THE SELF ABUSER AS A SOCIAL TYPE:

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF APPARENT CONTINUITIES IN STEREOTYPING

by

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ABSTRACT

This work begins with the observation that for the past two centuries Americans have described certain behaviors and their consequences in a similar fashion. By similar fashion is meant that there has been an apparent continuity in the labeling and stereotyping process evidenced by recurring language, themes, metaphors and symbols.

Substantively, the analysis focuses on the image of the opiate user today, the image of the spirit drinker at the turn of the twentieth century, and that of the masturbator during the nineteenth century.

The author argues that by focusing attention on the self abuser as a social type attention is drawn to: (1) the processes whereby behaviors come to be defined and labeled deviant; (2) the meaning and functions such labels might have for a group of people; and (3) the ways in which such definitions and labels are patterned throughout time.

The analysis suggests that during periods of economic scarcity, social upheavel, and accelerated social change descriptions of self abuse function as important symbolic vehicles in two ways: (1) as defenses of the status quo and (2) as agents for discrediting low status groups. Thus, it is argued that at one time masturbation was a code word for children, opium for Orientals, cocaine for Negroes, marijuana for Mexicans, pot and LSD for hippies, and today heroin for Blacks.

What is concluded from this analysis is that: (1) a limited set of imagery are available to describe society's devalued people and (2) the symbol is of paramount importance in complex heterogeneous societies.

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However, any errors in judgment or interpretation which this work might contain are mine.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This is an exploratory study into the nature and meaning of social types. It begins with the observation that for the past two centuries, American society has patently described certain forms of deviant behavior and their effects in a similar fashion. By similar fashion, I mean that there has been an apparent continuity in the stereotyping and labeling process, evidenced by recurring language, themes, metaphors, and symbols used to describe a set of behaviors and their consequences. The behaviors in question are either sex or drug related and have been depicted, as I shall demonstrate, as forms of self abuse.

Subsequently, this study is an exploratory attempt to explicate and interpret an apparent continuity in the stereotyping process between a limited number of behaviors. It focuses on three forms of conduct which, at different points of time during the course of American history, have been the object of similar public stereotyped images. Substantively, it focuses on the image of the opiate user today, the spirit drinker in the early twentieth century, and the masturbator of the late nineteenth century. Theoretically, it will draw from the functionalist, interactionist, and conflict perspectives in order to suggest a framework for analysis.

By emphasizing the self abuser as a social type I mean to draw attention to an interrelated set of symbols and images, the totality of which, along with values, norms, beliefs, mores and other parts of culture suggest specific models for moral conduct.

I am especially interested in the deviant social type as a persistent social form, insofar as this type provides the antithesis of both the moral man and subsequently moral conduct. Social types, I will argue, not only provide a people with a set of expectations pertaining to how persons should perform specific roles, but more general information on "right" conduct, moral codes, and "nice" people.

I see social types as comprising patterned systems of response and acting, as idealized, personified versions of roles, which are only approximated in the real world. They provide members, as I shall demonstrate, with convenient, truncated delimitations of reality and function as road maps providing for certain courses of social action.[1]

For the sociologist the study of social types provides a way to gauge what a group of people values, what they consider aberrant, and what changes they might be experiencing relative to defining their cultural universe. In turn, as I believe to be the case with the self abuser as a social type, their study provides some insight into the processes whereby certain behaviors come to be labeled deviant.

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[1] For an explication of the concept of social types see Orrin E. Klapp, Social Types: Process, Structure and Ethos (San Diego: Aegis Publishing Company, 1971).

THE CONCEPTS OF SELF ABUSE AND STEREOTYPE DEFINED

By self abuse I mean an action, behavior, and/or condition which conforms to the following definitional features: (1) the behavior is deemed as harmful; (2) the harm is thought to be reflexive; and (3) the action is voluntary.

I would use the concept of "victimless crimes" if it were not for two reasons. First, not all the behaviors under consideration have been defined as criminal. Thus, although the nineteenth century witnessed severe condemnation of masturbation, only one mid-western state saw fit to legislate against this behavior.

Secondly, as Bedau astutely notes, to say that such and such a behavior is victimless requires that the researcher make a value, if not an ideological judgment. Subsequently, to say that abortion is "victimless" excludes the rights of the fetus. Or, to argue that narcotic addiction or homosexuality are without victims requires that one presuppose that consensual action is always synonomous with full knowledge of all ramifications of such actions. Hence, the logic follows that the harm, if any, is nullified by the voluntary nature of the behavior.[2]

[2] For a detailed explication of this argument see Edwin M. Schur and Hugo Adam Bedau, Victimless Crimes: Two Sides of a Controversy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974).

From the viewpoint of this study, the adoption of such a position is both precarious and unnecessary. Instead, the behaviors to be considered have been defined as self abuse by influential figures, capable of shaping the opinions of others, with the potential of determining social policy and individual action.

The concept of stereotype is somewhat more problematic because of its prior and varied usage and requires that we briefly review some precedents.

The term stereotype was first used in 1922 in a work by Walter Lippman titled Public Opinion. Borrowing from the lexicon of printers (a rigid metal press used to produce cartoons and advertisements), Lippman defined stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" which were a "combination of types and generalities" and comprised of "distortions," "caricatures" and "institutionalized misinformation."[3] Additionally, stereotypes were "projections upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own positions and our own rights," while serving as "fortresses for our traditions."[4] Their hallmark, he argued, was that they precede the "use of reason" and "impose a certain character on the data" before our "intelligence reaches it."[5] Within a short

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[3] Walter Lippman, Public Opinion (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 3-59.

[4] Ibid., p. 63.

[5] Ibid., p. 65.

time the concept would become an integral part of the social scientists' language and would come to be used without definition, reflection, and frequently in a contradictory fashion. Observe some of its varied usages.

Klineberg in 1940 argued that a stereotype was a "popular belief," a "selective perception," and a "composite of the real and imputed character of the object."[6] Myrdal in An American Dilemma added that stereotypes were sometimes "exaggerated beliefs" oftentimes "popular prejudices"[7] and still at other times "false beliefs." And for Bettleheim and Janowitz, a stereotype was merely a "projection of inner strivings."[8]

Later theorists would contend they were: "overgeneralized statements,"[9] "role expectations,"[10] "negative judgments used to scapegoat,"[11]

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6 Otto Klineberg, Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), p. 207.

7 Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem in American Democracy (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Twentieth Anniversary Edition, 1962), pp. 101-208.

8 Bruno Bettleheim and Morris Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice (London: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 140-148.

9 Kenneth Plummer, Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Perspective (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 106.

10 Erving Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 3-4.

11 Dennis Chapman, Sociology and the Stereotype of the Criminal (London: Tavistock Publications, 1968), p. 239.

"affectual exaggerations without empirical referents,"[12] and "exaggerated beliefs associated with a category, and used to justify that category."[13]

Perhaps the most ambitious effort to integrate themes inherent in the concept's use comes from Forrest LaViolette and K. H. Silvert. Two common threads, they contend, have appeared throughout stereotype theorizing. First, there is the general recognition that stereotypes are a special category of attitudes which symbolically express a person's individual and group identification. Secondly, it is usually agreed that they persist through time and concomitantly are rigid. Yet, although these two features appear to permeate most essays concerned with stereotyping, little in the way of analysis has arisen which would subject these assumptions to empirical testing.[14]

Subsequently, the authors proceed to suggest a number of working propositions which might provide an integrative framework for examining these hypotheses. Three issues germane to this study are raised by Silvert and LaViolette: (1) the generalizability of stereotype images; (2) the conditions under which they arise and (3) their function with

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12 John C. McKinney, Constructive Typology and Social Theory (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1966), p. 16.

13 Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 187.

14 Forrest LaViolette and K. H. Silvert, "A Theory of Stereotypes," Social Forces, 29: 260-261, 1951.

regard to focusing on intergroup relations and tensions. Such images, they conjecture, emerge as a result of crises and group conflict, are sharpest in periods of accelerated social change, and most enduring when used to legitimate a given status quo.[15]

With these concerns in mind we will define a stereotype as a negative and/or falsified formulation of a category which frequently operates independently of the objective aspects of that category. We concur with Lippman insofar as they function as vehicles defending "statuses," "traditions," and "values."[16]

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15 Ibid., p. 262.

16 Lippman, op. cit., p. 64.

A PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF THE CONTINUITIES

Steven Marcus writing on the Victorian response to human sexuality and pornography in The Other Victorians devotes his first chapter to an overview of the life and works of Lord William Acton - a very proper, British physician - whom Marcus believes to be the personification of the Victorian ethic. Acton, an influential figure in his own time was best known for The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs, a work which significantly devoted only two short passages to female sexuality.[17] Above all what Marcus intends for the reader to comprehend by way of Acton is the extent to which many of the beliefs held by Victorians and accepted as finite statements were in fact upshots of the Victorian world view and in Marcus' words rested "...upon a mass of unargued, unexamined, and largely unconscious assumptions; its logical proceedings are loose and associative rather than rigorous and sequential; and one of its chief impulses is to confirm what is already held as belief rather than to adopt belief to new and probably disturbing knowledge."[18]

That there are parallels between Victorian reasoning concerning human sexuality and contemporary theorizing with regard to drug use is significant given the diversity of the behaviors in question and

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17 Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 2-7.

18 Ibid., p. 1.

the span of time between the writings. Moreover, and this is especially interesting, is that Acton's description of the effects masturbation and "excessive indulgence" in sexual intercourse may have on the human body and psychic is almost verbatim the contemporary description of the effects prolonged drug use will have on an individual. It is as if Western societies have reserved a special language for describing the consequences one may expect for violating certain taboos.

For example note Acton's description of a boy who masturbates frequently:

> The frame is stunted and weak, and the muscles undeveloped, the eye is sunken and heavy, the complexion is sallow, pasty, or covered with spots of acne, the hands are damp and cold, the skin is moist. The boy shuns the society of others, joins with repugnance in the amusements of his schoolfellows. He cannot look any one in the face, and becomes a drooling idiot or a peevish valetudinarian. Such boys are to be seen in all stages of degeneration, but what we have described is but the result towards which they are all tending.[19]

A hundred times over from the literature concerned with the effects of drug use we are confronted with descriptions bearing marked similarity to the Victorian account of the consequences of habitual masturbation. Key phrases and imagery overridingly depict the habitual abuser as having a sallow complexion, with sunken, dark, circled eyes,

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19 Ibid., p. 19.

socially withdrawn and in a general state of deterioration. Damp, cold hands accompanied by moist clammy skin might well be the description of "cold turkey," i.e., herion withdrawal, as well as the description of the effects of habitual masturbation.[20]

Other examples, supporting parallels between the images applied to the masturbator and the drug user are as follows. Perry M. Lichtenstein, writing on his experiences with "drug habitues" within the City Prison in Manhattan states "...People who take the drug as previously described, i.e., under unfavorable circumstances usually present a haggard, sallow appearance, they look as if they lost interest in the world. The eyes are dull, the individual can concentrate his mind on only one thought, i.e., how to obtain the drug...Many people are of the opinion that all habitues are emaciated, sallow looking, bleary eyed individuals."[21] Or, to bring the metaphor to date, take the now classic The Drug Takers a special Time-Life report prepared by John Mills in 1965. "The addict is habitually dirty, his clothes filthy, and he stands slackly as if his body were without muscles... His shoulders are hunched, his head is down...When they are off heroin,

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20 Although, to some extent this depiction is accurate with regard to heroin withdrawal, it frequently is overemphasized and depicted as an inextricable and inevitable consequence of heroin addiction. In a later chapter I will demonstrate that the overemphasis is significant relative to this work's concerns.

21 Perry M. Lichtenstein, "Narcotic Addiction" in Narcotic Addiction ed. by John A. O'Donnell (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 23.

addicts tend to be morose and restless...[22] Jo Coudert evokes very similar imagery but instead of describing the heroin addict, she concerns herself with the description of the alcoholic. Accordingly, her description is laden with such words and terms as: "lacks self control," "cannot concentrate," "alcoholism shatters the promise of the future," and "craves the drug."[23]

Chein et al similarly in the Road to H conjure this imagery of deprivation, social withdrawal, and physical deterioration, but with the enlightened reasoning of the twentieth century argue, "The addict is not an alien specimen. He is a human being...cannot regard him merely as a noxious object...the addict stands before us as a model of what the rest of us might have made of ourselves."[24] Or note Blum's description in Society and Drugs, "Drugs separate man from society while frustrating his own hopes and desires..." while on the other hand holding out the possibility for the user of a thousand delights.[25]

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22 James Mills, The Drug Takers a special Time-Life Report (New York: Time Inc., 1965), p. 17.

23 Jo Coudert, The Alcoholic in Your Life (New York: Women Books, Inc., 1974), pp. 90-106.

24 Isidor Chein, The Road to H (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964) p. 3.

25 Richard S. Blum, Society and Drugs (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), p. 332.

The parallels between Victorian views towards human sexuality and twentieth century attitudes toward drug use are striking indeed and cannot be explained away as historical accident. Indeed, it would not be at all surprising to find a variety of behaviors, throughout the course of time, prohibited in one form or another, in which indulgence would be described with similar language and metaphors. What we are compelled to ask is the significance of this parallel. And, in turn, to inquire into the thread which holds the masturbator, the opiate user, and the spirit drinker together.

I believe the answer to this question, in part, is suggested by the fact that each behavior is a particular type of deviance, that is, the masturbator, the spirit drinker, and the opiate use have been or presently are depicted as self abusers and subsequently comprise a distinct social type.

Now, what can be derived from these observations? What is the place, the function, and the role the self-abuser as a social type plays in American society? Can statements be made about what a society deems of value, what it holds as moral, and what it indicates as meaningful, by making reference to the types of behavior it labels and considers valueless, amoral, and destructive? What inferences can be made relative to the patterning and processes of deviance from an apparent continuity between the stereotyped images of sexually deviant behaviors on the one hand, and drug related behaviors on the other hand?

In the following sections I will sketch a theoretical framework and research design for considering these questions.

FUNCTIONALISM

Relative to this work's concerns, I see the greatest contribution of functionalism in terms of its ability to explicate the meaning deviant behavior has for a group of people. From the classic statements of Durkheim, through the later writings of Erikson, Gusfield, Chapman, and Klapp the student of deviance is persistently reminded of the need to consider deviant behavior within the total cultural setting, and to consider its meaning from the vantage of a people's complete design for living. For example, Durkheim's initial statements on the subject in the Division of Labor in Society may be seen as an attempt to come to grips with the function law, crime, and the identification of the criminal have for society. Basically, the Durkheimian argument is that the existence of law functions to reaffirm the group's collective identity, or in Durkheim's words the collective conscience of a group.

Depending on whether or not a society has a complex or simple division of labor, it will have law of either a restitutive or repressive nature. If the division of labor is complex (organic society) law will primarily be of a restitutive character. That is to say, it will seek redress by attempting to restore that which has been damaged rather than seeking redress through the punishment of the offender. The raison d'etre, as Durkheim argues, is that in an organic society because of the complexity of the division of labor, the collective conscience is weakened, and a people adopt an orientation which is summarized by a "live and let live" attitude. In other words, "if you allow me to do my thing, I will allow you to do your thing," and a greater freedom will ensue for all because of our increased toleration towards the other's style of life.

However, in the mechanical society, where the division of labor is relatively undifferentiated, law is primarily of a repressive nature and seeks to redress perceived wrongs by punishing the offender. Less freedom is enjoyed by all and toleration is a concept yet to be invented.

In either the organic or mechanical society (to a lesser extent in the organic) the criminal, by violating laws and offending the collective conscience, functions to reinforce the group's identity. Reinforcement occurs because the criminal by violating group norms draws attention to its cherished values, thereby reaffirming its identity and contributing to its feeling of cohesion and solidarity.[26]

Why does murder, for example, solicit the response it does, Durkheim queries. Surely, the survival of a society does not depend on one life for its continued existence. Indeed as Durkheim bluntly puts it, 'What is one life among many.'[27] The meaning of the strong societal reaction, he asserts must be understood apart from any inherent meanings of the action, i.e., it must be understood as meaningful symbolically within the context of meanings comprising the collective sentiment.

> In other words we must not say that an action shocks the common conscience because it is criminal, but rather it is criminal because it shocks the common conscience.[28]

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26 Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 70-229.

27 Ibid., pp. 70-110.

28 Ibid., p. 81.

Therefore, although the effects of crime may on the surface be unpleasant, as are analogously some of the effects of natural processes of the physical organism, crime serves useful and necessary purposes for the group. That is to say, crime not only serves to reinforce the group's collective identity, but also functions as a barometer to those conditions requiring change.[29]

The symbolic meaning of rules of conduct and laws are further elaborated by the works of Joseph Gusfield. Gusfield's contention is that even if rules of conduct or laws are flagrantly violated in everyday life by a group of people, they still function as public - hence symbolic - affirmations of an idealized standard of conduct. Countless examples can be cited to support this argument. Blue laws regulating the sale of liquor and adult consensual sexual intercourse abound throughout the nation. For example, in New York City it is illegal to sell or purchase alcoholic beverages before one p.m. on Sunday. Similarly, in the state of Connecticut, on Sundays, it is illegal in some sections of the state to have relations with one's spouse. In practice, however, these laws are routinely violated, while law enforcement personnel are little inclined towards their enforcement. But the existence of such laws, and their periodic enforcement, can best be understood symbolically as the public affirmations of certain religious values in American society.

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29 Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 47-75.

Similarly, almost every locality in the United States has some statute prohibiting prostitution. Again such laws are only sporadically enforced and hardly ever with the full vindictiveness of the law. Moreover, a fairly common practice today is for a locality to make certain accommodations with the trade by confining such activities to certain geographical locations e.g. Times Square. In turn, the prostitute and client are to some extent assured immunity from arrest and prosecution if they comply with the mandates of geographical segregation. Hence, the existence of laws prohibiting prostitution can best be understood symbolically as reaffirmations of certain standards for sexual conduct.

Gusfield's example, pertaining to the symbolic meaning of rules of conduct, especially when these rules become codified into laws, is the experience Americans had with Prohibition. Although Prohibition occurred when the drinking habits of Americans had moderated, and the law itself was fraught with so many ambiguities and loopholes making its enforcement difficult at best, it was meaningful because it reaffirmed one set of values and one life style over another.[30] Gusfield's study is also relevant from the context of conflict theory and will be returned to later in this section.

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30 Joseph R. Gusfield, "Moral Passage: The Symbolic Process in Public Designations of Deviance" in Readings in Deviant Behavior ed. by Denzel E. Benson (New York: MSS Information, 1973), pp. 74-87.

Erikson's work further contributes to our understanding of the symbolic meaning of deviant behavior, by drawing attention to the inextricable relationship between a people's total cultural universe, '...the styles of deviation they experience, and the way in which they visualize their cultural boundaries.'[31]

In a work examing both trends and definitions of deviant behavior in Puritan Massachusetts, he demonstrates that what a society perceives as deviant can only be understood by making reference to its total cultural universe. That is to say, locate and identify what a group deems worthwhile and important and in turn one will probably locate its most persecuted and celebrated forms of deviance. Hence, in Puritan Massachusetts, not surprisingly, we find that the crimes of most concern to the community were crimes of religious nature; in contemporary America those crimes frequently receiving public and official attention are crimes against property, and in the People's Republic of China we can conjecture that crimes receiving most attention are crimes of a political nature.[32]

What Erikson draws to our attention is that both the criminal and the law-abiding citizen, although on opposite sides of the fence, still straddle the same fence: both make reference to the same cultural norms, share the same beliefs, and value the same objects. The

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31 Kai Erikson, The Wayward Puritans. A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 20.

32 Ibid., pp. 183-207.

symbolic meaning of deviant behavior, to summarize, comes from a group's cultural universe, and to make a study of that symbolism can only be accomplished by understanding that universe.

Chapman, in a very similar vein to Erikson, informs the student of deviance that for any behavior which is disapproved there is an objectively identical form which is neutral or approved.[33] And this statement leads us to a discussion of the concept of social types and the writings of Orrin E. Klapp.

Aside from the immediate relevance that the concept of social types has to this particular study, I see it as a useful theoretical formulation bridging the gap between person and social structure. People do not experience abstractions like collective conscience, cultural boundary, values, norms, or cultural universes, but people basically experience other people. And it is through other people - the roles they play, the beliefs they maintain, the heroes they worship, the villains they scorn, the symbols they cherish - that members experience abstractions like culture and society.

Social types, though not completely rationalized, taken for granted, consensual concepts of roles, inform us of how a people visualizes its cultural universe by indicating their standards with regard to the heroic, the villainous, the absurd and "normal" behavior.[34] The self-

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[33] Dennis Chapman, op.cit., p. 3.

[34] Orrin E. Klapp, op.cit., p. 1.

abuser, as a form of villainy, tells us not only of a society's version of evil, but also informs equally of a society's version of the good. But as useful as the concept of social types may be as a heuristic device for the study of deviance, we are informed little of how such types develop. For this information, we must step outside the functionalist perspective and look to the writings of the interactionist and conflict theorist.

LABELING THEORY

I see labeling theory as the logical outgrowth and synthesis of the functionalist and symbolic interactionist perspectives. It informs us, following the lead provided by the functionalist, that meaning does not inhere in the action itself but, as the symbolic interactionist maintains, in the ways in which people perceive that action.

Thus, reality is what people make of it, the ways in which people derive meanings from things and experiences. In order for one to understand the meaning such and such an action has, we are informed, we must look to how that action is perceived by others. Reality and meaning subsequently become ongoing accomplishments which members negotiate everyday of their lives, and negotiate these things through a stock of culturally prescribed meanings which provide an interpretative framework for understanding everyday behavior.

In the words of Becker's now classical statement on labeling theory, "...Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infractions constitute deviance."[35]

However, although labeling theory draws our attention to the processes which operate relative to the defining of deviant behavior, it provides few leads indicating how such processes should be studied.

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35 Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 9.

Schur's observation is probably useful, when he asserts that labeling theory's greatest contribution lies with its ability to sensitize the student of deviance to certain types of problems. That is to say, labeling theory allows the possibility of rethinking certain issues, of considering behaviors within the context of social meanings, and of turning the question around.[36] So instead of assuming the activity to be inherently meaningful or heinous, we ask ourselves how the behavior has come to be defined in such and such a way? The question posed how do we arrive at a mode of analysis which would suggest a framework for considering this type of problem?

