, via the narrator of Jonathan Franzen’s *Freedom*, that in any case, such narratives are boring: ‘how dull it is to read about someone else’s drinking’.²⁷ This arguably reflects however the puritanical prudishness of contemporary America’s chattering classes (as befits their pre-eminent middlebrow chronicler) rather than any universal truth; the contemporary popularity of trip reports on websites such as Erowid’s Experience Vaults suggests that not everyone agrees.²⁸ We argue, through a side-ways reading of Peter Mandler and Colin Jones’ influential pieces in this journal, that cultural representations and literary accounts of intoxication can be both important and interesting historical sources. Mandler, somewhat in passing although deprecatingly, critiques cultural history for its sense of ‘fun’, while Jones’ is somewhat more celebratory of its ‘playtime’.²⁹ Nowhere is this fun and playtime more apparent than in representations of intoxication; pleasure-seeking and hedonism is after-all so often the motivation of intoxication. This is not to downplay the negative consequences that for some result from such practices, and this collection provides examples of alcoholism and heroin addiction. Nonetheless, we suggest that taking the fun and playfulness of intoxication seriously offers us a route into how people have understood drugs, alcohol and other psycho-active substances in the past. By exploring these past material, visual, and literary cultures, we contend that we can get nearer to these everyday understandings of the role of intoxicants, and by extension, what these rituals of intoxication can tell us about these societies.³⁰

Nonetheless, we are of course mindful of Mandler’s critique, and Christine Grandy’s recent return to it, in asking who the audience is in cultural history.³¹ But if we merely concentrate on those aspects of cultural history that are easiest to establish an audience for, where does that leave the marginalised, the subcultural, or subaltern? When researching consumers of drugs, and to a lesser extent alcohol, we are frequently dealing with practices that are illegal, or at least taboo. Furthermore, by definition intoxication opens up a space beyond the everyday, an escape from the mundane. The ways in which this world is represented by more or less creative endeavours open up avenues of analysis not found in more conventional archival material.

Scholars in this collection respond to these dilemmas in a number of different ways. Some do indeed make claims that the cultural artefacts that they examine provide a window onto wider social questions, albeit in fantastical, humorous, or satirical fashion. Often, these cultural portraits place the consumer in the foreground, with certain ‘types’ or subsets of society becoming inextricably linked to the practices and perceptions of certain intoxicants at certain times. The stereotyping of these users, meanwhile, can influence how certain substances are viewed. Thus, for Stephen Snelders, the cultural reception of tobacco in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic centred less on the substance itself and more on its users and the settings of its use. That the first European tobacco consumers were seamen, overwhelmingly from the lower classes, was therefore of vital importance to the cultural ambivalence surrounding tobacco use, which retained associations with deviance and marginality, despite its relatively rapid appropriation within the bourgeois sphere. Of methodological importance for this collection, it is Snelders’ critical analysis of documentary evidence alongside contemporary literary accounts, plays, paintings, clay pipes and tobacco boxes that enables him to plot an alternative historical narrative of the cultural evaluation of tobacco use in this era.

Focusing on the same temporal and geographical setting, Adriaan Duiveman considers the ways in which intoxication was represented and understood through both the martially themed drinking vessels and songs of early modern Dutchmen. In questioning why these men chose to turn their drinking tables into metaphoric battlefields, Duiveman goes some way towards locating the experience of those who engaged with these cultural artefacts. He contends that the combat analogies in both the drinking songs and pistol- and cannon-shaped wager cups could result in a carnivalesque atmosphere, produce a myriad of emotions, including fear, shame and joy, and enable interpretations of intoxication by alcohol as an ‘act of masculine bravery’ and stamina. He notes, however, that the heavy drinking associated with these bouts could be both a performance of and a threat to manhood, with their consumers being portrayed as ‘spoilt young men’ and even effeminate.