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36 Edwin Schur, "A Critical Assessment of Labeling" in Perceptions in Criminology edited by Richard L. Henshel and Robert A. Silverman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 437-453.

CONFLICT THEORY

Where functionalism draws our attention to the study of the meaning behavior has for a group of people, and labeling theory draws our attention to the processes whereby meanings are negotiated, conflict theory draws attention to the patterning of deviant behavior. By patterning is meant the recurring ways in which deviant behavior is depicted, the distribution of a particular behavior amongst a group of people, the near immunity some groups have from being labeled deviant, and the relative certainty other groups have with regard to being labeled deviant. In a word, conflict theory is to a large extent the study of the scapegoat phenomenon. It draws our attention to what often appears to be an inextricable relationship between a group's relative absence and/or possession of power, status, and prestige and its predisposition towards and/or immunity from having certain facets of its life style labeled deviant. Said somewhat differently, dominant groups of society create and enforce certain rules of conduct; the rules of conduct make reference and come from certain ideas about the nature of man, the nature of reality, and the natural ordering of things in the universe (culture). These rules function on the one hand to create a version of social order, while on the other hand they function to preserve that social order and its subsequent status quo and social hierarchy. Lastly, the rules are applied and enforced selectively according to the relative status of the person(s) involved with the behavior in question. In the words of Chapman, in a work concerned with the pervading stereotype of the criminal, "...the only thing separating the criminal, in the instance of crime, is the factor

of conviction."[37]

That these observations seem especially relevant with regard to the apparent continuity between stereotyped images of the self abuser as a social type is indicated by a number of writers, working in both similar and dissimilar traditions, but all equally concerned with the patterning and processes of deviant behavior.

We begin with the statements of Horowitz and Leibowitz who contend that deviance is frequently patterned according to the a priori political and social marginality of the presumed deviant; but traditionally the sociologist glosses this relationship when attenting to social patterning of deviant behavior. To understand and attent to the cultural universe, without addressing the "types of people" whose behaviors are labeled deviant, the authors assert, is to neglect a significant aspect of the study of deviance.[38]

Quinney takes the argument a step further by asserting that not only does the definition of crime and its attendant enforcement have to do with the inherent tension between groups who have power and those that do not, but that the definition of crime often coincides with behaviors the power elite feels are contrary to its interest.[39]

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37 Dennis Chapman, op.cit., p. 4.

38 Louis Horowitz and Martin Leibowitz, "Social Deviance and Political Marginality;" Social Problems, 29: 280-296, 1968.

39 Richard Quinney, "The Social Reality of Crime," in Theories of Deviance edited by Stuart H. Traub. (Illinois: Peacock Publishers, 1975), p. 218.

Substantive studies which empirically seek to demonstrate the apparent relationship between definitions of deviance and crime, and the relatively low status of persons whose behavior is labeled deviant, have been generated by Musto, Helmer, Sinclair, Gusfield, and Haller and Haller, and are especially germane to this study's concerns.

Joseph Gusfield's argument, in Symbolic Crusade, is that alcohol use only became problematic when it became associated with certain types of people perceived as threatening by old guard, rural Protestant America. His contention, corroborated by Andrew Sinclair, is that alcohol use came to be defined as stigmatized and deviant behavior, when it came to be associated with the saloon and the kinds of people who frequented these establishments, i.e., the working class, Irish immigrant. Thus, underlying Prohibition was not the effect alcohol has on the individual, family, or society, but at issue was the relative positioning of two groups whose perceptions of themselves and the world they lived in differed appreciably. To borrow from Gusfield, the meaning of Prohibition must be understood as a status conflict and the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment as an exercise in status politics.[40]

What is important for our purposes is that the defining of a certain activity as deviant, when in the past it was defined as acceptable behavior, would seem to indicate that the process of labeling

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[40] Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Cruscade (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 12-57.

is inextricably tied with the low status of persons whose behavior is so labeled.

Musto's account of the passage of the Harrison Act of 1914 - one of the first major efforts seeking to control opium use - bears parallels to Gusfield's version of Prohibition. One cannot understand the passage of the Harrison Act, if Musto is correct, apart from the racism of late nineteenth and early twentieth century America. Again, at issue was not public health, but at issue was the definition and status of the Black and Chinese American.[41]

Helmer, pursuing a similar line of inquiry in Drugs and Minority Oppression, rounds out the picture pertaining to drug legislation, when he submits that the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 was in actuality a response to the Mexican American who, because of his willingness to work for low wages, was perceived as a threat by American labor.[42]

Pertaining to attitudes Americans had towards sexuality in the nineteenth century, Haller and Haller in The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America examine the views Victorians had towards sexual behavior from the perspective of those to whom the "purity manuals" of the time were directed. Their contention is that Victorian views

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41 David Musto, The American Disease (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 24-69.

42 John Helmer, Drugs and Minority Oppression (New York: The Seabury Press, 1975), pp. 13-40.

towards human sexuality cannot be understood apart from the status of women and children.[43]

Two directions emerge from this review of the literature which together will provide the focus for this study. The first direction seeks to understand present day public stereotypes of the opiate user, early twentieth century stereotypes of the spirit drinker, and the late nineteenth century stereotypes of the masturbator within the social, political, and moral universes of the time. This direction suggests that the behavior is symbolically important for it serves as a vehicle which allows a group of people to emphasize certain traits and values deemed of an essential nature. We also concern ourselves here with the apparent continuity between the stereotyped images of the behaviors in question. The concept of social types will provide the interpretative tool by which this relationship may be assessed.

Our second line of inquiry focuses on the types of people who were and are involved with the behaviors in question. Of issue here is whether or not certain groups of people run a greater risk than others as far as having their behaviors labeled deviant. Said somewhat differently, is there a relationship between social values, the need for defining certain behaviors as deviant, and the status of the individuals whose behavior is labeled deviant? Our contention, in the instance of the self abuser as a social type, is that there is indeed a relationship here.

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43 J. S. Haller and R. M. Haller, The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1974), pp. 7-245.

CHAPTER TWO

OPIATES

THE STEREOTYPED IMAGE

In her autobiography Florrie Fisher recounts twenty-three years as a heroin addict and shows how addiction leads to a life of crime and vice. The daughter of an immigrant family, raised in comfortable if not affluent surroundings, she informs us of what a drug such as heroin can do to nullify and undermine the effects of a good, conventional, and moral upbringing.

Her plight begins she posits with a congenital defect - an uncanny need to lie, an irrestible tendency to con, an insatiable desire for attention.

> If I could talk when I was born I probably would have tried to con the forceps from the doctor who delivered me. I was a born con artist, a champion liar, always on stage and eager for attention I could get.[1]

Her self degradation begins early in her work, just as her proclivities began early in life towards addition.

While still in college she discovers marijuana and through marijuana she discovers the "life" - an abbreviation used throughout her work in order to describe the way in which addicts must live in order to sustain their habits.

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[1] Florrie Fisher, The Lonely Trip Back (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1971), p. 13.

In between her discovery of marijuana, which she contends led her ultimately to heroin, she tries in vain to live a conventional existence. After graduating college, she becomes engaged to the boy next door, marries him with all the pomp and ceremony surrounding an ethnic wedding, and sets up house. But the marriage fails dismally. Marriage is stifling whereas life with drugs is uplifting and exciting and glamorous. She has gambled with fate, yielded to temptation and in the process has lost control over her own destiny. She divorces her husband and with that, she concludes, throws away the possibility for a conventional existence.

On a vacation, engineered by her parents for the purpose of recovering from the trauma of her divorce, she meets David. He also uses marijuana, and the two begin to architect an existence which signals their demise.

> David didn't make me a whore I made him a pimp...I wasn't one who could take a stick of pot and let it go at that I wanted more and more to get high. Before long we were buying it by the pound and it was costing money, real money, more than we could raise by borrowing from friends and relatives.[2]

Fisher becomes a prostitute, or more correctly a call girl, has her first brush with the law, and begins her journey into oblivion. One night after business she and Davey - by now her pimp and husband -

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2 Ibid., p. 47.

visit an after hours club. There they are introduced to heroin by a musician friend.

> He bent over me and I felt a quick stinging jab in my leg, which startled me. I hadn't expected him to move so fast. That was it. My introduction to heroin, to 'horse', to 'schmeck' had taken only an instant...it was a terrific sensation which seemed to lift me out of the room... Oh it was wonderful, wonderful.[3]

But equally satisfying Fisher informs us was the method of taking the drug.

> I got my kicks using the needle as much as from the junk, just seeing it gave me a weird kind of thrill. It is such a sick thing, everything is upside down when you're on junk.[4]

But the glamour and excitement soon wear thin when she discovers her addiction while spending the night in jail after being arrested for prostitution.

> Until that arrest it never occurred to me that I was addicted. I simply never had thought about it...But at 2 A.M...., It really broke loose, I vomited, my bowels and bladder couldn't be controlled, I was wetting and dirtying myself and screaming for help.[5]

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3 Ibid., p. 57.

4 Ibid., p. 60.

5 Ibid., p. 63.

The honeymoon over, the pattern begins which is described a hundred fold over in the literature concerned with the effects of opiates. Fisher at age forty-three credits to heroin the fact that she has spent seventeen of her past twenty-three years in jail. As a result of her "therapeutic" experience at Synanon she now travels, lectures and writes on the horrors of opiate addiction and its attendant dehumanizing existence.

But equally vivid descriptions pertaining to the effects of opiates and the "life" are recounted by other authors as well; authors whose writings add another voice buttressing the stereotyped image, because they, unlike Fisher, were not addicts. Yet they can see what Fisher described with the same acuity. For example, Christopher Rand, describing his visit to an opium den, writes that "...opium makes the mind and body change gear ratio ... you might lie here for days, but you were here for a few hours." On recognizing an addict" ... (they) are supposed to grow thin and sallow and it seemed to me (they) showed these characteristics."[6] Or, Dick Schapp's description in "Death of a Hooked Heiress," "His light brown hair was uncombed, and the pupils and his blue eyes were pinned...He wore dirty black dungarees and a dirty shirt."[7]

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Christopher Rand, "Visit to an Opium Den," New Yorker Magazine, 27: 41-42, 1952.

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Dick Schapp, "Death of a Hooked Heiress," Look, 30: 23, 1977.

Perhaps one of the strongest statements on the presumed behavioral changes that occur as a direct result of the use of opiates and which clearly demonstrates the continuity between images of the self abuser comes from Herbert Brean, in an essay appearing in Life entitled "Children in Peril."

> The youngster seems abnormally sleepy and no longer cares about schoolwork or a job or previous interests like sports. He becomes cranky unreliable, is generally uncommunicative and lies readily and stupidly. In the morning his pillow is wet with perspiration and he is likely to disappear from the house for long periods... In time he loses touch with the world, an emaciated, sleepy, completely unreliable human whose only happiness is half conscious awareness that temporarily he is not in torment. His fingers and clothes are charred by cigarettes he has smoked on the "nod."[8]

On the horrors and perils of withdrawal Frederic Sondern writes:

> ...his bones ache, his muscles jump uncontrollably. Intense vomiting and diarrhea begin. The slightest sound is deafening, the mildest light blinding, the faintest odor or taste nauseating. Ants seem to crawl under his skin...all of them suffer the tortures of the damned.[9]

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8 Herbert Brean, "Children in Peril," Life, 30: 126, 1951. - See Acton's description of effects of masturbation page 4 of this work.

9 Frederic Sondern, Jr., "The Problem of Narcotic Addiction," Reader's Digest, 75: 47, 1959.

Not only is withdrawal uncomfortable, we are informed, but, as Cal Bernstein maintains, "...addicts have died in the throes of withdrawal."[10]

But there are other presumed relationships of equal importance which are drawn out by writers while speaking to the horrors of opiate addiction: the relationships, for example, between filth, contagion, crime, personal degradation, death, sexual perversity and opiate use.

Not only does one die from withdrawal as Cal Bernstein maintains but one runs the constant risk of overdosing. The staff of the Child Study Association of America clearly states this argument when they apprise the reader in You, Your Child and Drugs that:

> ...Deaths from overdoses are reported daily. In New York City, heroin kills more young people than all the contagious diseases combined... and anyone with a special sensitivity to the drug can die from sniffing as easily as from injection.[11]

If the drug does not kill the user, they go on to say, its effects will, because of the child's inability to experience pain and other perceptual distortions.

In "Death of a Hooked Heiress" Schaap vividly described the overdose of a debutante and the degradation she suffered even after death by being stuffed into the trunk of an automobile.

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10 Cal Bernstein, "The Dope Addict: Criminal or Patient," Look, 21: 1957.

11 You, Your Child and Drugs. By the Staff of the Child Study Association of America, 1971, pp. 49-59.

Ellen Russel, describing her recollections in identifying her son's body in the Medical Examiner's Office also makes reference to the ignoble death of overdosing by describing what she saw:

> His hair dingy with dried blood, did not quite cover the line where the knife had begun peeling back his scalp for the examination of his brain. His big feet stuck up awkwardly at the end of the morgue chart... Who killed Dan Russel? Heroin was the weapon.[12]

On the other hand, the description of the physiological effects of the overdose is provided by Lieberman et al when they maintain:

> An overdose can cause deep sleep, coma, or even more serious effects upon the respiratory system ... Symptoms of acute heroin poisoning are deep sleep or coma, cold, clammy, or bluish skin, and small, open pin-point pupils.[13]

If the drug or the "life" does not literally kill the opiate user, the degradation, we are informed, he or she experiences qualifies as a spiritual death. In and out of jail, living in filth, sexual perversity, the immobilizing craving, the pains of withdrawal, the denegration of the shooting gallery, and the "fix" all contribute to the addict's spiritual death.

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12 Ellen Russel, The Last Fix (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jananovich, Inc., 1971), p. 3.

13 Florence Lieberman, et al, Before Addiction: How to Help Youth (New York: Behavioral Publications, 1973), p. 35.

With regard to the symbolic and ritualistic denigration of the "fix",

> She hesitated a minute, the needle poised in the air...Then with a swift jab, she plunged steel into her flesh. The needle attacked the vein, then dug around under the red and purple scars left by earlier shots...Angry, she jerked the needle out, sucked the tip, and without even looking plunged it again. This time her face screwed up with pain.[14]

And the filth that the addicts experience because of their enslavement "...Everything was dirty even the sky between the bars at the window. The furnishings were the same - the bunk beds, the cockroaches, the wooden closet ... pails covered with pieces of cardboard".[15]

Not only must the female addict resort to prostitution to support her habit, but sex takes on new meanings. Florrie Fisher writes:

> Or he'd back hand me and I'd love it, I exalted in it. The only way I could enjoy sex, now, was if he knocked me around first. I really believed that if he didn't beat me up he didn't love me, he didn't care ...Oh he had me, he had me good. It seemed I wasn't satisfied unless rotten, vicious things were happening to me. He'd beat me and I'd crawl whining to be back in his favor.[16]

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14 Phillippe Alfonsi et al, Satan's Needle (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.,) 1972. p. 11.

15 Ibid., p. 15.

16 Florrie Fisher, op.cit., pp. 80-81.

Opiates not only shatter the promise of individual futures, but destroy the very fabric of civilized order, many contend. Beneath welfare, underpinning crime, at the roots of poverty, underlying social disorganization are opiates and other drugs.

Frederic Sodern strongly states this presumed relationship in "We must Stop the Crime that Breeds Crime" when he asserts that "...narcotic addiction is directly responsible for approximately one quarter of all crimes committed in the United States".[17] Similarly, Dutton and Hague contend that "... the link between dope and crime is an iron one. The narcotics user can't ration himself to small doses, his body demands ever larger amounts".[18] So, we are advised, opiate users turn into prostitutes, pickpockets, burglars and even murderers, as Sonjern maintains. Or, touching on the contagion aspect of opiate addiction "... he becomes a mule for a peddler and earns his own heroin by introducing his friends to dope and making customers of them."[19]

That drugs are all around and the "disease" of addiction is extraordinarily contagious is a fear articulated by a number of writers.

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17 Frederic Sondern Jr., op.cit., p. 42.

18 William Dutton and Frederic Bague "The Drug that Traps the Addict," Reader's Digest, 71: 57, 1957.

19 Herbert Brean, op.cit., p. 126.

> ...your child goes to school he finds drugs - pushing and selling within the school building and all around the streets...your child goes to a pizza place, a juice parlor, a dance-joint, the pill, and the needle are there too. Free samples are available to begin the temptation....When you look at the courts, they are filled with small pushers; the jails too.[20]

Or, consider the words of Nathaniel Goldstein,"Drug addiction knows no boundaries, it has spilled over from the larger cities into surrounding areas. It is a socially contagious disease."[21] Similarly, Vogel posits, "Every addict that is loose is a possible source for infection."[22]

But what is the nature of this contagious disease, and why is its spread so feared? The nature of the disease of addiction is that it transforms individuals into asocial beings hostile to the very tenets upon which civilized life depends.

> He is essentially a loner, hostile to the values of society, unconcerned with the normal satisfactions of living, with no purpose or goal, but to get the next fix. He will steal, cheat, betray family or friends for money or drugs.[23]

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20 Florence Lieberman et al., op.cit., p. 35.

21 Nathaniel Goldstein, Letters to the Editor in Harper Magazine, 205: 46, 1952.

22 Ibid., p. 47.

23 Irwin Ross. "How California is Licking the Drug Problem," Reader's Digest, 91: 141, 1967.

Subsequently, the addict plays a complicated game of possum - retreating into the world of drugs in order to avoid the unpleasant realities of daily existence, "The temptation is to retreat into a stupor."[24]

Summarizing many of the statements made by writers appearing in this section, Donald Louria posits,

> The addict sins not only against society but himself; his life becomes mired in the drug experience, he becomes a pariah, a thief, often a forger, and sometimes a venal pusher. Women turn to prostitution. Added to this life of degradation and depravity is the constant risk of the overdose or liver infection (hepatitis). It is startling to realize that one percent of the addict population dies every year of heroin overdose.[25]

The message and symbolism are clear. Yielding to temptation, partaking of shallow pleasures, and the tasting of forbidden fruit can only lead to a life of misery, despair, and ruin. The violation of a society's taboos carries very severe penalities indeed.

The biblical themes of temptation, sin, damnation, and redemption are secularized and through their metamorphosis take on new meanings for a group of people. Symbolically by way of opiates, and at earlier times in American history via alcohol and masturbation, a cultural

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24 Florence Lieberman et al, op.cit., p. 110.

25 Donald B. Louria, in Portraits from a Shooting Gallery by Semour Fiddle (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. XIII/

tradition is reaffirmed for thinking about man's nature, his place in the universe, and his relationship to other men. Points we shall return to later on in this work.

But here we must pause and ask how much of the stereotyped image pertaining to opiates and the opiate user is true? What about, for example, the addictive properties of the drug, the effects of withdrawal, the possibility of overdosing, the relationship between crime and opiates, the purported contagion of opiates, and the presumed behavioral changes their use is said to produce?

John Helmer provides a useful model for considering these questions when he asserts that the myths surrounding opiate use and the user consist of misinformation, disinformation, and information. By misinformation, he means partial truths which lead to false conclusions, e.g. the overdose and death, craving and crime. Disinformation refers to those falsehoods which are readily believed, e.g., the addict's innate hostility towards the values of society and contagion theories. Lastly, information pertains to knowledge which is overlooked or ignored, e.g., patterns of opiate use among medical men or the epidemiology of opiate addiction.[26] In the following section I shall describe the effects of opiates and examine the stereotyped conceptions, images, and myths surrounding opiate use.

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26 John Helmer, Drugs and Minority Oppression (New York: The Seabury Press, 1975), p. 5.

THE STEREOTYPED IMAGE EXAMINED - OPIATES AND THEIR EFFECTS

The pharmacological properties of opiates, their derivations and sources, and their relationship to one another, are complex and differ with the various substances.

The major opiates include opium, morphine, heroin, methadone, and meperidine (demerol). The opiate most frequently abused in the United States is heroin, with the others controlled, prescribed, and to a large degree contained by the medical professions. All of the opiates are derived from the poppy plant initially, except methadone and meperidine which are synthetics. What sets one apart from the other is their processing and strength.

Opium which is the weakest of the opiates and subsequently provides for the mildest addiction, is derived from a particular variety of the poppy plant. It is a natural substance and contains a number of different alkaloids of varying properties. Opium is made from the dried juice of the unripe poppy seed and can be eaten, sniffed, drunk or smoked. Its active ingredient is morphine and it contains about ten per cent of this alkaloid by weight.

Morphine was discovered in 1804 by a German chemist who managed to isolate and discover in opium, meconic acid, an alkaloid which he named morphium. Morphine (as with later heroin) was initially thought of as a cure for opium addiction, until it was realized that the drug was not free of addictive properties itself.[27]

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27 Alfred R. Lindesmith, Addiction and Opiates (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), p. 208.

Heroin was discovered in 1898 and again was hailed as a non-habit forming substitute for opium and morphine.[28] It is produced by chemically treating morphine and ascetic acid and in terms of its analgesic effect it is about three times more powerful than morphine and just as habit forming.[29]

Methadone and meperdine are synthetically produced opiates, and by this we mean synthesized without starting from raw opium.

Opiates are depressants and their chief effect is on the autonomic nervous system. They function as depressants in the following manner: their analgesic effects (relief of pain), their sedative effects (relief of anxiety), and at times their euphoric effects (sense of well being).[30]

They are the most powerful pain killing drugs known to medicine. Just how they operate in blocking pain is unknown, however, it seems that their addictive properties and pain killing effects are in some way interrelated, i.e., "...the analgesic qualities of these drugs are due to properties which also cause addiction."[31] Also unknown are

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28 James V. DeLong, "The Drugs and Their Effects" in Dealing with Drug Abuse, A Report to the Ford Foundation (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 72.

29 Alfred R. Lindesmith, op.cit., p. 208. It is interesting to note that many authors demonstrate the "evils" of heroin by exaggerating its addictive properties and potency over morphine and other opiates. Exaggerations I have come across depict heroin as twenty times more powerful and four times more addictive than morphine.

30 D. P. Ausubel, Drug Addiction (New York: Random House, 1958), p. 18.

31 James V. DeLong, op.cit., p. 72.

the ways in which opiates effect physical processes and thereby create a physiological state where the organism needs opiates in order to function normally.

Aside from their analgesic and addictive qualities they have other effects as well. Physical effects include: rapid eye movement, depressed sleep, constipation, suppression of appetite, and the suppression of sexual drives.[32] These effects which seem easy enough to recognize, and would appear to readily set apart the addict from the non-addict, are in reality very difficult to ascertain. Subsequently, the urine analysis has been introduced - which in itself is fraught with difficulties with only about a fifty percent success ratic.[33] Accordingly, contrary to the stereotyped portrayal of opiate use, the user is not readily identified and recognized as drug dependent.

Also included under physical effects by writers, when these effects seem more to be of a psychological nature are: apathy, restless sleep, hypochondria amongst stabilized addicts, and depression.

Psychoactive effects, on the other hand, include: an inability to concentrate, lethargy, reduced visual acuity, and a possible feeling of euphoria (euphoria is not experienced universally amongst addicts).

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32 James V. DeLong, op.cit., p. 72.

33 From an unpublished report by the staff of System Sciences Inc., Bethesda, Maryland 1975.

Opiates are addictive and it is around this feature that much of the stereotyped image of the opiate user gains credibility. However, it is worthwhile to note that there is no common agreement as to what constitutes addiction.

Addiction, by some writers, is described as a psychological state of affairs, whereas others define addiction in terms of altered physiological processes. Lindesmith combines both physiological and psychological models and attempts a general theory of addiction.

The process he describes leading to and constituting addiction includes toleration, habituation, and dependence. Toleration and dependence describe the physiological processes, whereas habituation describes the psychological processes which attend drug addiction.[34]

It has been documented that physical addiction to opiates, i.e., when the body requires the drug in order to avoid withdrawal, occurs after a person has used opiates daily for a period of three weeks. If the drug is not taken at approximately six to eight hour intervals after the person becomes addicted, withdrawal will occur. Withdrawal is characterized by the following physical and psychological effects: yawning, restlessness, chills, hot flashes, perspiration, goose bumps (cold turkey), nasal secretion, drowsiness, cramps, running nose, diarrhea, vomiting, muscular twitching, multiple orgasms, and insomnia. To what extent these effects are biological reactions to the drugs'

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[34] Alfred R. Lindesmith, op.cit., pp. 3-191.

withdrawal, or a function of psychological and cultural expectations, is unknown. Lindesmith, summarizing experiments by Charles Schultz, reports that addicts experienced withdrawal symptoms when they thought they were, but in actuality were not, withdrawn from the drug. Conversely, withdrawal symptoms were manifested by addicted persons when they were receiving opiates, but told that the drug was no longer being administered.[35]

Nevertheless, it is around these two features of opiate use - addiction and withdrawal - that much of the misinformation and disinformation revolves. For example, it is implied that as a result of the discomfort experienced from withdrawal the process can be fatal, as one writer in the preceding section clearly stated. The fact is, however, that withdrawal is rarely if ever fatal. If it ever were fatal, it would probably be because of physical conditions which existed and were unrelated to opiate use, e.g., a cardiac condition. Yablonsky documents this well when he asserts that at Synanon, a California based, drug free therapeutic community, people with opiate habits routinely go "cold turkey" without medical, drug, or chemical assistance. This is a "rite of passage" at Synanon and Yablonsky makes an effort to describe that the public and media portrayal of the withdrawal experience is an exaggeration of the experience. Although the withdrawal experience is certainly not pleasant, neither is it the close brush with death typically described by the stereotype. The experience of withdrawal might

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35 Ibid., pp. 23-47.

be comparable to the effects of a "super flu" - as many addicts have maintained.[36]

Similarly, because of the "horrors" of withdrawal, writers portraying the stereotype of opiate addiction, imply that the user becomes irrational, incapable of right and moral action, violent, incapable of self-control, and subsequently susceptible to the overdose. The reasoning behind this assumption, is that, because of the discomfort of withdrawal, the addict will overreact, take too much of the drug, suffer respiratory failure, and die. Indeed, this is one of the most potent aspects of the stereotyped image, and provides the justification, for many, relative to the continued repression of the behavior. However, the stereotyped portrayal of the overdose and the circumstances leading to an overdose appear to be misrepresentations of the reality.

For example, after a person becomes tolerant to opiates, there seems to be no absolute limit to the quantity of the drug he may take.[37] Nevertheless, before toleration, the possibility of overdosing is real. Small quantities of the drug may indeed cause respiratory failure and result in a person's death. But from what is known about typical patterns of introduction and use amongst initiates, overdoing seems to be a remote possibility.

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[36] Lewis Yablonsky, Synanon: The Tunnel Back (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 196-199.

[37] Alfred R. Lindesmith, op.cit., pp. 28-32.

Typically, the introduction to opiates is a graduated process: beginning with the snorting of the drug, continuing with subcutaneous injection (skin popping), then to intravenous administration (mainlining). Coupled with the fact that it would be difficult to overdose using the first two methods, is the fact that most users initially take the drug under supervised conditions - with the supervisor usually an experienced user, aware of the pitfalls of use and more frequently than not a peer.[38] Just as ignorance of the "safe" use of the drug may be ruled out as a factor contributing to the overdose, so may theories which premise that the addict's overdose is an overreaction to his fear of withdrawal. One need only remember that the novice is not tolerant because he is not addicted, and subsequently has yet to experience withdrawal.

Then what is an overdose, does it have any factual basis? What happens when a person overdoses? First, some people have a special sensitivity to opiates which may indeed cause respiratory failure. However, it is a misnomer to classify this reaction as an overdose, just as it would be a misnomer to categorize sensitive reactions to bee stings or drugs like penicillin as overdoses.

On the other hand, evidence indicates that what is typically classified as an overdose from opiates is, in actuality, a phenomenon of greater complexity than originally thought. Overdose from opiates occurs in the following sequence: a coma lasting from twenty to seventy-

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[38] See Isidor Chein et al, The Road to H (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964).

four hours, depression of respiratory functions, and death. However, recent studies indicate that death has immediately followed the use of opiates. Brecher refers to this phenomenon as "Syndrome X" and contends after the careful examination of evidence, that what is typically classified as an overdose of opiates may be a function of the concurrent use of two or more depressant drugs, e.g. heroin and alcohol or barbituates and heroin - a combination which causes immediate respiratory failure.[39]

Usually accompanying the description of the overdose, is the imagery of the addict dying a solitary death. His death was solitary, we are informed, because his life was solitary - devoid of all social meanings and relationships. However, it would appear that opiate users, because of their life styles, have a rich network of social relationships.

Consider what a person must do in order to become addicted; then, in turn, what he must do in order to sustain that addiction. First, he must be informed about the safe and proper uses of the drug. This involves knowing people who will accept the responsibility of tutoring the initiate. Then he must be assured, if he becomes addicted, of an uninterrupted supply of the drug. Again, this involves the good faith of others and suggests an introduction of sorts to the right people, such as the local pusher. Moreover, the initiate will have to have some livelihood for supporting his habit. In this instance, the initiate will have to be shown the ropes to learn to turn a "quick buck." Involved

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[39] Edward M. Brecher, Licit and Illicit Drugs (Boston: Little Brown and company, 1972), pp. 110-114.

will be the usual round of introductions to the right people, such as the local fence. Needless to say, this is hardly the description of a life style void of social relationships.

Or, consider the setting in which the user frequently takes the drug - the shooting gallery. Indeed given the prevalence of this pattern of use, it would appear that one of the attractions of opiates is that they are used in the presence of others. It is an irony that the user sometimes pays dearly for his sociability: through the sharing of hypodermic needles and syringes, infectious diseases, such as hepatitis and syphilis, are sometimes contracted.

Persons articulating the stereotyped image of the opiate user are quick to seize upon this relationship as evidence of the long term damage opiates do to the physical organism. Research reveals , however, that the prolonged use of opiates does no long term organic damage.[40] Nor do opiates as is commonly maintained, necessarily alter or in any way change a person's personality - a point I will return to later in this section.

Also contributing to the dramatic appeal of the stereotyped image of the opiate user is the concept of craving, i.e., the insatiable desire for the drug in increasing quantities. Paralleling craving is the idea that once a person becomes habituated to opiates, addiction then becomes a life-long state of affairs.

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40 James V. DeLong, op.cit., p. 14.

Here, when speaking of the phenomenon of addiction, writers emphasize the pharmaecological properties of opiates relative to creating states of addiction. These pharmacological properties are of such a potent nature, it is virtually impossible to break their grip. However, it is worthwhile to note that a person can be withdrawn from his physical dependence to opiates in a relatively short time - seventy-two hours without medication and from seven to ten days with medication. Moreover, with the use of medication the effects of withdrawal are minimized almost to the point of elimination. Psychological dependence, though, is a more complicated matter.

Lindesmith, in an attempt to generate a general theory of addiction, contends that in order to understand the processes which attend addiction, reference must be made not only to the pharmacological properties of drugs, but also to cultural definitions and expectations of how people should manifest their addition. For example, although withdrawal is experienced universally, the quality of the experience varies from one individual to another, from one set of circumstances to another, and suggests that the experience is tempered by cultural expectations. On the other hand, although withdrawal is experienced universally, craving is not. Again, evidence would indicate that craving is largely the function of a priori cultural expectations of addiction, which in turn operate independently of the pharmacological properties of the drug.

Such was the case of one man, Lindesmith recounts, who was administered morphine for the purpose of easing pain resulting from an appendectomy. Although the patient knew he was receiving morphine, and the quantities and length of time were sufficient to cause addiction,

he experienced no craving for the drug once its administration ceased. He did experience mild withdrawal, but attributed his discomfort to illness associated with the removal of his appendix and not to the effects of withdrawal from opiates.

Other evidence cited by Lindesmith in support of his contention that certain aspects of addiction are learned behavior comes from the case history of an opiate user who contracted dysentery while in the military, and was administered pills containing opiates for a period of four months. This man, after being discharged from the military, reported difficulty sleeping. He expressed concern over the matter to a friend to whom he relayed his experiences. The friend concluded that the pills were opium and that his comrade should "...start to shoot it." The ex-soldier heeded his friends advice and began taking opiates regularly, and subsequently became addicted. The point here is that this man did not experience "craving" until he defined his fitful sleep as a consequence of opiate dependence. Subsequently, craving was experienced, Lindesmith concludes only because the individual had certain cultural expectations related to the experience of addiction.[41]

From his detailed analysis, Lindesmith summizes: (1) that what is typically observed as addicted behavior, arising from pharmacological properties of drugs, is in effect learned behavior, e.g., craving, and (2) the phenomenon of addiction cannot be understood without making

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[41] Alfred R. Lindesmith, op.cit., pp. 70-74.

reference to cultural definitions and expectations with regard to the behavior.[42]

It seems that similar mechanisms are in operation relative to the stereotyped image of the opiate user. The scenario, in this instance, appears to occur in the following sequence: persons begin using opiates; at some time, they define themselves as drug dependent; apprised of certain cultural expectations on how they should act, when addicted, they conform to certain patterns of conduct; subsequently criminal behaviors and life styles sometimes ensue. Succinctly, behavior associated with opiates seems to evidence some elements of a self fulfilling prophecy. And on another level, it would appear that the stereotyped image of opiate use and its effects is self perpetuating.

Consider some evidence in support of these claims. Lindsmith argues that the initial reasons for taking opiates are different from their continued use. Initially it would appear that a person takes opiates for hedonistic reasons, but he continues their use in order to avoid the pains of withdrawal.

Withdrawal today can be accomplished, through the use of medication, with relatively little discomfort to addicted persons. Moreover, this method of withdrawal is readily and legally available under supervised conditions. Couple this with the fact that many persons who believe themselves to be physically dependent in truth are not. By the time

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[42] Ibid., pp. 30-40.

the drug reaches the user, it is so severely adulterated that it is frequently of insufficient potency to cause addiction. It becomes ever more apparent that persons need not necessarily resort to criminal behaviors in order to avoid the pains of withdrawal.

Lawrence Kolb further demonstrates the self-fulfilling prophecy relative to behaviors associated with opiates, when he cites innumerable case histories of persons leading "socially productive lives", in spite of their physical dependence. Moreover, he demonstrates that contrary to popular myths regarding opiates, no long term personality changes seem to occur. Significantly, Kolb conducted his research in 1925, yet in 1976 the same myths still prevail with regard to opiate use and their effects.[43]

If addiction to opiates is not the reality portrayed by those seeking its regulation and prohibition, if the stereotyped image of the opiate user does not hold under empirical scrutiny, why does the myth prevail in light of a considerable body of evidence to the contrary?

My explanation for the survival of the stereotyped image comes from a number of observations. The first is that the stereotyped images of the effects of opiates and of the opiate user are not unique to the behavior in question. The stereotyped image has been applied to other forms of prohibited behaviors as well. Apparently, the image serves as a mechanism allowing the expression and articulation of certain ideas about what constitutes moral life and conduct.

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43 Ibid., pp. 26-28.

That the stereotypes of opiate use and of other behaviors have some basis in reality lends credulence to them, while justifying their particular selection for explicating these concerns. However, the reality seems to some extent at least to be a function of the stereotyped image and not the effects of the behavior. What seems to be in operation is a self fulfilling prophecy - the behavior, the effects of the behavior, and the image of the person involved in the behavior are defined in a particular way. People believe the definition(s) to be true. Accordingly, both the viewers of and the persons involved with the behavior fulfill the prophecies of the definition by selectively seeing and/or conforming to the stereotyped image.

Subsequently, it is no accident that the operating philosophies of drug-free, therapeutic communities, more often than not, depict the opiate addict and addiction in ways which identically conform to the stereotyped images. The addict is portrayed as a person of questionable worth, weak character, and tenuous commitments. Addiction, then, is described as an inevitable consequence of that person's flawed character.

Similar to the philosophical principles guiding the therapeutic experience in the drug-free clinics for opiate users is the philosophical orientation of Alcoholics Anonymous. The alcoholic, A. A. maintains, in order to be rehabilitated, must accept a power greater than himself (God). This acceptance is comparable to the evangelical concept of being "born again" - and being born again here involves a process whereby the person takes stock of his "wrongdoing", his character weakness, and accepts his responsibility for his behavior and his addiction. Again, therapy begins only when the person in some sense recognizes the stereotype to be true and personally applicable.

On another level, while addicted, and before his rehabilitation, the user of prohibited drugs in many respects does conform to the stereotype in his daily behavior. For example, the rationalization for poor hygiene, inadequate diet, unstable personal relationships might very well be the drug. But the correlation between the use of opiates and the purported effects does not seem to hold under empirical scrutiny.

One writer, a nineteenth century physician, speaks about an "addiction" to onanism (masturbation) and his experiences with people manifesting symptoms resulting from this type of self abuse. What is interesting to note is that the stereotyped image of the masturbator was so strongly believed that some persons, after partaking of the behavior would evidence symptoms conforming to the stereotyped image, i.e., they would experience loss of appetite, sweaty palms, fitful sleep, weight losses etc. These symptoms, in turn, would be of sufficient concern where the person would seek the help of a physician.[44]

To summarize, it appears that the stereotyped image of the opiate user, and more generally the self abuser, allows a group of people to articulate a set of values with regard to an appropriate and moral existence. In turn, this negative portrayal seems to some extent grounded in ideas about the behaviors and their effects which are self-perpetuating and distortions of reality.

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[44] W. S. Chipley, M. D., A Warning to Fathers, Teachers and Young Men (New York: J. S. Olgie Publishing Company, 1861), pp. 68-69.

A second observation, pertaining to the apparent continuities between images of behaviors defined as self abuse, comes from the relationship between the behavior and the types of people purportedly involved with the behaviors in question. It appears that not only does a villainous social type such as the self abuser allow the articulation of certain codes of conduct, but it also functions as a mechanism lending justification of why certain groups of people are different and hence should be accorded different treatment. This observation seems to be especially relevant when considering the history of opiates and the circumstances surrounding their redefinition in terms of the American experience.

HISTORY OF OPIATE USE AND PROHIBITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

The nineteenth century has been likened by Musto, Ball, Brecher and other writers addressing the subject of narcotics as something akin to a "junkie paradise." Narcotics of any kind were considered, in this country, until the late nineteenth century, as basically uninteresting, as compared to the overwhelming concern displayed in the twentieth century towards drugs and drug use. In fact, prior to the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, most narcotic drugs could freely, legally, and inexpensively be purchased by anyone - including children.[45]

Two reasons account, above all others, for the nineteenth century's conspicuous lack of concern: (1) drug use, specifically opiate use, was engaged in by a rather large number of persons representing all strata of nineteenth century America, and (2) the use of narcotics was not in the main engaged in for reasons of producing euphoric states, but for medical purposes.[46] In order to understand this orientation towards

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45 David Musto, The American Disease (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 3.

46 The use of opiates can be traced to ancient civilizations such as Mesopotamia and Egypt. But only in modern times does the idea of use for reasons of "escape" gain ascendance as the central reason for drug use. For the history of drug use see Richard S. Blum, Society and Drugs (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), and George E. Payne, The Menace of Narcotic Drugs (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1931), DeQuincey on the other hand articulates the "escapist" world view by romanticizing the personal, aesthetic and creative experiences one might obtain from the use of drugs. See Thomas DeQuincey in The Drug Experience ed. by David Ebin (New York: Grove Press, 1961), pp. 115-125.

opiates, we must understand the state of nineteenth century medicine and the medical profession, which frequently referred to opiates as "God's Own Medicine."[47]

It is almost inconceivable for anyone living in this century to imagine a medical profession which freely prescribed opiates and other narcotic drugs for minor ailments ranging from diarrhea to insomnia. Yet this was precisely the case and due in part to the medical profession's lack of alternative means for dealing with disease and human suffering. It was a period, we must keep in mind, when blood letting was still a fairly common practice and a period which pre-dated germ theory. In conjunction with the medical profession's rather widespread prescription of narcotic drugs, there was the pharmaceutical industry's use of opiates and other narcotic drugs in patent medicines. These medicines were sold in the corner drug store, by the traveling medicine man, and in the local general store and were purchased by consumers to treat diseases associated with childhood.[48] In fact, it has been found that opiates were used in health tonics for children.[49]

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47 Alfred R. Lindesmith, op.cit., pp. 207-213.

48 Glen Sonnedecker, History of Pharmacy 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1963), pp. 250-278.

49 David Musto, op.cit., p. 94.

Interestingly, although it was known for some time that opiates were addictive not much concern was evidenced by either organized medicine, the pharmaceutical industry, or the public towards the use of these drugs. Addiction was viewed as an unfortunate aside of man's inability to find alternative drugs which were both effective painkillers and non-habit forming. Ironically, attempts to discover painkillers which were not addictive ended more frequently than not in the development of drugs which had greater addictive capabilities, e.g., morphine and heroin.

Opiate addiction, on the other hand, did not carry the negative connotations it carries today. Even though it is estimated that one out of four hundred Americans were addicted to opiates there was no association with opiate use and things like crime, deviance, vice, and sin.[50] Craving, in fact, as a concept used to describe the addictive properties of opiates, and one of the most dramatic aspects of the stereotyped image of the opiate user today, only began appearing as a way of formulating addiction in the late nineteenth century.

Drug use, I will demonstrate, only became an issue of moral concern, when it came to be associated with certain groups of people who were perceived as threatening by nineteenth century American standards. The perceived threat was twofold: on the one hand, the

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50 Scott French, The Complete Guide to the Street Drug Game (New Jersey: Lyle Stuart, 1976), p. 125.

pattern of use was different from the accepted use of drugs. Drugs, specifically opiates and cocaine, which became inextricably tied together in the public's mind, were used primarily in nineteenth century America as medicines. However, certain minority groups of low status in addition to using these drugs as medicines, used them for the purposes of easing the tensions of daily living. Although these groups did not invent this pattern of use - they were nevertheless perceived as morally degenerative.

Accompanying and perhaps at the basis for this selective interpretation was that the groups were perceived as a threat to the economic status quo. Subsequently, drug use became problematic behavior, and consequently a moral issue when it came to be associated with alien elements who were concomitantly perceived as amoral and a threat to American labor.

On the other hand, it took a complex international situation, a domestic reform movement, advances in medicine, and the professionalization of American medicine in order to shape the current posture Americans have towards opiates.

RACIAL FEARS

In order for nineteenth century America to develop industrially, it required cheap labor. Closely tied with that industrialization was the need for efficient transportation capable of moving large quantities of goods. The need for efficient transportation was partly provided for by the railroad. On the other hand, the cheap labor to construct the railroads was provided in part by the Chinese. But with the Chinese came the custom of opium smoking and increased public concern relative to narcotics. Stories spread that innocent young women were being preyed upon by Chinese men - who after introducing these women to opium and insuring their dependence to the drug provided a continual supply in return for sexual favors.[51] The imagery was potent indeed and was seized upon by the press and a fearful public in order to force the first anti-opium legislation in the country - adopted as a city ordinance by San Francisco in 1875 and prohibiting the smoking of opium within the city's limits. Soon other states and cities adopted similar statutes, and in 1883 Congress raised the tariff on opium for smoking from six to ten dollars per pound, and in 1887 prohibited altogether the importation of weak opium which was primarily used for smoking.[52]

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51 David Musto, op.cit., pp. 15-23.

52 Edward M. Brecher, Licit and Illicit Drugs (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1972), pp. 42-48.

In the interim, the South was reporting difficulties with the newly emancipated black. Cocaine, the reported menace, in this case, was cheaply and easily obtained: much more inexpensive than alcohol, it subsequently became one of the preferred drugs amongst blacks. The South fearful and embittered towards the Black as a result of the Civil War seized upon his cocaine use as demonstration of the Negro's inherent moral inferiority. Additionally, rumors abounded that cocaine caused a reaction of such a nature that the black man became dangerously violent and simultaneously became inordinately endowed with physical strength. Stories spread of black men who could be shot twenty and more times and would be left both standing and dangerous, of black men tearing the bars from cells with their bare hands, and similarly both capable and effectively removing a man's head from his body.[53]

Drug use, specifically the use of opiates and cocaine, were taking on new meanings - meanings which can only be understood against the backdrop of fears grounded in racism. These fears pertained to competing with and possibly losing to an "inferior", a sub-human, in a free labor market. Rather than create the conditions for that possibility, rather than admit to the possibility of a presumed "inferiors" equality, the tendency seems to have been to dismiss him and to find evidence which would allow and reaffirm the original definition of the situation by showing that no normal or moral being would react this way or create the conditions leading to this behavior.