The notion of masculinity under threat also features prominently in Weldon Clark Terrill’s combined analysis of literary works, newspaper reports and medical discussions of absinthe drinking in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Terrill argues, both the medical and popular discourse became increasingly hostile towards absinthe drinkers, with ‘manliness’ and ‘degeneracy’ cited specifically. This rhetoric, Terrill suggests, influenced both the timing and implementation of the criminalisation of absinthe in the United States. Paradoxically, the sense of moral and cultural panic surrounding gender expression and sexuality swung both ways, as absinthe drinking became explicitly associated with Dandies, ‘Dudes’ and, by extension, effeminacy, on the one hand, and The New Woman, derided for her independence and masculinity, on the other.

In Pam Lock’s exploration of Charles Dickens’s literary defences of moderate drinking in reaction to the Teetotal stance of several contemporary (often female) writers of fiction, it is women’s involvement in anti-drink campaigns, rather than their intoxication, that proves problematic for some cultural commentators – not least Dickens himself. Exhibiting the ‘often under-estimated influence of temperance rhetoric’ on mid-nineteenth-century fiction, these texts echo concurrent public debates surrounding not just alcohol, but appropriate levels of intoxication. What results is a plethora of literary

depictions ranging from habitual drunkenness and excess to moderation to total abstinence. Both gender norms and class difference are relevant within these renderings, although as Lock points out 'Dickens believed habitual drunkenness to be a symptom rather than a cause of poverty'. Beyond the pages of these literary accounts, Lock demonstrates that the tee-total movement was a crucial element in the growth of social mobility and freedoms for both women and the working and under classes.

The borders between fiction and reality are further blurred in Alice Mauger's exploration of Irish writers' representations of their experiences of alcohol addiction from *circa* the 1960s to the 1990s. Focusing on selected literary and autobiographical works, Mauger demonstrates how contemporary medical frameworks for understanding addiction influenced how the selected writers made sense of their condition. In the absence of institutional records for the period examined, these personal accounts lend insights into the lived experience of inpatient treatment for alcoholism as well as the extreme intoxication associated with addiction. The interplay between public discourse and artistic representations is also apparent here, as social commentary on the relationship between conservative Catholicism, sexual repression and excessive drinking in Ireland is seen to have permeated the selected texts.

Social commentary becomes a form of cultural representation in and of itself in Oisín Wall and James P. Grannell's survey of shifting Irish journalistic portrayals of heroin and heroin consumers from 1919 to 1990. By analysing the 'stories' constructed within, and perpetuated by, major Irish national newspapers in three distinct periods, Wall and Grannell demonstrate how the character of the 'typical' heroin user helped to propagate Irish moral exceptionalism: from the 'othered' Chinese immigrant and glamorous socialite abroad to the middle-class Irish student and young seasonal Irish labourer (both subject to 'foreign' influences) to the inner-city working-class communities. The emergence of AIDS, Wall and Grannell determine, created new narratives, which linked heroin use and the spread of HIV among drug users, the gay community and potentially, the wider Irish population. Intravenous drug-using mothers, meanwhile, received especially harsh criticism in these journalistic accounts, with their babies presented as innocent victims of their irresponsible parents.

Representations of women's drug use forms the focal point of Peder Clark's analysis of the materials produced by the drugs harm reduction charity, Lifeline, between 1992 and 1996, specifically targeted at young female ecstasy consumers. By reading these sources against the grain and contextualising their representations of young women's ecstasy use through comparison with wider subcultural ephemera, Clark recovers the hitherto obscured gender aspects of rave and ecstasy, particularly in relation to pleasure. As Clark contends, the Lifeline materials reflected concurrent tensions between the popular press' portrayal of young women's intoxication as 'reckless, dangerous or unbecoming' and a 'shift in women's subjectivities', expressed in post-feminist sentiment and the rejection 'of notions of "lady-like" behaviour'.

While moral panic relating to female intoxication has been well documented in the existing historiography, its frequent appearance in relation to the range of substances, locations and timespans examined in this collection reaffirms the centrality of gender and gender expression to both cultural representations and experiences. This is apparent, not only for explicitly identified female stereotypes such as Terrill's 'New Woman' and Clark and Mauger's 'ladette', but in earlier periods, as shown by Snelders' assertion that

negative images of public tobacco smoking focused on female consumption and were associated with immoral behaviour, while ‘stinking of tobacco was even presented as making women (but not men) sexually unattractive’. Clark’s emphasis on pleasure and fun as essential yet underplayed elements of intoxication, particularly for women, also links in with representations from earlier periods. For example, Lock shows that Dickens’s defences of moderate drinking hinged on the importance of pleasure, relief and conviviality. Snelders’ and Duiveman’s articles, meanwhile, highlight the enjoyment and sociability of tobacco smoking and drinking bouts for early modern Dutchmen.