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53 David Musto, op.cit., pp. 7-8.

Thus, a concept like self abuse was created in order to mobilize public opinion and which would imply that any one who would abuse himself, would abuse others. Simultaneously it was shown that self abuse was a sign of moral decadence and leads to social disorganization. Thus the status of a group of persons became assured, the continued definition of the others' inferiority was maintained.

In the instance of opiates, we see that the original stereotyped definition of the situation was grounded in racial fears towards Chinese Americans. Later in American history, the stereotyped image is perpetuated even though the status of Chinese Americans improves, largely because the epidemiology of opiate use changes. No longer is opiate abuse associated with the Chinese American, but instead it becomes associated with other groups of minority status - with between sixty and seventy percent of heroin addicts being black, Puerto Rican, or Mexican Americans.[54]

Thus, many contend there is an inextricable relationship between crime and addiction, and support their claim by citing figures which estimate the average habit amongst New York City's sixty thousand addicts to be between fifty and seventy-five dollars a day, and costs the people of New York City between an estimated quarter of a billion and two billion dollars a year in crimes against property.[55]

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54 Patricia Wald and Peter Hutt, "The Drug Abuse Survey Project: Summary of Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendations" appearing in Dealing With Drug Abuse (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 4.

55 Ibid., p. 6.

Simultaneously, they ignore that there must be some reason, other than escape, why members of minority groups involve themselves in this behavior or that there is a great deal of opiate addiction amongst "respectable" people. Accordingly, theorists like Preeble and Casey are put aside when they argue that addiction provides an alternative to the ennui of ghetto life and that the addict, through his addiction, is taking care of business, with the business being the creation of some kind of life style with purpose, however perverse that purpose may be.[56] Also ignored is the fact that crime associated with opiates could be severely curtailed if prohibitions surrounding the drug were to some extent lifted, with the cost for the drug in a maintenance program being approximately eleven cents per day per person. Or, better yet, crime associated with opiates could be considerably curtailed if the conditions creating a large proportion of opiate addiction were removed - racial prejudice, economic deprivation, and restricted social mobility.

Ignore these things while simultaneously only paying attention to the stereotyped features of opiate addiction, while appealing to ancient Judaic-Christian codes concerning self-restraint and self-denial, and the justification is provided for the continued repression of the behavior.

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56 Preeble and Casey. "Taking Care of Business" in It's So Good Don't Even Try It Once. edited by David E. Smith and George R. Gay, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969).

Paradoxically, the history of opiate legislation in this country has almost a Machiavellian twist. On the one hand, it could be argued that legislation prohibiting and regulating opiates had its origins in racial prejedice directed towards Chinese Americans. On the other hand, the same legislation was in part motivated by this country's desire, and consistent with its imperialistic foreign policy of the time, to gain trade concessions from China. Subsequently, the Harrison Act of 1914, the first major federal legislative effort with regard to opiates, was simultaneously a piece of legislation used to suppress the Chinese domestically, while gaining from the Chinese abroad major trade concessions. One of the events leading to the passage of the Harrison Act was the Spanish American War.

OPIUM DIPLOMACY

As a result of the Spanish American War the United States acquired the Philipinnes. Along with the acquisition of this territory the United States also acquired a rather large opium problem, namely opium smoking, engaged in primarily by the Chinese population of the islands. Not wanting to seem insensitive to the needs of the Filipinos, the U. S. attempted to find some practical solution to the Filipino opium problem. At stake was world opinion, domestic tranquility relative to the now hotly debated narcotics issue, and the Philippines itself. By not granting independence,as the United States had promised, in return for the Filipino cooperation during the Spanish American War, the United States had already caused a protracted, bloody uprising amongst Filipinos. To have another such uprising would have tempted

the hand of fate, and perhaps signaled to the world that the United States was not as concerned as it claimed for the Filipino people - an impression the United States especially wanted to avoid, given its newly stimulated interest in China.[57]

When a plan was struck upon, it unfortunately left much to be desired, and only succeeded in causing untold human misery while driving the opium trade underground. It called for the registration of addicts, government control over the sale of opium, the restriction of sales to persons over twenty-one years of age and of Chinese decent. The plan also called for the cessation of sales within three years.[58]

The United States, consistent with its imperialistic diplomatic philosophy, was in the interim trying to gain trade concessions from the Chinese. Unfortunately, for the United States, it was late to the Chinese market which had already been monopolized by Britain, France and other European nations. The British, of course, had a morally indefensible and embarrassing policy regarding its importation of opium in return for Chinese goods. The United States was quick to seize upon this diplomatically and managed to convince the Chinese that if they would grant certain trade concessions it would use its influence

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57 Arnol H. Taylor, American Diplomacy and the Narcotic Traffic: 1900-1939 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), pp. 30-43.

58 Ibid., pp. 43-46.

to help alter the present course of events. The British were co-operative as they were anxious to rid themselves of what had become an unpopular enterprise at home and abroad.[59]

Internationally, the stage had been set for the ensuing Hague Opium Conference of 1912 - at least for the United States. From this conference came the international motivation for domestic legislation - a point we will return to shortly. But two domestic movements provided additional momentum to the escalating concern the United States was displaying towards opiates: (1) the reform movement spearheaded by the muckrakers and (2) the movement to "clean up" and subsequently enhance the status of the medical professions. By medical professions I refer to the American Medical Association - which by the turn of the twentieth century had become the major organization for physicians - and the American Pharmaceutical Association. These two movements ultimately paralleled each other and along with racial fears, provided the domestic pressure required for the passage of the Harrison Act of 1914.

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For a detailed history of the British opium trade with China see D. E. Owen, British Opium Policy in China and India (New Haven: Yale University Press , 1934).

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

A detailed discussion of the reform movement of the late nineteenth century is, of course, beyond the scope of this work. However, it is worthwhile to consider some of the salient forces operating in the United States which had the subsequent effect of shaping its concerns.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a time characterized by many changes occurring in rapid succession in America. The proclamations of manifest destiny had been fulfilled, with the country stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the east to the Pacific Ocean in the west, the frontier was being tamed, and the nation was emerging as an international power. The phenomena of big business, the political boss, an industrialized economy, a nation of city dwellers, child labor, the possibility of women's suffrage, and a shriveling frontier had to be reckoned with - coupled with a new kind of American that had to be assimilated, digested, understood and shown what America was about.[60]

Immigration was no longer, in the main, from the mother country England, but hordes were descending on America from such distant shores as China, Russia, Ireland and Sweden. Not only were the new immigrants not English, but many were not Christians, others were not Caucasians, and some were neither Christian nor Caucasian. Part of the effort of the reform movement may be understood as a response to these changes

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60 David Musto, op.cit., pp. 24-53.

and an attempt to redefine the American experience and what it meant to be American.

If America was no longer Anglo and Protestant then what was it? If Americans no longer shared a similar heritage, then what did they share? The passage of the Harrison Act of 1914 was, like the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, one of those pieces of legislation which functioned to mobilize forces seeking to redefine and delineate the American experience. If Americans no longer looked the same, worshipped the same, and came from similar places, there was no reason why they should not act the same and this meant they should conform with the proscriptions set forth by doctrines of Protestant asceticism. Not only should they be frugal and prudent, but the new American should also forego worldly and frivolous pleasures which violated the law of God and sometimes the laws of men. Anyone who violated these laws was not only not one of us, he not only abused himself according to the precepts of God, and violated the natural order of things, but could be expected to be injurious, by virtue of his actions, to the very concepts and foundations of civilized life.

The reformers found an ally in the control of opiates and the kinds of people who used them in the form of the American Medical Association - an ally which had been called upon in the past to legitimate sexual mores, and would be called upon in the future with regard to controlling drugs like alcohol and nicotine. Of course there has always been something in this alliance for all parties concerned. The reformer enhances his status because he portends, sometimes sincerely, to be interested in the welfare of others. In the

process, he also maintains his privileged status as was the case in prohibition, and his version of moral conduct.[61]

The medical profession, on the other hand, maintains a public image which depicts itself as the authoritative health profession whose chief concern is the public's well being. However, the medical profession's motives have never been so clear of purpose. Such was the case in the instance of their support of the Harrison Act of 1914.

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF MEDICINE

At the turn of the twentieth century a quiet jurisdictional dispute was brewing between the AMA and APHA. To the winner of the dispute, which revolved around what group should control therapeutic drugs, would go the control over the medical profession. Both organizations had been put in an embarrassing position by the reformers. Physicians had been prescribing opiates for some time, for all types of ailments, even when the prescription of such drugs appeared unnecessary - especially in light of advances in medicine. The pharmaceutical industry was likewise manufacturing medicines which contained as their chief ingredient drugs like opiates and cocaine.

Reformers fully aware of the addictive nature of opiates and fearful of the new pattern of use associated with minorities, were outraged

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See Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972).

by these practices and accused the medical professions of being immoral, irresponsible, and of displaying a studied disregard towards the public's welfare. As a result they sought rectification of the situation through legislation designed to bring these activities to the attention of the public with the ultimate aim of establishing control over the sale and distribution of all narcotic drugs. Legislation in the form of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 was finally enacted and required the labeling of patent medicines containing opiates and cocaine.[62]

The American Medical Association, quick to realize the trend of things to come, and anxious for recognition as a professional, dedicated, and scientific group of physicians, jumped on the bandwagon and began attacking the liberal use of opiates as "...unscientific, unprofessional and an indulgence fraught with difficulties."[63] The American Pharmaceutical Association had too much to lose from adopting such a moral posture and subsequently sought the defense of its position by minimizing the effects of the drugs while extolling their therapeutic value.

Between the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 and the Harrison Act of 1914 the reform movement gained momentum. In the interim an international conference at The Hague in 1912 was called for the international control over opium. The result of both forces resulted

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62 Susanne Scott Embree, The Politics of Expertise: A Profession and Jurisdiction. An unpublished dissertation in the Department of Sociology, New York University, 1972. Chapter 5-6.

63 David Musto, op.cit., p. 75.

in the passage of the Harrison Act, which on the one hand was the culmination of a domestic reform movement, and on the other hand in compliance with an international treaty which sought to regulate the sale, production, and distribution of opium. Regulation of opium and compliance with the treaty would be through the efforts of individual nations through domestic legislation. The American Medical Association by supporting the Harrison Act gained control over the therapeutic professions, by appearing the more moral and considerate of the public welfare than the American Pharmaceutical Association.

The Harrison Act of 1914, when first drafted, called for an exorbitant duty on imported opium. Subsequently, control over the flow of opium would be accomplished by making the drug prohibitively expensive. However, the act underwent three revisions in three years and ultimately prohibited altogether the sale and distribution of opiates to the public without medical prescription.

Many people were addicted to opiates and the question of how to ease their withdrawal with a minimum of stress came to the fore. A period of opiate maintenance, through clinics supervised by physicians was embarked upon. The clinics, though, fell prey to hostile elements that critized them for perpetuating a heinous state of affairs, while the clinics themselves were depicted as cesspools of human misery which bred crime and vice.[64]

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64 Ibid., pp. 54-91.

SUMMARY

Beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century, resulting in the passage of the Harrison Act of 1914, and finally culminating in the demise of the free clinics, Americans have portrayed addiction to opiates as a form of self abuse, originating in a person's flawed character, and leading to life styles which are both amoral and criminal.

Meaningfully, the stereotyped image of the opiate user and the subsequent legislation which arose from the negative connotations of the image had its origins in racial fears and prejudice. Today, it would appear that repressive legislation and the punitive approach to opiate use are sustained by very similar biases, although different ethnic and racial groups are involved.

When subjected to empirical scrutiny, the phenomena stereotypically associated with opiate use, when other conditions are controlled, does not hold. Subsequently, craving appears to be learned behavior and operates independently of the pharmacological properties of the drug, the overdose as typically portrayed appears to be a phenomenon of greater complexity than this portrayal suggests, and life styles which are frequently associated with opiates disappear when events causally prior to opiate use are controlled.

Portraying the opiate user as a self abuser, and in turn as a villainous social type, appears as a way in which a group of people accomplishes two things: (1) it allows the articulation of standards of conduct while simultaneously (2) reaffirming the group's original definition of the situation concerned with why certain groups of

people are both different and inferior and should subsequently be treated in a fashion consistent with the original definition of the situation.

CHAPTER THREE

ARDENT SPIRITS

By the turn of the twentieth century the tide was clearly turning against the use of ardent spirits. Americans were more and more coming to question the conventional wisdom shrouding ethyl alcohol. Was it a food they asked? Was it really necessary in order to perform hard labor? Moreover, was there a relationship between crime, poverty, insanity, social disorder and drink? What were its physiological effects? Should its sale be regulated, or should it be prohibited entirely?

These were some of the issues and questions being considered by turn of the century Americans - not only by members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, or supporters of the National Prohibition Party, but by people from all walks of life. The newly formed American Medical Association was pondering these questions, as were the emerging mass circulation magazines such as: The Arena, McClure's, The Outlook, Cosmopolitan, The Saturday Evening Post, Good Housekeeping and Harper's Bazaar. Even Jack London, perhaps America's most celebrated writer of the times, would join the questioning multitudes, with a work appropriately titled John Barleycorn.

But one thing from these inquiries was becoming increasingly clear: little good and probably much harm could be expected from "demon rum."

THE STEREOTYPED IMAGE

In 1908 McClure's engaged Henry Smith Williams to write a series of articles concerned with the alcohol question. The apparent purpose of these essays was to inform the reader of the dangers inherent in the drug's use. Williams chose to organize the pieces in a trilogy, appearing in successive months, and revolving around separate themes. The titles, reflecting the author's organization, ranged from the "Alcohol and the Individual" to "Alcohol and the Community". What he managed to convey was a sense of horror and dread, which to a large degree summarized and articulated the growing concerns many were evidencing towards alcohol.

In his first essay, Williams carefully drew these conclusions:

> So I am bound to believe, on the evidence, that if you take alcohol habitually, in any quantity whatever, it is to some extent a menace to you. I am bound to believe, in the light of what science has revealed: (1) that you are tangibly threatening the physical structures of your stomach, your liver, your kidneys, your heart, your blood vessels, your brain; (2) that you are unequivocally decreasing your capacity for work in any field, be it physical, intellectual, or artistic; (3) that you are in some measure lowering the grade of your mind, dulling your esthetic sense, and taking the finer edge off your morals; (4) that you are distinctly lessening your chances of maintaining health; and that you may be entailing upon your descendant yet unborn a bond of incalculable misery.[1]

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1 Henry Smith Williams, "Alcohol and the Individual," McClure's Magazine, 31: 712, 1908.

In this concluding paragraph Williams mirrored and gave expression to fears harbored by many Americans concerning ethyl alcohol - fears which other writers could indicate were firmly grounded in reality, and could be proven by way of scientific method.

These concerns, paralleling other accounts of self abuse, were organized around six themes: (1) the behavior's symptomology, i.e., how one could recognize the self abuser; (2) the physiological effects of the behavior - frequently indistinguishable from the behavior's symptomology; (3) the psychological effects of the behavior, especially as these effects related to concepts like addiction, loss of self-control, and craving; (4) the personality structure of the self abuser; (5) life style (moral) effects, e.g., crime and prostitution; and (6) effects on the community, e.g., contagion, destruction of social order, etc.

For example, T. D. Crothers, M.D., and Superintendent of Walnut Lodge Hospital of Hartford, Connecticut recognized a moderate drinker by the following symptoms:

> The moderate drinker has high tensioned arteries. This tension is particularly painful and distressing in many ways, and tobacco and drugs are taken to relieve it because they lower the strain and diminish the unpleasant symptoms. ... All moderate drinkers show another symptom of damage in either red, congested, or pale anemic faces, and this is an exact representation of the blood and its circulation in other parts of the body.[2]

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2 T. D. Crothers, The Alcohol Problem as Seen in Ancient and Modern Times (Merck's Archives, 1910), p. 11.

On the same subject, in an essay titled "Lesions of the Nerve Cell and Vascular Tissues Produced by Acute Experimental Alcohol Poisoning," Henry J. Berkeley, M.D., and Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, John Hopkins University wrote that the alcohol user was likely to exhibit the following symptoms:

> ... considerable mental confusion, inability to control the voluntary muscles, and intense sleepiness ... irritability of the heart's action, mental lassitude and difficulty in keeping up with routine work. (Also) ... digestive disturbance, neurologic pains, and lessened ability to think clearly.[3]

But the habitual drinker was even more recognizable, as Victor Horsley and Mary D. Sturge observed:

> The habitual drinker is shown to the outside world by restlessness and irritability of body and mind. ... (He) is subject to insane delusions, and is very suspicious and jealous.[4]

R. Osgood Mason, A.M., M.D., in his essay "The Curse of Inebreity - Alcoholism in Three Acts," appearing in The Arena in 1901, paints a somewhat different picture on the symptomology of alcohol use. Nevertheless, the message is the same - the spirit drinker is easily recognizable.

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3 Henry J. Berkeley, "Lesions of the Nerve Cell and Vascular Tissues Produced by Acute Experimental Poisoning," Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 218: 1, 1909.

4 Victor Horsley and Mary D. Sturge, Alcohol and the Human Body (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), pp. 132-135.

> ... sensation becomes dull, sight and hearing imperfect and movement feeble. ... you cannot arouse him; you may cut off a finger and it would not disturb him.[5]

Perhaps worst of all is what happened to the woman who used alcoholic beverages. Edwin F. Bowers poignantly describes these degenerative processes in Alcohol: Its Influence on Mind and Body:

> Alcohol seriously mars the beauty of women. It roughens the skin to become red and flushed, or, in cold weather, leaden or dull purple, and produces the characteristic bulbous nose associated with drinking. Alcohol also makes the breasts flabby, by robbing the supporting muscles of their normal vigor and tone ... a considerable portion of the wrinkles, cowfeet, and haggardness of the neurasthenic is caused by alcohol. ...Alcohol has also a pronounced and degenerating effects upon the teeth.[6]

Pertaining to the physiological effects of alcohol, early twentieth century writers were equally graphic and imaginative. Ardent spirits contributed directly to the following diseases:

> ... acute alcoholic poisoning, acute mania, delirium tremens, chronic alcoholic insanity, alcoholic epilepsy, alcoholic neuritis and paralysis.[7]

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5 R. Osgood Mason. "The Curse of Inebriety - Alcoholism in Three Acts," The Arena, 26: 132, 1901.

6 Edwin F. Bowers, Alcohol: Its Influence on Mind and Body (New York: Edwin J. Clode Publishers, 1906), p. 94.

7 Horsley and Sturge, op.cit., p. 296.

On the other hand, "...diseases which alcohol is frequently a determining or contributing cause"[8] include:

> phargitis (sore throat), gastric catarrh and chronic dysepsia, dilatation of the stomach, congestion of the liver, cirrhosis of the liver, fatty liver, chronic Bight's disease, gout, glycosurea, and obesity.[9]

Moreover, ethyl alcohol could cause the skin to congest or overgrow. Nor was it unusual, as many writers often contended, for the spirit drinker to be more susceptible to diseases like tuberculosis, arteriosclerosis, and consumption.[10]

Because alcohol "inflammed" and could degenerate "nerve structures including the optic nerve..." diseases such as epilepsy, melancholia, dementia, imbecility, hysteria, idiocy, and sunstroke were not uncommon.[11]

Still, on yet another level the human organism was more susceptible to infectious diseases including blood poisoning, syphilis, diptheria, and erysipelas.[12]

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8 Ibid., 295.

9 Ibid., p. 296.

10 Ibid., pp. 296-297.

11 Ibid., p. 300.

12 Ibid., p. 301.

Lastly, an often repeated argument was that alcohol inhibited cell formation and subsequently stunted growth.[13]

Not only did the ingestion of ardent spirits cause untold physical damage, but, as many early twentieth century writers postulated, the person became psychologically transformed and unfit for social habitation.

Jack London graphically describes the metamorphosis of an alcoholic in John Barleycorn.

> He is the king of liars. He is the frankest truthsayer. He is the august champion with whom one walks with the gods. He is also in league with the Noseless One. His way leads to truth naked, and to death. He gives clear vision, and muddy dreams. He is the enemy of life and the teacher of wisdom beyond life's vision. He is a red handed killer and he slays youth.[14]

Another writer put it this way:

> By deadening the brain cells wherein are registered the ideals on which we depended for calmness of judgement, alcohol causes serious lapses of self control in many people, especially young adults.[15]

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13 Ibid., pp. 302-303.

14 Jack London, John Barleycorn (New York: The Century Co., 1913) p. 4.

15 Horsley and sturge, op.cit., p. 112.

And what caused this radical change of the personality, many asked? What was there about alcohol which transformed the individual into a creature void of sensibility, compassion, and social grace? The answer appeared to be twofold: first, many conceded it probably had something to do with the original character structure of the individual. Second, and perhaps more important, it had to do with the habituating qualities of the drug.

For example, the Reverend F. W. Howard, writing for Catholic World in 1897, contended that:

> The weakness of the individual is certainly the main cause of this evil. ... The formation of the habit is an insidious process which can easily be controlled at the onset.[16]

Henry A. Hartt was so incensed by the drinkers lack of resolve that he proposed that drunkenness be treated as a crime. Wrote Hartt:

> Drunkenness is a voluntary lunacy, which causes three-fourths of all other crimes. ... I see no reason why, because a man here and there chooses to form and indulge in an unnatural appetite for them, and insanely pervert them to his own destruction, and to the injury of the community in which he lives everybody else should be kept in a state of continual agitation and excitement. ... Would it not be much wiser ... and punish the culprit who commits the wrong.[17]

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16 F. W. Howard. "Intemperance and Pauperism," Catholic World. 64: 648, 1897.

17 Henry A. Hartt. "Drunkenness a Crime," The Arena, 3: 466, 1891.

More compassionate thinkers, however, thought the root of the problem lay closer to the addictive qualities of the drug. Subsequently, the process whereby the drug took hold was the subject of many writers. For example, Jack London described the insidious process in his fictionalized autobiography as follows:

> The more I drank the more I was required to drink to get an equivalent effect. ...Alcohol became more and more imperative in order to meet people, in order to become socially fit. ...There was no time in all my waking time, that I didn't want a drink. I began to anticipate the completion of my daily thousand words by taking a drink when only five hundred words were written.[18]

An anonymous author, writing for McClure's Magazine, takes this analysis one step further by describing what it meant, once habituated, to be without a drink.