The settings of intoxication are also often fundamental to its representation, from Duivemen’s metaphoric battle fields (drinking tables) to Wall and Grannell’s inner-city Dublin flats to Clark’s 1990s Manchester nightclubs. As Snelders notes in relation to setting ‘in the city of Amsterdam a few hundred metres could be the difference between respectability and social deviance for exactly the same practice of consumption’. Representations of these contemporary notions of respectability and social class, are equally, if not more dominant than gender norms in certain contexts. This can be seen to function in a variety of ways. Wall and Grannell observe that in discourses around heroin use in 1980s Dublin, the surveillance of working-class areas intimately linked the drug, and consequent social problems, with the poor. Yet Terrill’s largely white, middle- and upper-class absinthe drinkers serve as a notable contrast of a relatively privileged group whose behaviour was portrayed as deviant and socially threatening. Finally, the interplay between medical, social and cultural discourses in many contexts is also noteworthy and extends Toner’s findings in relation to alcohol to other substances and periods.³²

The study of how certain substances and behaviours have been both celebrated and condemned, and what these shifting, often kaleidoscopic, lenses did to both practices and experiences, is increasingly demanding scholarly attention. While the articles in this issue examine an admittedly limited range of specific societies and (sub)cultures at distinct historical junctures, the revelation of these, and several other, striking parallels and contrasts suggest potentially fruitful paths for further research on cultural representations of intoxication. Rather than eschewing examination of medical and social discourses in favour of a sole focus on artistic portrayals, however, this collection advocates for the exploration of how these often competing, but at times complementary, perceptions and understandings of intoxication interact. In doing so, it hopes to serve as a springboard for subsequent scholarly debate that extends far beyond the scope of the present analysis.

Notes

1. Phil Withington, ‘Introduction: Cultures of Intoxication’, *Past & Present* 222 Issue Supplement 9 (2014), pp. 9–33.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10. Quoting George Orwell, *Animal Farm: A Fairy Story* (London, 2000 [1945]), p. 102.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
6. Stuart Walton, *Out of It: A Cultural History of Intoxication* (London, 2001); Angus Bancroft, *Drugs, Intoxication and Society* (Cambridge, 2009); Jonathan Herring, Ciaran Regan, Darin Weinberg and Phil Withington (eds), *Intoxication and Society: Problematic Pleasures of*