> Three or four days of such conduct would end in headaches and depression, followed by attacks of wretched sickness and profuse vomitting of bile. ...the secondary psychic self cried, shrieked for alcohol, alcohol in any form. There were no more headaches, no more vomitting ...but a reaming purposefulness, a period devoid of care.[19]

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London, op.cit., pp. 278-279.

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Anon., "The Confessions of a Dypsomaniac" edited by William Lee Howard. The Arena, 32: 3, 1904.

Equally graphic is Delasuave's description of delirium tremens, appearing in T. D. Crothers The Disease Concept of Inebriety: Its Etiology, Pathology, Treatment and Medico-Legal Relations.

> The nervous activity is prodigious; the patient has neither respite nor repose, no part of his body is free from movement; his face is blooded red, even violet, is contorted through the quivering of muscles; his eyes roll in their orbit; his skin is hot and burning, is moist with a profuse and sticky sweat, which sometimes emits an alcoholic odor. The tongue...is dry along the edges and its surface as well as the edges are covered with fuliginous crusts. Usually his thirst is unquenchable; the respiration more or less labored; the alteration of the features indicates a profound prostration. ...During these symptoms the patient is unable to sleep, is incessantly in motion, and has a bright eye with dilated pupils and an unsteady restless look. He exhibits a moist flabby, tremulous tongue. .. . desires no food, has constipated bowels, and passes a scanty, high colored urine.[20]

The message and symbolism are clear. Enslavement to a substance - any substance - is an unnatural phenomenon and can only lead to ruin, isolation, personal denigration, and spiritual, if not, mortal death.

Many of these inevitable consequences were enumerated by an anonymous author in his personal account "The Story of an Alcohol Slave." As a result of a forty year bout with "white lightning", he recalls that he"lost self respect." Public drunkenness became a common experience and he would,"... stick around saloons until (he) drank himself sober."

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20 Delasauve, in T.D. Crothers The Disease of Inebriety: Its Etiology Pathology, Treatment and Medico-Legal Relations (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1899), pp. 136-142.

So incapacitating was alcohol that "I would temporarily forget that I was working" and "In nineteen years I am discharged from twenty jobs."[21] Worst of all was the experience of being arrested for public intoxication.

But this individual's experiences with ardent spirits were not uncommon as attested to by others living in early twentieth century America. Indeed the story would be told a thousand times over by as many different voices. For example, there was the man who had been born with a congenital disposition towards alcohol.

> Nothing could check the force of those impulses during childhood: nothing could check the wild rushes for alcohol after I grew to manhood and had a wife, children, financial and moral responsibility.[22]

It was only when he had hit "rock bottom" that he realized the error of his ways. He had yielded to temptation, and like the ancient mariner had been lured to his destruction by the wail of the Sirens.

> The story of the next nine months is not pleasant reading. I remember the tramps' camp, the hut on the mountains - the days and nights in the cellar. There was no perception of idea of time. ...It was not the lewd or distinctly criminal classes that my body possessor consorted; but with the dirty and lazy bum.[23]

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21 Anon., "The Story of an Alcohol Slave", McClure's 33, 428-429.

22 Anon., "The Confessions of a Dypsomaniac," op.cit., p. 2.

23 Ibid., p. 6.

But although drink ultimately became a solitary experience, the steps leading to this vice and its total effect had ramifications for the entire community.

The man who drank, as the temperance writer would indicate, was initially the social man. He was the "stand up" guy, the man admired by his fellows because he held his liquor well and could always be called upon to buy a drink for the "boys."

But the nature of drinking patterns in early twentieth century America were such that the dry stood horrified before the dangers he perceived in the situation. Those hazards, succinctly, were that the saloon served as a "dangerous" host transmitting a horrid disease - inebriety. The concern, in brief, was that through the saloon a contagious disease was indiscriminately infecting innocent persons.

Edwin P. Bowers spoke to this situation when he asserted that the average man drinks for the following reasons:

> First, because he knows no better or has been wrongly or maliciously informed. Second, because the enemy his friends, insist on his being a good fellow. Third, because his alcoholized body cells crave narcotics.[24]

But another writer held the saloon and the saloonkeeper himself responsible for his drinking. The saloon keeper, this individual maintained, anxious in his avarice to obtain a profit was guilty of the most unconscionable and immoral practices.

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24 Bowers, op.cit., p. V.

> My experience and observation for a period of twenty-nine years in the United States leads me to believe that saloon drinkers over forty years are two percent of the total number, that drinkers between twenty-one and thirty years of age are thirty-five percent of the total number, and that fifty percent of the total numbers of drinkers are minors.[25] (Italics in original text).

Thus, the saloon and its proprietor were not only guilty of spreading an infectious disease, but were also the obvious corrupters of youth.

On the contagion aspects of this vice, the same author in a remorseful confession admits that because of the reward system of the saloon keeper, i.e., free drinks for bringing in customers, he was responsible for "infecting" many of his closest friends.

> I influenced directly twenty young men, my contemporary associates, in beginning saloon drinking. The saloons were open, and all we had to do was to go in and be welcomed.[26]

And what happened to these twenty young men? Many of them, we are informed, became alcoholic slaves and met unhappy ends. For example, there was Robert Gladdings who in 1890, and ten years after drinking - a man of fine character and ability - suicided. Or, there was the tragic death of William Jacques, who cut his throat in a

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25 Anon., "The Story of an Alcohol Slave," op.cit., p. 426.

26 Ibid., p. 428.

saloon after thirteen years of drinking. And then there was the sad end of Daniel Hobbs who survived the saloon for seventeen years only to die of morphine poisoning.[27]

It is this relationship, above all others, which appears to be applicable to all descriptions of self abuse, and, in turn, independent of the behavior in question, i.e., once an individual yielded to temptation, his resolve would be so seriously weakened that other types of miscreant behavior would shortly follow. Moreover, the process once begun led to serious consequences, not only for the individual, but for the entire community as well.

Professor M. A. Rosanoff and A. J. Rosanoff, M. D., summarized these fears while citing the work of one of their contemporaries:

> Dr. Emil Kraepelin leading alienist has reached the conclusion...that alcohol is leading civilized humanity to the point of degeneracy.[28]

Forms of degeneracy, as many would testify included criminal behavior, pauperism, and insanity. For example, one physician asserted that:

> ...ranks of prostitutes are largely recruited [from alcohol users] ... [and] are thus cursed because of an alcoholized parentage. This also applies to our gunmen and gangsters, who show similar traits of decadence and moral incapacity.[29]

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27 Ibid., p. 428.

28 M. A. Rosanoff and A. J. Rosanoff. "Evidence Against Alcohol," McClure's Magazine, 32: 557, 1909.

29 Bowers, op.cit., p. 43.

In addition, he argued, "...approximately seventy-five percent of venereal disease is contracted by men under the influence of alcohol."[30]

Another writer compounded the fears of early twentieth century Americans by adding:

> Of all the boys in reform schools ninety- five percent are children of parents who died from drink or became criminals through the same cause. Of the insane and demented cases disposed in the courts, everyday ninety per cent are from the effects of alcohol.[31]

In order to corroborate these claims he cited the case history of a sixty year old woman "...who lived a life of drunkenness, vagabondism, and crime." Out of eight hundred and thirty-four of her "progeny" he was able to "trace and record" seven hundred descendants. The picture painted, relative to the evils of alcohol, must have been disconcerting to the reader: 106 illegitimate births; 142 beggars; 64 living on charity; 161 women living immoral lives; 76 common criminals; and seven assassins.[32]

Equally alarming were the data compiled and reported by Henry Smith Williams. Again, as other figures would attest a hundred times over, the relationship between crime, anti-social behavior, and poverty was clear. Claimed Williams:

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30 Ibid., p. 189.

31 Mason, op.cit., p. 129.

32 Ibid., p. 128.

> ...alcohol must be held responsible for about four-fifths of the anti-social propensities, that make necessary the huge paraphernalia of the police systems, criminal courts, jails, prisons, and reformatories that constitute such a serious blot upon present day civilization.[33]

Not to miss an opportunity to make the connection between alcohol and poverty, Williams went further to say:

> It appears, then, that about two-fifths of the paupers cared for in the almhouses in this country demonstrably owe their condition to alcohol.[34]

Thus, the issue of alcohol - its use and prohibition - served for many early twentieth century Americans, as the issues of heroin, LSD, and marijuana use would serve for their successors. Ardent spirits, so the temperance writer indicated, were at the root of, and exasperated many of the problems faced by that age. Poverty, prostitution, violent crime, mental illness, venereal disease, and juvenile delinquency could all in some measure be attributed to the effects of ethyl alcohol. Eventually, because of their persistence, the strength of their arguments, the efficiency of their political organization, and the universality of their appeals, the drys would win passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

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33 Henry Smith Williams, "Alcohol and the Community," McClure's, 32: 158, 1908.

34 Ibid., p. 159.

But we must pause and ask why alcohol use had come to be portrayed in such a negative fashion? What functions did such a negative typification have for turn-of-the-century Americans? What values were reinforced by such a posture; and more importantly whose values were reinforced? In turn, why the three pronged attack on alcohol, the alcohol user, and the saloon?

In order to answer these questions, it would appear that a macroscopic picture of the United States at the turn of the twentieth century must be obtained. Moreover, evidence indicates that the negative typification of drink, drunkenness, and the saloon cannot be understood apart from the status of certain ethnic groups - the Irish and the Germans - who were perceived as a threat to the status quo by many native born Americans.

Before turning to these concerns, it is appropriate, given the scope of this analysis to pause in order to review and examine some aspects of the stereotyped image in light of information today - especially since many aspects of this negative typification appear largely intact.

THE STEREOTYPED IMAGE EXAMINED

Estimates of persons addicted to alcohol, in the mid 70's, within the United States range from five to nine million persons. The latter figure includes those individuals classified as "problem" drinkers. If the data are correct it would indicate that addiction to alcohol is second only to nicotine addiction in this country.

Amongst the various maladies which have been substantiated from prolonged and heavy alcohol use are irreversible brain and liver damage.[36] Liver damage manifests itself in the form of hepatic cirrhosis, and the frequency of this association is so strong that it led Jellinek to the development of a formula in which the presumed prevalence of alcoholism in a society could be ascertained from deaths from this disease.[37]

Other medical problems frequently related to alcohol use are kidney disorders, lower respiratory infections, bone marrow suppression, malnutrition, cardiomyopathy (impaired cardiac function), and pancreatitis (inflammation of the pancreas). Subsequently, alcohol,

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35 Edward M. Brecher, Licit and Illicit Drugs (Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1972), p. 260.

36 Ibid., p. 261.

37 Joseph Westermeyer, A Primer on Chemical Dependency (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1976), p. 84.

today's medical knowledge would indicate, in sufficient quantities over a prolonged period has serious physical consequences for the individual.[38]

However, the situation becomes mired when we begin to question the drug's effect on psychological and social functioning. Does alcohol use correlate with criminal behavior, for example? And does its use impair social functioning to the degree where one might say that the quality of an individual's interpersonal relations are being threatened? Need the ingestion of alcohol necessarily impair motor efficiency and thereby seriously reduce a person's ability to work?

These questions, as forthright as they may sound, are not so easily answered. To muddy the waters further, it would appear that sometimes these queries are answered affirmatively whereas at other times negatively. However, from the information available today, the confusion somewhat dissipates when it is recognized that an individual's response to alcohol is to a large degree culturally determined. By culturally determined is meant that comportment, while under the influence of alcohol, appears to be learned behavior.

For example, in the United States there seems to be a relationship between alcohol use and such phenomena as crime, violence, and sensory motor impairment. In a word, alcohol functions frequently as a disinhibitor for Americans.

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38 Ibid., pp. 84-86.

For instance, Wolfgang, in his now classic study of homicides occurring in Philadelphia in the early fifties, noted that alcohol was present in from forty-five to seventy percent of the cases studied. With regard to suicide, Menninger found, with a study conducted in the state of Washington, that in twenty-three percent of the situations alcohol was present. And Richard Blum added to this profile of the effects of alcohol in American society, by reporting that half of the automobile accident victims from one study had high levels of alcohol in their blood.[39]

But do these relationships hold cross-culturally? Are the same phenomena experienced by other cultures as well? Jellinek thinks not. For example, in countries where viticulture constitutes an important part of the country's wealth, alcohol consumption - especially in the form of wine - is frequently quite high. Countries where this situation prevails include France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Argentina, and Chile. Of special interest is the situation in France where figures indicate that consumption is as high as two litres of wine per day for many people. However, although consumption is high, the French do not report experiences analogous to those of Anglo Saxon countries. In fact, there is little in the way of a relationship between alcohol use and crime, violence, suicide, auto fatalities etc. Indeed public intoxication is almost a non-existent phenomenon. Nor is there much

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39 Edward M. Brecher, op. cit., pp. 262-263.

in the way of an association between heavy alcohol use and the alcoholic personality as has been classically described by Jellinek and others.[40]

The French have a term for this pattern of alcohol use - alcoholization; and it makes reference to the fact that there are a "... large number of drinkers who are neither psychologically nor physically dependend on alcohol," yet, have such a large daily consumption that their health can be shown to be undermined and their lives shortened.[41]

As a result of these observations, Jellinek offers the following hypothesis:

> In societies which have a low degree of acceptance of large daily amounts of alcohol, mainly those will be exposed to the risk of addiction who on account of high psychological vulnerability have an inducement to go against the social standards. But in societies which have an extremely high degree of acceptance of large daily alcohol consumption, the presence of any small vulnerability, whether psychological or physical, will suffice for exposure to the risk of addiction.[42]

Pittman parallels Jellinek's hypothesis by indicating that four cultural positions can be identified relative to alcohol use.

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40 E. M. Jellinke's, The Disease Concept of Alcoholism (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 19-29.

41 Ibid., p. 27.

42 Ibid., p. 29.

(1) the abstinent culture; (2) the ambivalent culture; (3) the permissive culture; and (4) the over permissive culture. As Jellinek asserted in his earlier work, and Pittman seems to corroborate with this formulation, those cultures on the abstinent-ambivalent end of the continuum are more likely than others to experience difficulties relative to drinking behavior.[43]

An interesting case study supporting these claims is provided by Dwight B. Heath's analysis of drinking patterns amongst the Camba of Bolivia. Heath provides us with the following description of these people:

> The Camba are a mestizo people. They are descendants of colonial Spaniards and local Indians, and their physical and cultural characteristics evidence both sides of their ancestry. In reality, the Camba constitute what may be called an emergent society.[44]

But whereas the Camba resemble many other emergent people of the world, they differ in one appreciable respect, i.e., the pervasive role that alcoholic beverages plays in their lives. Drinking and drunkenness are the norm and constitute an integral part of the social rituals surrounding festive occasions.[45] On these occasions, drunkenness is

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[43] David J. Pittman, Alcoholism (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 5.

[44] Dwight E. Heath. "Drinking Patterns of the Bolivian Camba" appearing in Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns edited by David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), p. 23.

[45] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

sought as an end unto itself, and is supported by a high degree of consensus.

The drink which is most often consumed is simply referred to as alcohol, and by way of chemical analysis has been shown to be about eighty percent alcohol - about twice as potent as a good Scotch. Alcohol is only consumed during fiestas (solitary drinking is inconceivable by Camba standards),and the occassions for these frequent events include: rites of passage, religious holidays, and most weekends.[46]

Typically, drinking follows a ritualistic pattern with a group of persons seated in chairs, arranged in a circle, and sharing a common glass which is passed from one drinker to another by way of a toast. It is not unusual for such drinking bouts to last for an entire weekend, and they are punctuated only by the party goers' reluctant submission to nature. However, in spite of the heavy drinking of the Camba, Heath reports:

> Hangovers and hallucinations are unknown among these people, as is addiction to alcohol. A farmhand will 'snap out of' intoxication abruptly when the call to breakfast is sounded after a fiesta. ...Sometimes on an especially hot day their systems are so full of alcohol that fumes from their perspiration make their eyes water, but neither their work nor themselves show any ill effects. And so they labor quietly, diligently, apart until the next fiesta.[47]

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46 Ibid., pp. 27-28.

47 Ibid., p. 31.

48 Ibid., p. 31.

On another level, the behavior of the Camba while drinking, although transformed, is not necessarily in the directions one might anticipate in Anglo-Saxon culture. Speech appears to become more labored with the drinker apparently experiencing difficulty expressing ideas. Not unusual either is that the individual may fall asleep from the effects of the drug. However, drinking for the Camba does not lead to aggressiveness, heightened sexual activity, obscene joking, clowning, or boastfulness.[48]

What Heath, by way of his analysis of drinking behavior among the Camba, means to draw our attention to is that alcoholism and anti-social behavior seem to operate independently of the alcoholic strength of the beverage and the quantities consumed, an observation substantiated not only by Heath, Pittman, and Jellinek, but by other researchers as well.

Perhaps one of the most ambitious attempts to make sense out of the controversy surrounding alcohol use comes from Craig MacAndrew and Robert B. Edgerton in a work titled Drunken Comportment.

The commonsense understanding of alcohol is that the drug is of such pharmacological potency " - that its action impairs the performance of sensorimotor skills and alters the character of our social comportment."[49] And with little difficulty authoritative figures could be found to corroborate this conventional wisdom. Thus, one researcher

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48 Ibid., pp. 30-32

49 Craig MacAndres and Robert Edgerton, Drunken Comportment (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), p. 4.

argued that "alcohol depressed the power of judgement," another stated it inhibited the "power of restraint," and yet another claimed it "inflamed the passions."[50] But what would happen if these understandings were studied cross culturally and scrutinized under the rigors of scientific method? MacAndrew and Edgerton contended that such an enterprise would suffice to seriously call into question the taken-for-granted understandings shrouding alcohol related behavior.

Through the use of anthropological data, ranging from the drinking behavior of primitive cultures today to the study of civilizations prior to and after their introduction to alcohol, they conclude that in order to understand drunken comportment one must "...focus on the shared understandings of drunkenness that obtain among men living together in society."[51]

One study which led them to this hypothesis was conducted by Gerardo and Alicia Reichel-Dolmatoff. The field work was conducted in a small, northern Colombian village habitated by a mestizo people. The inhabitants of the village were unusual insofar as they were "inordinately self conscious" and appeared extremely anxious. They were somehow, the Dammatoffs observed, perpetually "...afraid of giving themselves away ..., of being ridiculed because of the things

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50 Ibid., p. 7.

51 Ibid., p. 171.

they say and do, or of being taken advantage of by persons in authority."[52] Life, subsequently, for these villagers was characterized by suspicion of others, cruelty to one another, seriousness, and aloofness.[53]

What would happen, ask the Dolmatoffs, if these people became intoxicated? Would they become more suspicious and more withdrawn, or would they overcome these tendencies and become sanguine and open? Surprisingly, neither of the predicted courses were observed. The villagers "under the influence" remained as before: serious, withdrawn, and aloof.

Another example, cited by MacAndrew and Edgerton, was that of drinking behavior in the town of Juxthahuaca, Mexico as described by Kimball and Romaine Romney. The town had a population of approximately 3,600 persons, of whom six hundred were Miztec Indians. The Miztec, because of their distinct appearance, language, and culture occupied a marginal place in the community, which was both reinforced and evidenced by their geographical isolation. Frequently, the Indians experienced derision and derogation from the other townspeople, and responded to these gestures by withdrawing into the protective net of the Miztec "barrio."

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52 Gerardo and Alicia Reichel-Dolmatoff, cited in Drunken Comportment, op.cit., p. 21.

53 Ibid., p. 22.

Generally, while interacting with each other as well as with the townspeople, the Miztec pattern of social intercourse tended to be adjustive and permissive. Above all they admired the tranquil man, and attempted to achieve serenity in their everyday lives.[54]

Now, the commonsense understanding of behavior while "under the influence" would suggest that the Miztec's marginal status, their repeated subjection to ridicule, and their passive orientation to both, would provide these people with an excuse for unleashing some of their contained hostility. Subsequently, one might expect that alcohol would serve as a disinhibitor and that they would become quarrelsome and aggressive. However, as with the Camba and the Colombian villagers, no such observations were recorded. The Miztecs, even while intoxicated remained sedate, passive and adjustive.[55]

As a consequence of their examination of various cultural responses to alcohol, Edgerton and MacAndrew conclude that: (1) behavior while "under the influence" is generally circumscribed by cultural norms and expectations - the "within limits" clause;[56] (2) that drunken comportment is an essentially learned affair; and (3) that:

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54 MacAndrew and Edgerton, op.cit., p. 33.

55 Ibid., pp. 34-36.

56 Ibid., pp. 61-62.

> over the course of socialization people learn about drunkenness what their society 'knows' about drunkenness; and accepting and acting upon the understandings imparted to them, they become the living confirmation of their society's teachings.[57]

Yet, even if we accept the premises generated by Drunken Comportment, and apparently corroborated by Jellinek, Pittman, Snyder and others, little is revealed about the way in which societies go about formulating their various conceptions of comportment while under the influence of alcohol. Nor are we apprised of the meaning such formulations of drinking behavior might have for a group of people.

Subsequent to our concerns what functions did the negative formulation of drink and drunkenness have for early twentieth century Americans? Could it be shown, for example, that formulations of various behaviors in some measure serve as symbolic vehicles enabling a group to articulate its cultural parameters? On another level, could it be demonstrated that the formulation of a behavior in a negative fashion, within a pluralistic society, provides a forum for other issues as well? It would appear with regard to the stereotyped images of alcohol use and the alcohol user, and the manner in which these negative typifications were employed relative to focusing on other issues in early twentieth century America, that some light may be shed on these issues.

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57 Ibid., p. 88.

ALCOHOL USE IN COLONIAL AMERICA

With tongue in cheek Marcus Lee Hansen marvels over the intellectual community's willingness to attribute almost every achievement and/or set back to Puritanism. Puritanism that ubiquitous explanatory model, infrequently defined and never used in the same manner twice, is at the root of harsh penal systems, individual rigidity, incompassionate government, and strict sexual codes. Also, so others would have it, Puritanism is equally responsible for some of the major achievements of American civilization. Because of the peculiar intellectual atmosphere it nourished, writers like Emerson, Longfellow and Hawthorne emerged. Industry similarly came into its own because of the Puritan emphasis on work in this world as a means for salvation in the next world.[58] And everywhere, so the argument postulates, men suffer and prosper, live and die, war and love under the long shadow cast by Puritanism.