- Drugs and Alcohol* (Basingstoke, 2013); Eugene Brennan and Russell Williams (eds), *Literature and Intoxication: Writing, Politics and the Experience of Excess* (Basingstoke, 2015); Jean Luc Nancy, *Intoxication*, trans. Philip Armstrong (New York, 2016); Fiona Hutton (ed), *Cultures of Intoxication: Key Issues and Debates* (Cham, Switzerland, 2020); Geoffrey Hunt, Tamar Antin and Vibeke Asmussen Frank (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Intoxicants and Intoxication* (London, 2022).
7. Geoffrey Hunt and Vibeke Asmussen Frank 'Reflecting on intoxication' in Torsten Kolind, Betsy Thom and Geoffrey Hunt (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Drug and Alcohol Studies: Social Science Approaches* (London, 2017), pp. 322–323.
 8. Mike Jay, 'High Society: The Central Role of Mind-Altering Drugs', in *History, Science and Culture* (Rochester, 2010), p. 9.
 9. James Nicholls and Susan J. Owens (eds), *A Babel of Bottles: Drink, Drinkers & Drinking Places in Literature* (Sheffield, 2000).
 10. James Nicholls, 'Introduction', in Nicholls and Owens (eds), *Babel of Bottles*, p. 13.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Deborah Toner, 'Cultural Representations', in Deborah Toner (ed), *Alcohol in the Age of Industry, Empire, and War* (London, New York, Dublin, 2021), p. 175. For further discussion of Toner's approach see Alice Mauger's article in this collection.
 13. Developing on, for example, Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York, 1992).
 14. Phil Withington, 'Cultures of Intoxication: Past & Present Blog' <https://pastandpresent.org.uk/cultures-of-intoxication> Last accessed 15 April 2021.
 15. We are inevitably thinking here of Peter Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), pp. 94–117 and the responses that elicited, including Colin Jones, 'Peter Mandler's "Problem with Cultural History" or, Is Playtime Over?' *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004) pp. 209–215, and more recently Christine Grandy, 'Cultural History's Absent Audience', *Cultural and Social History*, 16 no. 5 (2019), pp. 643–663.
 16. Benjamin Breen, *The Age of Intoxication: Origins of the Global Drug Trade* (Philadelphia, 2019), p. 3.
 17. Andrew Sherratt, 'Introduction: Peculiar Substances', in Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, Andrew Sherratt, *Consuming Habits: Drugs in history and anthropology*. (London and New York, 1995) p. 1.
 18. Breen, *Age of Intoxication*, p. 3.
 19. Kathryn James and Phil Withington, 'Introduction to Intoxicants and Early Modern European Globalisation', *The Historical Journal* 65 no. 1 (2022), pp. 1–11.
 20. Bancroft, *Drugs, Intoxication and Society*, p. x.
 21. Ibid.
 22. Mark Hailwood, 'Jonathon Shears, The Hangover: A Literary and Cultural History' *Social History of Medicine* 35 no. 1 (2022), pp. 346–7. Hailwood's own contribution to this field is *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014). Among other key texts to focus on alcohol in recent decades are: Mariana Valverde, *Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemmas of Freedom* (Cambridge, 1998); John Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics Since 1830: A Study in Policy Making* (Basingstoke, 2003); James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester, 2009); Iain Gately, *Drink: A Cultural History of Alcohol* (New York, 2009); Virginia Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes to Alcohol, Tobacco & Drugs* (Oxford, 2013); Thora Hands, *Drinking in Victorian and Edwardian Britain: Beyond the Spectre of the Drunkard* (Cham, Switzerland, 2018).
 23. Virginia Berridge, 'History and twentieth-century drug policy: telling true stories? Essay review' *Medical History* 47 no. 4 (2003), p. 518. Berridge's own work is a benchmark in this regard; Berridge, *Demons*. Other examples include Alex Mold, *Heroin: The Treatment of Addiction in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Dekalb, Illinois, 2008); James H. Mills, *Cannabis Nation. Control and Consumption in Britain, 1928–2008* (Oxford, 2012); Joseph F. Spillane,

- Cocaine: From Medical Marvel to Modern Menace in the United States* (Baltimore, 2000); Toby Seddon. *A History of Drugs: Drugs and Freedom in the Liberal Age* (Abingdon; New York, 2010); David Herzberg, *White Market Drugs: Big Pharma and the Hidden History of Addiction in America* (Chicago, 2020); Nancy D. Campbell, *OD: Naloxone and the Politics of Overdose* (Cambridge, MA, 2020).
24. William B. McAllister, *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2000).
 25. David T. Courtwright, *The Age of Addiction: How Bad Habits became Big Business* (Cambridge, MA, 2019). See also Courtwright's earlier *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).
 26. Alex Mold, 'Consuming Habits', *Cultural and Social History* 4 no. 2, (2007), pp. 268. For global perspectives on the racialising logic of drug regulation and policing, see Kojo Koram (ed), *The War on Drugs and the Global Colour Line* (London, 2019).
 27. Withington, 'Introduction', p. 11 quoting Jonathan Franzen, *Freedom* (London) p. 61.
 28. *Erowid Experience Vaults*, <https://erowid.org/experiences/> Last accessed 11 August 2022.
 29. Mandler, 'Problem with Cultural History', p. 95. Jones, 'Is Playtime Over?'
 30. In doing so we return somewhat to Sherratt's anthropologically-informed reading of these 'peculiar substances'. Sherratt, 'Introduction'.
 31. Mandler, 'The Problem with Cultural History'; Grandy, 'Cultural History's Absent Audience'.
 32. Toner, 'Cultural Representations'.

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