Along these lines, it would appear that one must turn to Puritanism for an explanation of the temperance movement. Because of its insistence of a stoic existence, it would seem to follow that the use of ardent spirits would have been forbidden. Yet, historically this assumption is not borne out. The Puritans both drank and condoned

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58 Marcus Lee Hansen, The Immigrant in American History (New York: Harper and Row, 1940), pp. 97-98.

the use of alcoholic beverages. In fact, it could be argued that the Puritans not only had a love for God, but a love for ardent spirits as well.[59]

Alcohol, so the early colonists maintained, did man much good. It was the aqua vitae which not only had healing powers, but increased man's capacity for work. In the winter it was imbibed in order to ward off the cold, and in the summer gulped to quench a workman's thirst. Mothers dispensed alcohol to their children to quiet their childhood illnesses, just as physicians prescribed it to alleviate the distress of ailments ranging from toothaches to menopause. It was consumed at weddings, christenings, and funerals, and shared at harvestings, huskings, and housebuildings.[60]

Without their daily ration of rum or whiskey, the sailor and the soldier felt betrayed by kin and countrymen. At Valley Forge, the complaint heard most often by visiting James Thatcher was, 'No pay, no clothes, no provisions, no rum.'

Even at ministerial ordinations liquor was present. And by the 1840's a good amount of heavy whiskey drinking and frequent drunkenness became commonplace at these events. When one minister dared to complain to his superiors about this debauchery, he was labelled by

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59 Andrew Sinclair, Era of Excess (New York: Harper and Row, 1962, p. 36.

60 Ibid., p. 37.

his colleagues as a 'pest' and a 'blackguard' for his excessive moralism.[61]

Pastoral drunkenness, indeed the drunkenness of any individual, however, was not historically the rule in colonial America. Puritanism condoned the use of alcoholic beverages, but recommended their use in moderation. Moderation, thus, provides the key to understanding early American views towards the use of ardent spirits and was buttressed by legal and moral sanctions. Taverns were licensed in order to maintain standards, and only secondarily to deter persons from drinking. On the other hand, a social order controlled by an elite that pervaded the religious, economic, and political institutions of colonial America enforced and developed codes of conduct which contained and circumscribed the use of liquor.[62]

It was the breakdown of the colonial social order, precipitated by the industrial revolution, exacerbated by huge influxes of immigration, and compounded by urbanization that spurred the "rethinking" of the alcohol question. These events were to subsequently operate together to shape the American Temperance Movement, which was as much a defense of the "old social order" as it was an attack on "demon rum."

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61 Joseph R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 38.

62 Ibid., pp. 37-40.

QUESTIONNING THE OLD WISDOM

It can be argued that with the birth of the new nation began the questioning of the old wisdom concerned with ethyl alcohol. Dr. Benjamin Rush, physician general of the Middle Department of the Continental Army, noticed that the consumption of alcohol contributed significantly to fatigue while lowering the body's resistance to disease.

In 1784 Rush published a pamphlet titled An Inquiry Into the Effects of Liquors on the Human Body and Mind and in the years to come would follow this essay with other titles questioning the use of ardent spirits. Amongst other things, he finally advocated the complete abstinence from alcohol and further argued that if his counsel were not heeded, the drinker would certainly be led to the debtor's prison, and at worst the gallows. Hiw work was often cited by early temperance preachers and in no small measure provided the movement with its early propaganda. Indeed, by 1834 as the result of the efforts of Lyman Beecher and other men of the cloth, whose sermons relied heavily on the dicta of Rush, one million Americans had signed pledges proclaiming their intent to abstain from all ardent spirits.[63]

Interestingly, the beginnings of the Temperance Movement coincided with the rise of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. And the rise of this free wielding, equalitarianism to a large degree signaled the

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63 Sinclair, op.cit., p. 37

demise of Federalist power. The uncultured, uneducated multitudes, largely composed of farmers and mechanics, were beginning to grasp for the reigns of political power. Displaced by this amorphous mass were the old aristocracy, frightened and relegated to a position of off-stage inaction. No longer could the "old guard" preacher be called upon to control his unruly flock - he had come to be associated as the stalwart of Federalist power and was accordingly stripped of his authority by a skeptical laity.[64]

The increasing use of ardent spirits was subsequently coming to be associated with the "old guards" loss of power and prestige. Simultaneously, it indicated for many Americans that the United States was quickly becoming a haven for decadence and immorality. And at the root of this debacle, argued the temperance figure, lay amongst other things the use of ethyl alcohol. It was liquor, contended Lyman Beecher, that increased the acceleration at which American society was decaying by robbing the masses of what little powers of reason and judgement they possessed. Thus, he maintained, irreligion, political anarchy, disobedience of God and man's law were all contributed to by the indiscriminate use of liquor. Wrote Beecher in Six Sermons on Temperance (1826), the leading statement of temperance doctrine of the period:

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64 Gusfield, op.cit., pp. 36-50.

> When the laboring classes are contaminated, the right of suffrage becomes the engine of destruction. ...As intemperance increases, the power of taxation will come more and more into the hands of men of intemperate habits and desperate fortunes; of course the laws will gradually become subservient to the debtor and less efficacious in protecting the rights of property.[65]

Thus, what initially appeared as the spontaneous uprisings of self reform by the poor, the ill educated, and the downtrodden, was in actuality a movement spearheaded by the Calvinist-Federalist clergy. And not accidentally the Temperance movement began in the East where the old aristocracy was concentrated.

TEMPERANCE AND RELIGIOUS RIVALISM

However, the Temperance Movement initially remained regionally localized and parochial in interests - largely because it was headed by an elite Eastern clergy interested in maintaining Federalist ideals. However, paradoxically, the Temperance cause was to gain an unexpected ally from the very persons who were originally the object of reform.

Great waves of religious revivalism were spreading throughout the land, and at the vanguard of this increased spiritual fervor were the evangelical Protestant sects - namely the Baptists, Methodists, and "new" Presbyterian.[66]

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[65] Lyman Beecher, quoted in Gusfield, op.cit., p. 43.

[66] Gusfield, op.cit., p. 44.

America's moral climate was significantly changing, and the moral man was quickly becoming the abstinent man. Abstinence more and more was coming to be associated with middle class respectability and would find its justification in the emerging ideas that every man was salvagable and that salvation was theoretically attainable by all.

If men, the argument postulated, were willing to live morally virtuous existences, if they would willingly turn their heads away from temptation, then redemption in the next world would almost be assured.

Subsequently, temperance, if not abstinence, was coming to be seen as the badge of middle class respectability and the symbolic demonstration in the here and now to God and Gospel.[67]

However, although the Temperance movement had moved from the symbolic vehicle of the few to the cause of many, it still lacked political drive. That impetus was provided through the exploitation of fear:

> ...fear of sin and God; the fear of race against race and skin against skin; the fear of venereal disease; the fear of idiot children; the fear of violence suppressed by conscience loosed by liquor; and and the dark sexual fears of civilization.[68]

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67 Ibid., pp. 44-51.

68 Sinclair, op.cit., p. 46.

THE EXPLOITATION OF FEAR - FEAR OF THE IMMIGRANT

As the nineteenth century waned, America was becoming more and more heterogeneous. She had succeeded through a protracted civil war in freeing the heretofore invisible black; orientals were in evidence in many of her major cities, and the peasant European, of questionable caucasian stock, was inundating her shores. Questionable, because the new European was not recruited from the mother country England, and therefore could not be counted upon to uphold her most cherished traditions. Moreover, these immigrants, argued the temperance figure, were frequently Papists who could be shown to be in cohorts with Satan himself by way of their intemperate habits. They would be part of the future of America, yet immediately they were threatening her very existence by undermining her most valued institutions.

The family, for example, was in dire trouble because of the pervasive influence of the saloon. Government, on the other hand, especially big city government, was being corrupted by this immigrant who was ignorant in the ways of democracy and self government. Frequently the three - the saloon, corrupt government, and the fear of the immigrant - were tied together. In an editorial appearing in McClure's titled "The Peasant Saloon Keeper Ruler of American Cities," it was put this way:

> But there is in America a particular and special concern over a condition which may be believed to be unparalleled in human history..., the power of the saloon in

> American government, especially in the cities.[69]

The editorial went on to say that the saloon was at the basis of Tammany Hall, just one example of the travesties which arose out of the saloon's disregard for "law and proper moral ideas." But the real reason for corrupt city government was the peasant himself:

> A body of men drawn from an ancestry which has never possessed any knowledge of traditions of free government; educated in a business whose financial successes are made through the disregard of law. ...Aside from given direct encouragement and propagation to the more terrible form of vice, the European saloon keeper government of our cities furnishes a filthy field for so called respectable men - but really criminals of the worst type - who organize and perpetuate saloon government for the purpose of securing, by bribery, franchises for public utilities without paying therefore.[70]

To gain some understanding of the tremendous impact immigration must have had on native Americans one need only look at the census figures for the period.

From 1790 to 1880 the population of the United States rose from 3,963,000 to 50,155,000 persons.[71] On the other hand, from 1820-1920

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69 Editorial, "The Peasant Saloon Keeper Ruler of American Cities," McClure's, 31: 712, 1908.

70 Ibid., pp. 713-714.

71 Edith Abbott, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 396.

over twenty-three million persons inundated the American shores from other lands - perhaps the greatest migration in the course of world history.[72] Especially staggering were the immigration figures from 1846 to 1925: 3,974, 995 persons from England, Scotland, and Wales; 3,656,095 from Ireland; 5,416,293 from Germany; 1,845,874 from Scandanavian countries; 3,545,413 from Russia; and 4,550,341 newly arrived immigrants from Italy.[73]

But the large immigrations from Russia and Italy were much later, i.e., after the turn of the twentieth century and subsequently only concern us tangentally. These people had not yet the time to entrench themselves into the American way of life and grasp for political power. Nor had there been time for the native American to react to their coming - their experience was too fresh and still needed to be digested.

Not so, however, for the German and Irish immigrant. Much of city life, especially in the East had come to be influenced by the Irish. Through the ward system in New York, Tammany drew its support and buttressed its power. And through the saloon, the great gathering place of the immigrant, the bond between city politics and immigrant was strengthened.

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72 Maldwyn A. Jones, Destination America (New York: Holt Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), p. 13.

73 Ibid., pp. 16-17.

The saloon in late nineteenth/early twentieth century America may have been in some measure the den of iniquity described by the temperance writer, but by the same token it was much more. It was a place where a man could find refuge and company; a place where he could escape from the crowded and oftentimes brutal facts of tenement existence. It was also an establishment where a man could count on, for the price of a five cent beer, some nourishment - because the saloon served free cold-cuts and bread along with its liquor. Moreover, the saloon provided free of charge the few meeting halls that were available to the working class, and served as the first labor exchanges as well as centers for political activity.

Yet the saloon was also to some degree a "rough" kind of place which served to inflame the passions of the temperance writer. It frequently was and could easily become a place of bedlam. True also was the fact that the saloon keepers, anxious to obtain a profit, occassionally oversold to their customers. And equally valid was the claim that the only food dispensed at these establishments consisted of salted fish, pretzels, and peanuts to whet the thirst of the drinker.[74]

But most important, the saloon was basically an immigrant owned, run, and frequented establishment. Thus, if drink were the seed which was sowing destruction in the United States, the saloon provided the soil within which that seed could flourish.

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74 Sinclair, op.cit., pp. 74-75.

In the interim, the brewer, frequently of German extraction, provided the nectar for fertilizing drunkenness and the saloon. By 1908 there were over 3,000 breweries and distilleries in the United States 100,000 legal saloons, and 50,000 "blind pigs and tigers."[75] And half the populations of Boston and Chicago were estimated to visit a saloon at least once a day. Worst perhaps, was the fact that by 1909 seven out of ten saloons were owned by the breweries.[76] The arrangement was simple: the immigrant proprietor short of cash, approached the brewer

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75 Ibid., p. 77

76 A legitimate question might be why were the Irish and the Germans singled out for public castigation, of the entire field of saloon keepers and brewers? The answer to this question is somewhat complex and suggests different variables were in operation for each group. The greatest waves of Irish immigration coincided with the potato famines of the late 1840's and early 1850's. Partly responsible for the famine was the British system of ownership of Irish agricultural interests in abstention. This system subsequently contributed to the poor management of farm acreage. However, the English put the blame for the famine on the inherent laziness and uneducability of the Irish. For an interesting account of the way in which the Irish were portrayed in nineteenth century Great Britain see Richard Ned Lebow, White Britain and Black Ireland (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976). Subsequently, in the United States because of the heavy Anglo-Saxon influence here, native Americans were already armed with negative formulations of the Irish. Equally important was that the Irish were predominately Catholics and suffered terribly from this stigma. German-Americans on the other hand had assimilated quite well with American culture. They had, unlike the Irish, settled further west and primarily in rural farm locales. Subsequently, they were not concentrated in the Eastern cities as were the Irish. Additionally, the Germans were largely Protestant and thus escaped the label of Papists and all of the negative connotations which went with that label. However, with the heating up of hostilities in Europe, the Germans came to be seen as the enemies of democratic principles. But perhaps the greatest blow came to the German-American through a capricious and somewhat naive acceptance of an alliance between the German American Alliance and the American breweries. As the saying goes, this was the act which put the icing on the cake. Accordingly, German Americans would, at least temporarily, come to be seen as unpatriotic and subverting the American way of life. See Sinclair, op.cit., pp. 95-115.

for the purposes of floating a loan. If the loan went through, part of the agreement was that the saloon keeper would be required to sell a specified amount of the brewer's product - providing an additional incentive for overselling his client.

Thus we must ask ourselves, with what kind of picture was the native American confronted? It was a picture colored with hues of prejudice and fear. America was quickly being transformed from a rural to an urban nation. Industrialism had firmly taken hold and apparently would be here forever after. With it arose the city which through its affluence displaced not only the power structure of the "old guard," but many of its most cherished values as well.

> Self control and foresight made sense in a scarcity production minded economy. In an easy going affluent society, the credit mechanism has made the Ant a fool and the Grasshopper a hero of the counter cyclical maintenance of consumer demand. In a consumption centered society, people must learn to have fun and be good mixers if they are to achieve respect.[77]

But the situation was further exacerbated by the fact, that the saloon keeper, the brewer, and the drinker were not infrequently city dwellers, but immigrants as well. The logic which ensued was to some degree predictable: banish ethyl alcohol from the city and with it would go the saloon and the brewer. Eliminate these establishments, so the argument was postulated, and situations like Tammany Hall will

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Gusfield, op.cit., p. 9.

largely die of neglect. In turn, a ballot for prohibition translated into a vote against Papists, immigrants, the city and corrupt government, while simultaneously being a reaffirmation of an Anglo-Saxon rural value system and confirmation of the "old guards" privilege as helmsman of the nation.

Thus, the drys were native born Protestant Americans who took religion seriously and attempted to buttress a failing agrarian morality in the face of accelerating change.[78]

Subsequently, prohibition ultimately became an arena where the forces of urban versus rural, native versus immigrant, and Protestant versus Catholic would converge.

It is not surprising then that the symbolic crusade waged against alcohol, consummating in the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, and enforced by the Volstead Act, would leave in control of alcohol the very persons who sought its prohibition: the makers (the farmers), the prescribers (the doctors and druggists) and the ministers.[79]

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78 Ibid., p. 106.

79 Sinclair, op.cit., p. 73.

SUMMARY

The Temperance movement in the United States was initially led by the Eastern, Federalist-Calvinistic clergy and was an attempt to nullify the effects of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. It was an attempt by the "old aristocracy" to regain power and prestige in American society.

The movement from 1830-1860 was to gain an unexpected ally in the form of evangelical Protestant sects which came to associate abstinence with moral behavior, middle class respectability, and other worldly redemption.

After the Civil War with huge influxes of immigrants, dramatic changes in the economy and the beginnings of a shift from rural to urban population concentrations, the Temperance movement took on yet another dimension with the establishment of the National Prohibition Party in 1869.

Political action became the rule of the day, and with the establishment of the Anti-Saloon League in 1896 meant the coercion of the many to the will of the few.

The use of the popular press and the mass circulation magazines became effective tools of the drys, and they were used at the turn of the twentieth century to press the four pronged attack against alcohol, the drinker, the saloon, and the brewing industry.

As we have seen with opiate related behaviors, the invention and deployment of a concept like self abuse appears eminently useful for focusing on symbolic issues, while simultaneously rearranging and/or perpetuating the way in which status is accorded in a society.

CHAPTER FOUR

MASTURBATION

Seven years before the appearance the Hite Report, in which female masturbation was not only defended but practically glorified,[1] David Reuben was proclaiming in the bestseller Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex - But Were Afraid to Ask, in response to the question of why people masturbate, that "masturbation is fun."[2]

Although Americans today can take in stride, and even anticipate the answer to Reuben's question, Americans a century ago viewed masturbation quite differently. Masturbation, like opiate use today, like alcohol use at the turn of the twentieth century, was seen not only as a form of self abuse, but that term was used as a synonym for the behavior. Variously referred to as self pollution, the Sin of Onanism, and the solitary vice, masturbation was thought to weaken one's resolve to resist temptation while seriously weakening the body's

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1 Shere Hite, The Hite Report (New York: Dell Publishing, 1977). In this work, based on a survey of 3,000 women's responses to a questionnaire regarding female sexual preferences and practice, Shere Hite concluded that: (1) masturbation amongst females is a relatively common practice - with approximately eighty per cent of her sample indicating that they masturbated with some regularity and (2) that only thirty per cent of the respondents could claim orgasm from intercourse regularly, whereas ninety-six percent of those women who said that they masturbated experienced orgasm regularly.
It is interesting to note that in her preface Hite claimed that the study was undertaken with an eye towards redefining the status of woman by redefining her sexuality.

2 David Reuben, M.D., Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex - But Were Afraid to Ask (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), p. 190.

defenses and natural immunities to disease. The theory which summarizes many of the arguments posed by nineteenth century writers, arguing against its evils is the theory of sexual economy.

THE THEORY OF SEXUAL ECONOMY

Sexual economy was a general theory of sexuality articulated by nineteenth century Americans. Essentially, the theory posited that vital to good health was the preservation of seminal fluids (semen) which in some way or another was thought to mix with the blood and in turn provide the organism with protection against disease. The discharge of seminal fluid by what was termed unnatural means, including excessive intercourse was thought to weaken the body's natural defenses. Additionally, if a person were excessive in his sexual indulgences, not only would his natural defense system be weakened, but a variety of other conditions directly attributable to 'excessive venery' would occur.

Apparently, it was thought that in some mysterious manner the genitalia were directly connected with the brain and the spinal cord. Hence, if there were an unnatural excitation of the genitalia, this would cause the excitation of nerves which would cause some very noticeable and unpleasant effects.

Worst of the various forms of incontinence, thought nineteenth century writers, was masturbation. Not only were the genitals handled unnaturally, causing unnatural seminal emissions, but this practice also brought about nervous exhaustion by exciting the

mind to think lasciyious thoughts.[3]

E. P. Miller, M.D., physician to the Hygiene Institution and the Turkish Bath, author of numerous books including Vital Force, Dysepia, and How to Bathe, put it this way.

> If the sexual organs are handled it brings too much blood to these parts, and this produces a diseased condition, it also causes disease in other organs of the body because they are left with a less amount of blood than they ought to have. The sexual organs, too, are very closely connected with the spine and the brain by means of the nerves; and if they are handled, or if you keep thinking about them, these nerves get excited and become exhausted, and this makes the back ache and the brain heavy and dull and the whole body weak.[4]

Similarly, Winifred S. Hall, Ph.D., M.D., Professor of Physiology, argued:

> Whenever we disobey the laws of Nature we are compelled by Nature to suffer a penalty. There is no escape from Nature's penalty.... So one who has broken Nature's laws in the sin of masturbation Nature punishes him by removing, step by step his manhood.[5]

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3 L. Deslandes, Manhood: The Premature Causes of Its Premature Decline With Directions for Its Perfect Restoration. Translated by an American physician with many additions. (Boston: Otis Broader and Company, 1845), p. 52.

4 E. P. Miller, A Father's Advice: A Book for Every Boy (New York: E. P. Miller, 1875), p. 12.

5 Winifield S. Hall, From Youth Into Manhood Tenth Edition, (New York: Associated Press, 1909), p. 54.

And indeed many writers were very descriptive on just how nature would remove a boy's manhood.

In Princely Manhood: A Private Treatise For Males Only, Reverend Platt warns that masturbation would cause males,

> pain in the genital organs, elongation of the spermatic cord, withering of the penis and scrotum ... and impotency.[6]

As if this were not enough to deter boys from masturbation, Platt further warns of digestive and spinal diseases associated with 'self pollution.' Digestive maladies include:

> Constipation, diarrhea, incontinence of urine, diabetes, kidney disease, morbid appetite, derangement of the liver, heartburn, palpitation, indigestion, grey hair, catarrah, yellow continence, sunken eyes, haggard look, despondency, melancholy, and hypochondria.[7]

On the other hand, spinal diseases include:

> Rheumatic pains in the hips, weakness and numbness of legs, pain, inability to move, paralysis and epileptic fits.[8]

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6 Reverend S. H. Platt, Princely Manhood. A Private Treatise for Males Only (New York: The Hope Publishing Co., 1882), p. 23.

7 Ibid., p. 25.

8 Ibid., p. 28.

Moreover, Platt and others note over and again that "The victim loses his ability to fix thoughts .... has dullness of the eye, vision becomes dim and indistinct, hearing dull, and the voice looses its manly tones."[9]

Professor T. W. Shannon goes as far as to say that not only will the vision be impaired, but if the youth persists in this form of self abuse, he will ultimately lose his vision entirely.[10] Significantly, over 100,000 copies of Professor Shannon's first edition of Perfect Manhood were sold. Later editions increased this figure to over 200,000 copies.

John Cowan in the Science of a New Life adds to the nineteenth century's worries with regard to masturbation, by informing parents, that girls masturbate also.

> The practice of this vice so common among boys, and not so uncommon among girls is one of the reasons why they never attain in their educational endeavors.[11]

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9 Ibid., p. 29. Notice the similarity between this depiction of the effects of masturbation and the effects of other behaviors defined as self abuse. Especially note kidney and liver disease (alcohol) and yellow continence, sunken eyes, despondency (opiates).

10 T. W. Shannon, Personal Help For Young Men (Ohio: The S. A. Millikum Company, 1918), p. 84.

11 John Cowan, M.D., The Science of a New Life (New York: J. S. Olgie Publishing Company, 1869), p. 354.

Moreover, in addition to the diseases of the nervous and digestive systems, common to all masturbators, Cowan observes that girls who partake in this behavior will become, "... flat breasted, round shouldered, their shoulders drawn forward."[12]

Platt adds to this list through the inclusion of "... flour albus, congestions, displacement, and irregulaties."[13] And T. L. Nichols adds his voice to the severity of the problem of female onanism by contending that "... five sixths of female complaints are caused by this habit."[14]

That masturbation is habit forming as Nichols observed, was one of the chief fears of the nineteenth century. Once begun, most writers maintained, masturbation became increasingly difficult to stop. Left unchecked, the youth was sure to experience personal and social denigration before his inevitable demise.

Lyman B. Sperry in Confidential Talks With Young Men observes along these lines that,

> Many become so addicted to the practice and so weaken their manhood and will power, that eventually they find it impossible to break the habit.[15]

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[12] Ibid., p. 361.

[13] Reverend S. H. Platt, op.cit., p. 26.

[14] Ibid., p. 27.

[15] Lyman B. Sperry, M.D., Confidential Talks with Young Men (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1892), p. 64.

Similarly, observes James F. Scott, a physician with imposing credentials and late Vice President of the Medical Association of the District of Columbia, "He is often unable to free himself from the grasp of the habit, because there is poor material on which to call for manly restraint."[16]

And Boundinot Seeley succinctly puts it this way.

> Some of the strongest reasons against self abuse are that it enslaves the individual, that it deteriorates personality and that it destroys happiness and self respect.[17]

Moreover, writers - especially physicians - showed little timidity in demonstrating what would happen if masturbation became habitual. Elizabeth Blackwell, for example, reflecting on her first exposure to an onanist, recounts the horrid death of a "pious lady, dying from the effects of this inveterate habit." It seems, as Blackwell relates her tale of woe, that masturbation "... had become so rooted that the brain was giving way under nervous derangement."[18]

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16 James Foster Scott, The Sexual Instinct: Its Use and Dangers As Affecting Heredity and Morals (New York: E. B. Treat and Company, 1898), p. 424.

17 Boudinot Seeley. Christina Social Hygiene: A Guide for Young (Oregon: Boudinot Seeley, 1919), p. 51.

18 Elizabeth Blackwell, The Human Element in Sex: Being a Medical Inquiry into the Relation of Sexual Physiology to Christian Morality (London: J. A. Churchill, 1884), p. 36.

Professor O. S. Fowler, Practical Phrenologist and Lecturer added that, "... this excess causes more insanity than anything else except intemperance."[19] He supports this contention that masturbation relates to insanity by providing us with this case history.

> An intelligent well educated man, was brought to the lunatic asylum in Hartford, rendered nearly idiotic by self abuse, and raving perpetually for food, which he would consume voraciously most of the time if allowed. His keepers refused it unless he would stop this practice. The struggle was terrible, but his rampant appetite finally compelled him to desist, and he recovered.[20]

Not as fortunate were some of the 'habituated' patients of Deslandes. For example, Deslandes tells us of a young man, who after having his hand amputated was told to be continent (abstain from all sexual relationships). His wife was also apprised of the physician's advice and assured him that she would cooperate. However, the young man, after having his amorous gestures rejected by his wife, masturbated and in three days time died.[21]

Another case history provided by Deslandes was that of "A young man nineteen years old addicted from infancy to masturbation, and

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19 O. S. Fowler, Sexual Science: Including Manhood, Womanhood, and The Mutual Interrelations: Love Its Laws, Power etc., (Chicago: Jones Brother and Company, 1878), p. 375.

20 Ibid., p. 373.

21 L. Deslandes, op.cit., p. 74.

who tried in vain to conquer this fatal habit." He failed; exhausted by the "...continual losses of semen,[he] died three months after entering Hotel Dieu."[22]

Or, even worse, is the description of a young soldier who frequently indulged in onanism.

> Just before his death he lost his sight entirely, was perfectly imbecile, his skin was livid, his tongue trembled, his eyes were sunken, his teeth decayed, and his arms covered with ulcers.[23]

As if to anticipate the arguments of future generations of Americans pertaining to the widespread social harm of various forms of self abuse, ninteenth century writers were quick to make the connection between masturbation and crime. The relationship, presumably, was that the possession of one vice led to the adoption of others, which in turn could only result in the individual's ultimate destruction. But before the individual's demise, all would bear witness to his amoral transgression. As with alcohol and opiate use later on, the message and symbolism were clear. Only temporarily could the self abuser escape from the responsibility of his actions; only temporarily could he hope to conceal his solitary vice. Ultimately, he would be discovered: then he would have to reckon with

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22 Ibid., p. 77.

23 Ibid., p. 270.

the harm his actions had wrought to the collective conscience. Sooner or later, and more than likely sooner, his guilt would become apparent, and the shame of his guilt would be so overwhelming as to pulverize his soul between the forces of good and evil. One nineteenth century writer puts it as follows:

> ... he is almost sure to be led into intemperance and next comes some violation of civil laws, perhaps a crime, the commission of which he has no controlling power to resist and so goes on until he ends in either idiocy, insanity, suicide, or the gallows.[24]

John Ware expresses similar thoughts, when he asserts:

> The one bears the same relation to the other, in a certain sense, that moderate drinking does to intemperance. It prepares the way, it excites the appetite, it daubles the imagination.[25]

Over and again a presumed causal relationship between sin, crime and ruin is articulated by the nineteenth century moralist - a relationship which implied that the self abuser was a different "type of person". Not only did he tend to abuse himself, but he also demonstrated proclivities to be injurious to others.

As if to prove this assertion, writers argued that masturbators also tended to be tobacco users, libertines, and even prostitutes. Along this line, John Ware contended:

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[24] S. H. Platt, op.cit., p. 29.

[25] John Ware, Hints to Young Men (Boston: Tappan, Whitemore, and Mason, 1850), p. 46.

> I do not believe that there is a boy fourteen years old to be found in the United States, who uses tobacco, habitually in any form, who is not a masturbator ... I am sure that the same may be said with truth of both boys and girls who are in the daily habitual use of stimulating drinks.[26]

Frequently, the connection was made between prostitution and masturbation. Argues a man of the cloth,

> The foundation of this whole scheme of abuse of the sexual function is laid in the marriage bed. Children who early fall into the habit of self abuse, and young men and women who become libertines and prostitutes.[27]

But even if there were no direct observance of the effects of masturbation, little doubt was left by authorities that masturbation was at the root of many social ills. Just as later writers could claim that underpinning poverty was alcohol, or at the basis of poor school performance was heroin, the nineteenth century believed that masturbation had tantamount effects on society. Woodridge, for example, purports, "This solitary vice is spreading desolution through our schools and families."[28]

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26 John Cowan, op.cit., p. 359.

27 S. H. Platt, op.cit., p. 41.

28 Ibid., p. 24.

Observes, William Alcott, doctor and prolific writer chiefly concerned with the amorality he perceived rampant in nineteenth century America, and with titles ranging from The Moral Philosophy of Courtship and Marriage to Tea and Coffee: Their Physical and Intellectual Moral Effects:

> There is not a town in New England whose bills of mortality, from year to year, are not greatly increased by this fearful and wide wasting scourge.[29]

Indeed metaphorically "wide wasting scourge" can with little imagination be taken to indicate the presumed pervasiveness of masturbation. Moreover, many nineteenth century Americans indicated that masturbation seemed to some extent contagious. Contagious insofar as younger children would be instructed in the ways of the vice by their older peers. Once the bad influence were allowed to 'contaminate' others, the habit would then continue to grow geometrically, with child teaching child the techniques of this feared behavior. Similarly, as with other behaviors defined as self abuse, there is this peculiar relationship between the tempter and temptation. For Florrie Fisher it was her husband turned pimp who turned her on to heroin. For Jack London's protagonist in John Barleycorn it was his father, who sent the boy to fetch beer in order to quench his thirst from toiling in the field. And for masturbation, it is the

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29 Ibid., p. 26.

older youth, or the 'wicked' nursemaid who in preventing the child's cries titillates the boy's sexual organ and inadvertently teaches him the techniques of masturbation. So, as one nineteenth century physician warns,

> One should be particularly careful of female servants as it is to them that young children are generally entrusted. Female domestics are generally to be feared ... The wish to please their masters often induces them to give the most distinguishing lessons.[30]

And who was the chief object of concern of these nineteenth century writers? Apparently it was the child. In some fashion, they reasoned the "heinous sin of self pollution" was the special corruptor of youth. For example, many works contained instructions, frequently in their prefaces, on how and for what purpose the book was to be used. For example, some authors advised that it was to be read by the parent to the child, others suggested that the teacher assimilate the work's content and then relay this to students during their sexual hygiene lessons, and other writers indicated the piece should be read by the child himself. To make this point somewhat differently, witness, for example, some of the work's titles which hint at their contents: Confidences: Talks With A Young Girl, Sex Discipline for Boys in the Home, Christian and Social Hygiene: A Guide For Youth, and Confidential Talks With Young Men.

30
L. Deslandes, op.cit., p. 227.

As Elizabeth Blackwell observed, and expressing a commonly held belief amongst nineteenth century Americans, "(Masturbation) ... is the special temptation of the child."[31]

Not unusual was the advise counselled by one physician.

> There is in children a kind of instinct, which leads them to conceal this maneouver, although they have not learned that it is an illicit act ... Watch where the child goes. Have an eye to him who seeks solitude - who remains a long time alone, and who cannot give a good account of himself ... When the young person is disturbed suddenly, his hands, if he has not had time will be found on or round the genital organs.[32]

The special fear of nineteenth century America, then with regard to masturbation, was that this behavior was "... the great corrupter of youth because it creates and establishes, at an early age, a strong animal want of a most imperious nature."[33]

Thus, onanism was the scourge of youth, the special, if not unique problem of childhood, and the panacea for many social ills. But to accept this phenomenon on face value, and to treat it merely as a social oddity by contemporary standards is to lose sight of the meaning that attitudes towards masturbation had for the nineteenth century. Said somewhat differently, in what ways did the definition of masturbation as a form of self abuse, serve to articulate important issues

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[31] Elizabeth Blackwell, op.cit., p. 32.

[32] L. Deslandes, op.cit., p. 167.

[33] John Ware, op.cit., p. 46.

for the nineteenth century? In order to answer this question, we must gain some understanding of the developments which were occurring in nineteenth century America, and especially in light of the status of children during this period.

Two developments, in particular, will serve to organize our discussion: (1) the discovery of the concept of childhood in Western society; and (2) the impact industrialization had on the American family.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF CHILDHOOD

A frequently held misconception is that childhood prior to industrialization was a time of undisturbed somnolence and peaceful quietude. Children, so the misconception would have it, were cloistered away from the contaminations of city life and by virtue of their sparse associations with adults and other children, were sheltered from the 'corruptions' of the world. Family life, in turn, was a peaceful state of affairs infrequently disturbed by the events of the larger society. Within the family structure, children were fully integrated and to them fell the minor chores of rural existence - feeding the domestic livestock, milking the cows, fetching water etc.

In between their morning and evening chores, they would scurry to the one room schoolhouse and receive their instruction in the three R's. By fire light they would toil over their lessons, only to awake the next day and repeat this routine. This blissful existence would presumably continue through the child's adolescent years, when he would wean himself away from the family unit by marrying.

However, nothing could be further from an accurate portrayal of childhood in centuries past. For that matter, if Philippe Aries is at all correct, childhood as a unique stage of life is probably a conceptual phenomenon of very recent development in the West.

In an ingenious case study of French society, beginning with the Middle Ages, Aries traces the development of the concept of childhood. Pointing to developments in England, Italy and Germany as well, it is his contention that prior to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the concept of childhood, as we know it today, did not exist.

As evidence, Aries looks at language and finds, for example, that in France only three stages of life were identified - childhood, youth and old age.[33] Childhood, though, did not extend as it does today through puberty, but was thought to terminate somewhere around the age of seven. At the age of seven, when childhood was terminated, children would then be permitted and moreover expected to freely associate with adults. Accorded adult status, competition within the economic sphere between adult and child was allowed. Concomitantly, the immunities and protections extended children today in Western societies were not in effect.

Subsequently, as Aries argues, children were exposed to the ribald humor of adults, dressed like adults, and partook in adult activities, including various forms of recreation and leisure.[34]

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[33] Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 21-55.

[34] Ibid., pp. 62-99.

Childhood, thus, as an age of life, ended somewhere around the seventh year.

Interestingly, if Aries had looked at the evolution of the concept of childhood under the law, he would have found that English courts, during the Middle Ages, had determined that the age of seven was also the time at which an individual could be held responsible for his actions. The contention, under common law, was that the child, capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, was also capable of criminal intent or mens rea. Thus, before the law, from seven onward all persons were accountable for their actions.[35]

As further evidence for his claims, Aries, through the technique of iconography or the representation of life through art, finds that children were portrayed as miniature adults. Male and female children thus, were pictured wearing identical clothing to adults, had faces bearing the lines of adulthood, and, as was the case with male children, were painted with the full musculature of matured men - including developed stomach and pectoral muscles.[36]

Laslett, in The World We Have Lost, goes further to round out our picture of the nature of childhood in ages past, by detailing the widespread practice of apprenticing young children to a trade - especially as this practice existed in seventeenth century England. Involved here

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35
Martin R. Haskell and Lewis Yablonsky, Juvenile Delinquency (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishers, 1974), pp. 25-28.

36
Philippe Aries, op.cit., pp. 33-99.

was the early separation of the child from his parents, with the parent relinquishing as part of the apprenticesnip agreement, all obligations and authority with regard to their offspring.[37]

Aries, citing an Italian textbook recounting English life during the Middle Ages, tells us why the practice of apprenticing was so pervasive. The author of the text, after visiting medieval England, observed the practice was subscribed to because the English loved their children so much. It was thougnt by the English, as this writer notes, that without the benefits of an apprenticeship, the youth would be deprived of a moral education - deprived, as the English reasoned, because parents blinded by their natural affection towards the child would be lax with their moral instructions.[38]

The practice of apprenticing youth was transplanted to the American colonies by the English, and continued in much the same form as Laslett described until the late eighteenth century. Cites Aronson, the instance of a magistrate presiding over a case concerned with child custody. The judge had decided to remove the children from their natural home, because it had been determined that the parents could not adequately provide for their offspring. Moreover, the magistrate reasoned, that the natural affection between parent and child was not

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37 Peter Laslett - The World We Have Lost (New York: Scribner, 1965), pp. 2-70.

38 Phillippe Aries, op.cit., p. 365.

enough to justify a contrary decision. In fact, he contended, this affection could probably do much to undermine the child's chances for a moral upbringing.[39]

Critical to an understanding of the magistrate's reasoning is a recognition that childhood, as early as the fifteenth century, had come to be seen as a period of life especially malleable to lessons of morality. Find the ways in which to create a moral child, this logic postulated, and in turn one will have found the way in which to create the moral man. Thus, guiding this theory of moral malleability were four general principles: (1) children must not be left alone; (2) they must not be pampered and must become accustomed to discipline; (3) they must be taught the virtues of sexual modesty; and (4) they must be taught manners and morals, especially as this relates to their everyday life.[40]

Subsequently, it is not surprising, that along with this theory of moral malleability arose a reinterest in masturbation. Reinterest, we must point out, because long before the fifteenth century, evidence indicates, masturbation was formulated as a prohibited behavior in western cultures. Indeed, references to the undesirability of the behavior can be traced as far back as Ancient times. In the book of

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39 Sidney Aronson, From an unpublished paper presented at the Graduate center of the City University of New York, 1977.

40 Phillippe Aries, op.cit., pp. 111-127.

Genesis, Onan, the son of Judah, is told by his father to go unto his brother's wife and raise seed unto his brother. Onan did as he was instructed, but withdrew during intercourse and spilled his semen on the ground. "And the thing which he did displeased the Lord: wherefore he slew him also." Thus, the fifteenth century did not invent prohibitions pertaining to masturbation.

But what writers from the fifteenth century onwards did was to discover masturbation as a peculiarly fruitful way of validating their claims that children were different kinds of people requiring different types of treatment - different because of their frailty and impressionability, and subsequently requiring close supervision. With regard to the relationship between masturbation, morality, and childhood, Gerson, whose work is discussed by Aries, states his argument in this manner.

> ...even if because of the child's age, it has not been accompanied by pollution ... it has taken away the child's virginity even more than if the child, at the same age had gone with a woman.[41]

But Gerson was not a singular European voice of the fifteenth century discovering the special presumed relationship between childhood and masturbation. Indeed, other voices, harmonizing with Garson's, in German, Italian, and English were discovering that masturbation was the special temptation of the child.

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41 Ibid., p. 107.

Three centuries later - specifically in the late eighteenth century- another dimension was added to this presumed relationship. Tissot, a French physician, added to the worries of parents by informing them that masturbation was not only immoral, but unhealthy as well; thus paving the way for other imaginative writers, including Claude-Francois Lallemand, who in Des Pertes Seminal es Involuntaires,[42] first described diseases associated with unnatural seminal emissions. Other Europeans were quick to adopt these views, and were soon adding some observations of their own.

But more than three thousand miles away, in the United States, masturbation was not discovered as a symbolic vehicle for articulating the uniqueness of childhood until the mid-nineteenth century. Specifically, not until the late 1840's was any special interest demonstrated in the subject. Then beginning with the late 1850's a profusion of sustained literature began to surface, reaching its volumetric peak between 1880 through 1895. All of these works, one more imaginative than the other, argued that masturbation was the scourge of youth and at the basis of an array of ailments.

Early in the twentieth century, another development occurred. In Europe, writers such as August Forel in 1906, and Albert Moll in 1913 were saying that the dangers of masturbation had been greatly

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42 John S. Haller, Jr. and Robin M. Haller, The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 211.

exaggerated, while strongly intimating that their predecessors had been both unscientific and unprofessional with regard to their descriptions of masturbation. From this time onward, fewer works appeared portraying the stereotyped image of the masturbator and finally around the year 1928 disappeared from the literature entirely.

What is the significance, if any, of this chronology of the history of attitudes towards masturbation? Said somewhat differently, does the chronology shed any light pertinent to the general themes of this work, i.e., that definitions of deviance, especially the definition of a behavior as a form of self abuse, must be understood in terms of the status of a group of persons, who are presumably involved with the behavior in question, while simultaneously perceived by the larger society as in some way threatening to the status quo? In the instance of the masturbator as a special type, I believe, evidence validating these claims can be provided - especially when the economic development of the United States during the nineteenth century is taken under consideration.

FROM HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY TO THE FACTORY SYSTEM

The nineteenth century was a period of time characterized by rapid changes occuring in quick succession. New frontiers were continually being explored; the limits of manifest destiny were ever extended; population was increasing by an average of thirty-five per cent every ten years;[43] and the murmurs of industrialization were beginning to be heard.

Beginning as a faint rumble, manufacturing during colonial times worked against a series of repressive laws promulgated by England with the express purpose of inhibiting the development of industry. Laws, for example, were enacted prohibiting inventors and manufacturers from the exportation of machinery necessary to industrialization. Also prohibited by a statute enacted in 1782 was the emigration of trained operatives in the printing, linen, and calico industries.[44] Nevertheless, and in spite of these laws, Americans managed to smuggle plans and equipment, and thus were laid the seeds for industrialization.

Appearing first in New England and the Middle Atlantic states, manufacturing got its first real boost as a result of the War of 1812. As a consequence of the war, Americans were effectively cut off from

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43 Fred Albert Shannon, Economic History of the People of the United States (New York: The Macmillan, 1934), p. 163.

44 Harold U. Faulkner, American Economic History (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931), p. 298.

European industrial markets - cut off because the activities of its efficient merchant marine had been seriously curtailed by the enforcement of the English Embargo and Non-Intercourse acts. Thus, Americans had to look to their own resources for the provision of their industrial needs.[46]

Assisted by abundant raw materials including lumber, cotton, iron, fuel and water power, government aid through tariffs, and a steady flow of skilled and unskilled labor, American industry began coming into its own.

Paralleling the development of English industrialization, and precipitated by the use of power driven machinery, American manufacturing began to move from household production to the factory system - a shift which would later transform every facet of American life. This shift was all the more dramatic because of a problem which had and would plague American manufacturers until the beginning of the twentieth century. Although newly arrived immigrants were constantly inundating the new nation, manufacturers frequently lost out in the competition for their labors to agriculture. The country was vast and access to its abundant land both easy and inexpensive. As a response to this labor shortage, industrialists were to further push for the mechanization of their factories - a push which would hasten the shift from household industry to the factory system.

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46 Fred Albert Shannon, op.cit., p. 293.

From 1800 through 1840 mechanization and the factory system which went hand in hand, received a further boost from the development of transportation facilities. Beginning with improved turnpikes and roads, followed by the building of canals and improved river systems, and finally with the introduction of the steam engine for land and river use, manufacturers could begin to rethink the logistics of domestic commerce - on the one end securing raw materials for production, and on the other end assured of an efficient means of supplying markets.[47]

Also during these years manufacturing pushed further ahead to industrialize the American way of life. Coal was discovered as a practical fuel for smelting iron and for creating steam power; railroads became further developed, practically guaranteeing manufacturers that goods could be carried anywhere; new and improved machinery allowed for the diversification of enterprises; and the transition was further made from household industry to the factory system.[48]

From 1860 through the Civil War manufacturing and industrialization underwent another radical transformation. Enhanced by protective tariffs which Congress enacted at almost every session, and stimulated

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47 Harold U. Faulkner, op.cit., pp. 299-354.

48 Ibid., p. 291.

by a war economy, industry grew at an unprecedented rate in American History.[49]

Certain industries prospered more than others during this period. Because of the governments' need to supply uniforms for an army, the manufacturing of woolen cloth increased from 85,000 pounds during peacetime to 200,000 pounds during the war years. Ready made clothing was also in demand, and paralleling the wool manufacturing industry, received enormous incentives as a result of the war.[50] Transportation further developed, and the general demand for machinery of every nature seemed insatiable.

At the war's end, manufacturers had managed to secure reserves of capital; Americans had come to be more dependent on factory-made goods; and large scale industry was increasingly becoming the hallmark of the American way of life.[51]

Thus, if 1812 marked the beginning of the factory system in the United States, 1865 and the half century that followed marked the beginnings of America's industrial revolution.

The pattern that began with the War of 1812 would continue for the next century and a half. People were increasingly coming to depend on industry to support a way of life; populations were shifting

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49 Ibid., p. 405.

50 Ibid., p. 478.

51 Ibid., pp. 454-500.

from rural to urban locales; and with urbanization came still other industries which further accelerated the American life-style. Slaughtering and meat packing industries came into existence, and the spinoff industries of leather, glue, and fertilizer made their first appearances. Also appearing were canning industries for the purposes of supplying the food needs of urban populations, along with textile and shoemaking industries to provide for their clothing needs.[52] And with these new industries came the exasperation of an old problem - a critical shortage of labor.

It is this shortage of labor, especially between 1850 and 1900, and the ways in which industry attempted to satisfy this shortage, which is of critical concern here: especially, the employment of women, and more important, for our purposes, the employment of children in order to satisfy industry's needs.

It is against this background of emerging industrialization and urbanization - two enormous forces which shaped the nineteenth century's perception of its world - and the use of child and female labor in order to satisfy manufacturer's labor needs, that we attempt to understand nineteenth century attitudes towards human sexuality.

Focusing particularly on the nineteenth century's concern with masturbation, a problem peculiar to childhood, we must entertain the possibility that sexual attitudes in some way functioned as a symbolic vehicle for redefining the status of children in a changing age.

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[52] Ibid., p. 499.

THE EROSION OF CHILDHOOD

As we have mentioned, beginning as early as the fifteenth century and reaching its fruition in the late seventeenth century was the notion that childhood was a special period of life requiring special attention. In the words of Philippe Aries, the concept of childhood had been discovered.

Along with the discovery of childhood was the alteration of a child's status within Western societies. The natural dependency of children came to be assumed, along with ideas pertaining to what was appropriate and inappropriate behavior for this period of life. Implicit in this formulation was the idea that children should be deferential to adults, modest in their sexual behavior, and on the whole occupy a subservient status within the social hierarchy - with every child ultimately answerable for his actions to every adult.

Mechanisms were necessary to implement these ideas and were found in educational institutions, the family structure, and the economic sphere, namely, through the practice of apprenticing the youth, for an extended period of time, to an employer for the purposes of learning a trade.

The realities of apprenticing, as Laslett describes, were such where the master had complete control over the youth, and would live, along with his own family, under the same roof. Charged not only with the youth's occupational training, the master journeyman would also be responsible for his moral upbringing. Because of the proximity fostered by living under one roof, the fact that the relationship could continue for more than twenty years, and the logistics of the

situation requiring that the master and apprentice work together in close daily contact, the practice of apprenticing could be seen as a viable mechanism for fulfilling the exigencies of the concept of childhood.[53]

However, when household industry began to crumble under the weight of the factory system, the institutional arrangements which provided for the implementation of the concept of childhood also crumbled.

What was worse was that children were no longer under the detached and benign, yet interested, authority of an adult. Nor were children any longer integrated within a family-like structure, capable of effectively imposing the sanctions of social control - what sociologists were later to speak of as the chief agent of socialization. Children instead were exposed to the tyranny and indifference of the factory system.

Whatever strides in education that had been made since the discovery of childhood had also fallen victim to industrialism - at least for the child working in the factory system. With children working in the factory from twelve to fourteen hours per day, six days a week, toiling under deplorable conditions, little time - and even less energies - were left for such noble pursuits.[54] Even if

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53 Peter Laslett, op.cit., pp. 1-47.

54 Jurgen Kucyzynski, Labour Conditions Under Industrial Capitalism: Volume Two The United States of America 1789-1946 (United Kingdom: Biddles Ltd., 1973), p. 26.

parents wished to provide their children with an education, the terms and provisions for their own continued employment often made this impossible. Notes a speaker before the assembled bodies of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1836.

> We have known of many instances where parents who are capable of giving their children a trifling education at one time, were deprived of that opportunity by their employer's threats, that if they did take one child from their employ (a short time for school) such family must leave the employment - and we have known these threats to be put in execution.[55]

Not only were children no longer under the direct supervision of adults, but they were also in direct competition with their seniors for jobs. Manufacturers, contending that the production of women and children was not equal to that of an adult male, used this as a ploy to undercut their wages, while simultaneously maximizing their own profits. Not unusual as cited by Faulkner, Kuczynski and others were factories fully operated by children, women, or both. From the Mechanics Free Press for August 21, 1830, the following excerpt testifies to this practice.

> It is a well known fact that the principal part of the help in cotton factories consists of boys and girls, we may safely say from six to seventeen years of age, and are confined to steady employment during the longest days of the year ... allowing, at the outside, one hour and half per day for meals ... while they (the employers) on the other hand are rolling in wealth.[56]

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55 Ibid., p. 24.

56 Harold U. Faulkner, op.cit., p. 319.

Needless to say, if there were a limited number of jobs, and indeed there were, this often meant that adult males either received depressed wages or alternatively were out of work completely. Obviously, this was one more blow to the concept of childhood, which depended to some extent on a patriarchal family arrangement in order to affect its implementation.

Labor, slow to realize the relationship between its pitiful plight and the exploitation of child labor, finally vociferously came out against this practice.

As early as 1827, labor was asking for the restriction of child labor, both for the sake of youth and in order to stimulate higher wages for adults.[57] But if we reflect back on the history of industrialization in the United States, the worse was yet to come.

Prior to 1860, this country derived the largest part of its wealth from agriculture. Actually, it was not until 1889 that industrial wealth outstripped wealth derived from agriculture.[58] Consistently, prior to this time, it is not surprising to find that most Americans were engaged in agricultural pursuits. But with the advent of industrialization and its sister urbanization, the plight of the worker worsened. Moreover, the conditions workers functioned under were further aggravated by the deliberate introduction of immigrant labor

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57 Fred Albert Shannon, op.cit., p. 280.

58 Harold U. Faulkner, op.cit., p. 479.

who, desperate for any kind of work, were frequently called upon to work for wages far below that of native Americans.[59] Accordingly, immigration relatively stable from 1851 through 1880, with an average of 2,600,000 immigrants entering the United States every ten years, doubled from 1881-1890 to 5,200,000 persons. Concomitantly, the availability of this labor further contributed to drive down real wages for native Americans.[60]

On the other hand, 1880 was also the peak year, in this country, of the use of child labor, with approximately 6.7 per cent of the labor force composed of children under sixteen years of age.[61] In real figures, this was an increase from 739,164 persons from ten to fifteen years of age in 1870, to 1,118,536 persons in the same age bracket in 1880.[62]

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[59] This relates to a statement made earlier which indicated that there were a limited number of jobs available. In turn, this may seem like a contradiction with a previously ventured proposition, that industrialists were constantly plagued by a shortage of labor. Actually, both statements are true. On the one hand, industry grew at a pace greater than the population. But, on the other hand, urban centers frequently grew at greater proportions than industry, thus at times creating surpluses of labor. Also in periods of economic depression, which occurred rather frequently during the nineteenth century there was keen competition for industrial work and mass unemployment.

[60] Jurgen Kuczynski, Labor Conditions Under Industrial Capitalism. Volume Two The United States of America 1789-1946 (United Kingdom: Biddles Ltd., 1973), p. 105.

[61] Ibid., p. 75.

[62] Fred A. Shannon, op.cit., p. 596.

THE REDEFINITION OF THE CHILD'S STATUS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

Organized labor, which had been steadily gaining as a political force, attached both immigration and child labor which, by this time, were perceived as great contributors to its present woes.

Immigration was attacked by lobbying efforts which sought to restrict its flow through quota systems. Child labor, on the other hand, was attacked as a moral problem. Morality translated into practical action, through organized labor's efforts to restrict the use of children, in industry, through state enacted legislation. The legislation petitioned for at different times includes: a restricted work day limiting the number of hours children could work, compulsory education (at first part of the year, three out of twelve months, and later to most of the year, nine out of twelve months)[63] the limitation of the kinds of industry children could work in, and ultimately the abolition of child labor entirely - a goal achieved in 1938 through the federally enacted Fair Labor Act which prohibited persons under sixteen from working in non-agricultural industries. By 1900 it could be claimed by organized labor that every state in the Union had enacted legislation which in some measure restricted child labor. Significantly, by 1900 the number of children

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63 For an excellent history of state enacted legislation dealing with child labor see Grace Abbott, The Child and the State 2 Volumes (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938).

comprising the total labor force had halved to 3.2 percent, down from its peak year of 6.7 per cent in 1880.[64]

Complementing the efforts of organized labor, other events were taking shape in nineteenth century America - events when combined further contributed to the redefinition of children in American society. Beginning as a small ripple, circa mid-nineteenth century, children came to be redefined under the law. No longer were they seen as responsible for their actions, at age seven, as English common law had prescribed, but were not responsible before the law through the adolescent years. Reformers, arguing their case before the public, pressed for separate courts for youths as well as separate treatment-punishment facilities - the reform school. These goals were finally reached in 1899 when Illinois established the first juvenile court. Within ten years almost every state had established similar institutions for dealing with youthful offenders. Significantly, children, first defined as different beginning in the fifteenth century, finally came to be defined as different before the law.

The total effect, in a word, was to control youth by redefining their responsibilities, privileges, and rights before the courts. And frequently, as observes Platt, the system of justice heralded by the reformers with regard to youthful offenders was more repressive than the system which was applied to adults. In Platt's words,

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Jurgen Kuczynski. Labour Conditions Under Industrial Capi- Volume Two The United States of America 1789-1946 (United Kingdom: Biddles Ltd., 1973), p. 105.

> The child savers should in no sense be considered libertarians or humanists. (1) Their reforms did not herald a new system of justice but rather expedited traditional policies which had been informally developed during the nineteenth century (2) They implicitly assumed the 'natural' dependence of adolescents and created a special court to impose sanctions on premature independence unbecoming to youth.[65]

To borrow from Platt, "the child savers" were not only those concerned with redefining the status of children before the law, but they were also the physicians, members of the clergy, and educators who were showing the American public that children, left unattended (which was especially the case in the factory system) would tend towards all manner and forms of moral corruption and perversion. Who else but children, they implicitly said, would engage in the 'heinous' act of self pollution. Just as writers were later to argue that certain 'types' of people tended to be opium fiends or inebriates, nineteenth century moralists could unabashedly point an accusatory finger at children and make similar claims. Simultaneously, as history would demonstrate over and again, the reformer could claim, from his pedestal of presumably privileged wisdom, that the person who tended to abuse himself would in all likelihood abuse others. Certainly, it followed that this abusive type must be isolated and segragated from other members of society.

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Anthony M. Platt, The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 176. All one has to do to affirm Platt is to look at some laws which still exist in many states applicable to the juvenile offender. For example, cigarette smoking, truancy, the use of obscene language etc., in many states are offences with which a juvenile could be charged

SUMMARY

It is not surprising to find that in 1887, Samuel Gompers, before a national convention of the American Federation of Labor, was vehemently attacking child labor.[65] Roughly during the same period, from 1880-1900, the greatest number of tracts were written addressing the 'evils' of masturbation: while, the number of children employed, relative to the entire labor force, had reached an all time high. The fact that children were working was not the critical issue - child labor was not a new phenomenon. What was of issue was more complex and involved the meshing of two developments: (1) the emergence of the concept of childhood, and (2) the perception that children within an industrial age were economically threatening.

Beginning as early as the fifteenth century in Western cultures and coming to fruition in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was the idea that childhood represented a unique period of life subject to moral shaping. This philosophy, amongst other things, assumed the natural dependency of the child. Institutional arrangements were inaugurated to effect the fulfillment of the child's moral development via the family, formal education, and the work situation. The chief economic institutional arrangement

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65 Robert H. Bremner, Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History Volume II: 1866-1932 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 1524.

was the practice of apprenticing the youth to other families. The purpose of this arrangement was twofold: (1) to teach the youth a trade and (2) to allow the youth the fullest possibility of a moral upbringing, which could be best affected in a neutral household where the master, free of natural affections towards the child, would expeditiously function as a conduit for morality.

But the shift from household production to the factory system, as an essential part of the industrial revolution, undermined the institutional arrangements of the seventeenth century. Moreover, not only were children no longer under the domain of adults, but worse the two groups were frequently in competition with each other for jobs. Thus, children came to be seen as a threat within the economic sphere.

Mechanisms had to be found to cope with the changes that industrialism had wrought. One mechanism was the invention of the typification of masturbation as a form of self abuse. This formulation with the correlative contention that masturbation was the peculiar behavior of children, functioned as a symbolic vehicle allowing for the redefinition of the status of children in the nineteenth century America.

When inroads through legislation were made - including the restriction of child labor, the redefinition of the child before the law, and compulsory education - aiming at the redefinition of the status of children, the stereotyped image of the masturbator as a social type disappeared.

As Hite would recognize, almost one hundred years later, sexuality is indeed a useful way for conveying symbolic messages and for redefining a group's status within society.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGING FOCI: FROM TEA TO PCP

We have focused on three behaviors which at different points of time have shared similar stereotyped images. Descriptions of the behaviors and their effects have revolved around six recurring themes: (1) symptomology, i.e., how one recognized the self abuser; (2) physiological effects; (3) personality structure; (4) psychological changes; (5) life style/moral ramifications; and (6) consequences for the community.

This analysis has revealed a significant continuity in stereotyping from one period to another and from one behavior to another. Some differences were observed and a summary of those variations and points of convergence follows. Where appropriate categories are combined in order to avoid repetition.

SYMPTOMOLOGY AND PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Over and again the data reveals a constancy with regard to the presumed symptomological and physiological effects of self abuse. Pallid or sallow complexion, emaciation, pocked, rough, reddened skin, sweaty palms, hunched posture, flabby breasts, flaccid muscles, unkempt hair, worn, dirty, torn clothing, poor personal hygiene, bleary, bloodshot eyes, distant stare, nervousness, insomnia, and irritability are but a few of the recurring symptoms and physical effects of self abuse. Although the composite has remained relatively constant, some variations were noticed.

The opiate user, for example, was subjected to different perils than the spirit drinker or the masturbator. One such peril pertains to the ever lurking possibility of contracting hepatitis for the opiate user. No such parallel, i.e., a single identifiable disease which is indirectly the result of the behavior, exists for the other behaviors in question. Moreover, an overdose frequently figured into the description of opiate use, whereas this feature played only a minor role with regard to the portrayal of alcohol abuse, and no role whatsoever pertinent to masturbation.

Nevertheless, the behaviors, if continued, would result in the individual's physical and mortal destruction. The spirit drinker would ultimately succumb to cirrhosis, and the masturbator, weakened by a continual lose of seminal fluids, would be robbed of his natural defenses to disease.

PERSONALITY STRUCTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Another set of characteristics attributed to the self abuser comes under the heading of personality structure. Subsequently, throughout the analysis the following descriptions were either implied or stated.

He was frequently typified as an individual who lacked personal discipline, could not delay gratification, was unable to cope with stress, was irresponsible, and exhibited self-destructive tendencies. As a result of these basic personality flaws, the individual was led to intemperate and immoral behaviors.

Consequently, the psychological effects of the behavior, coupled with the person's weak character structure, would combine to create

a deceitful, lying, sullen, withdrawn, guilt ridden individual, who was also lethargic, inconsistent, unpredictable, secretive, and worst of all insatiable.

Insatiability is an important dimension of the self abuser's portrait and figures prominently in his description. Moreover, the concept ties in neatly with three other effects germane to the stereotype image - addiction, craving, and withdrawal. Although an argument could be made for categorizing these concepts under physiological effects, I feel it is both more illuminating and productive to emphasize them under our present heading. The fear of these writers was, after all, pre-eminently concerned with the long term characterological changes which might occur.

Craving, the insatiable desire for more and more, occurring in increasingly closer intervals, was the result of the habit-forming and/or addictive qualities of the behavior or drug. Thus, the opiate user found himself in the untenable position of having to take increasing quantities of the substance in order to avoid withdrawal. A parallel situation was experienced by the alcoholic who had to maintain a certain internal chemistry in order to avoid the horror of delerium tremens. The masturbator, on the other hand, had a problem of a somewhat different nature. Unquestionably, the nineteenth century writer felt that the behavior was habit forming, indeed some writers even used the word addicting. But addiction to what? Certainly, there was no foreign matter injected or imbibed. Instead, the habit was more subtle, and yet much more complex: it was a psychological addiction to pleasure and lust. Remove the lust and and the habit would dissolve, and conversely remove the habit and the

lust would dissipate. Thus, the masturbator, although not experiencing the pains of withdrawal, was nonetheless in an equally consuming situation.

Perhaps the single key which weaves all the behaviors together under one heading is that, in separate ways, each ultimately traps and enslaves the individual.

LIFE STYLE EFFECTS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE COMMUNITY

Addiction, craving, and the fear of withdrawal combined to exacerbate an already defective character structure. The person, weakened by an all consuming vice, incapable of controlling his own actions, would soon fall prey to every immorality. Prostitution, pauperism, theft, and vagabondism would soon follow on the heels of self abuse, according to the prevailing typifications.

But worse was that these actions when combined had a most serious effect on the entire community. For example, numerous writers were obsessed with the perceived contagion of the behaviors. One bad apple spoiled the entire bunch, and the situation, if left unchecked, could only expect to multiply geometrically. There was the fellow who brought twenty of his friends to a saloon, only to see many of them die as a direct result of their flirtation with alcohol. Similarly, Florrie Fisher was introduced to marijuana by her husband, to heroin by a musician friend, and in turn passed the favor on to others. Nursemaids inadvertently taught children to masturbate, and soon the pupil would become the teacher instructing peers to this "repulsive" behavior.

The total effect of this proliferating vice was that cherished values and traditions would be undermined, future generations genetically weakened, immorality would escalate, crime rates would rise, and social order would be destroyed. Thus, the solitary nature of self abuse, writers argued, was of a very real concern for the entire community.

And it is interesting to note that on these points, when controlling for the behavior, no differences were observed.

THE SELF ABUSER AS A SOCIAL TYPE - A COMPOSITE PORTRAIT

The self abuser as a social type has, throughout the course of American history, remained a fairly consistent form. Pathos and tragedy have been an inherent part of the types description, whereas fear, hostility, and revulsion have provided the dominent reactions to that image.

In many ways, the self abuser provides the antithesis to moral conduct and "right" action. Because he is weak willed, unable to delay gratification, and incapable of coping with stress he tends also to be unreliable, deceitful, dishonest and unproductive. Generally he is beyond the pale of ordinary existence, and everything about him runs contrary to the ideal version of a moral man - especially in a society preoccupied by democratic principles and supported by a capitalistic economy.

Perhaps Weber was correct when he indicated that the spiritual foundations which gave rise to capitalism had already crumbled by the

time of Benjamin Franklin.[1] Nevertheless, it would appear that, over two hundred years later, the super-structure built upon that foundation remains largely intact. Still, the functional man and the one most likely to succeed in our society is the one who is prudent, future oriented, disciplined and capable of postponing rewards.

But although this may provide one possible explanation for the existence of a villainous social type, it tells us little of why certain behaviors are selected out of a field of many for special consideration. How, for example, can we account for the stereotyped image of the opiate user today, when all available evidence points to the fact that alcohol is much more damaging physiologically? Or, for that matter, how do we explain the complete turnaround of attitudes towards masturbation (remember Reuben's proscription: "Masturbation is fun."), when not more than seventy years ago authorities were warning of blindness, insanity, and ultimately the hangman's noose.

In order to answer these questions, we must look to (1) the conditions under which stereotypes arise; (2) the persons who are doing the typing;[2] (3) their purpose relative to focusing on status issues

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1 Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism Translated by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 180.

2 Earl Rubington and Martin Weinberg, Deviance: The Interactionist Perspective (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), pp. 7-10 offer this observation on typing: "In general, social types are more apt to be accepted into a group's system of meanings when a high-ranking person does the categorization rather than when a low-ranking person does it. Effective social typing, then, flows down rather than up the social structure. ...the greater the social distance between the typer and the person singled out for typing, the broader the type and the quicker it may be applied."

of the time; and (4) the conditions under which they might change. Succinctly, is there a pattern to be observed?

SOCIAL CHANGE, CHANGED STATUSES, AND THE DISCOVERY OF SELF ABUSE

Our analysis has revealed that the negative typification of masturbation and the masturbator was rediscovered sometime around the mid-nineteenth century. From the available literature, it appears that the greatest proliferation of printed material on the subjects coincided with the last twenty years of the century. By the year 1900 we saw the gradual turnaround of attitudes towards masturbation, with medical men, behavioral scientists and the clergy beginning to question the validity of the stereotyped image.

We have argued that the status of children was in flux, especially pertaining to their position in the work force. The advent of industrialism had severely weakened institutional arrangements designed to socialize and train youth. Apprenticeships were no longer viable, just as the family factory system was no longer economically competitive. Children were forced from the protective and controlling grasp of the family, and into the anonymous vortex of the a assembly line.

As machinery became more complicated, periods of economic depression more frequent, adult Americans came to realize that child labor was both inefficient and stood in opposition to their best interests. As a result of children and women working outside the home, any semblance of family was becoming more and more difficult to sustain. Moreover, it meant that adult males, because of the

practice of employing women and children for lower wages, without commensurately lowering production quotas, received depressed wages.

In time state legislatures would begin to define childhood, ranging from under twelve to the upper limit of eighteen, as a separate category under the law. Concommitantly, the same legislative bodies would start mandating compulsory education, thus effectively eliminating many children form the work force.[3]

Obviously the stakes were quite high. Not only was economic security for adult males at issue, but the family structure itself. Subsequently, dramatic justifications were necessary in order to move in the directions noted. Thus, an unparalled obsession arose with regard to the differences between the sexes and human sexuality.

Women were portrayed as weak, fragile, passive, and uninterested in sexual matters. Nothing would better suit them, or make them happier, then to be allowed to be servant to father and child. Mothering and wifery were her true callings and consistent with her very basic nature. Witness her fainting spells, we were apprised, her dimunitive size, and her quiet ways and our experience would bear out these conclusions.

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[3] It is interesting to note that state labor laws did not seek to regulate the employment of children by agriculture. Even the first federal legislation designed to cope with this issue, the Fair Labor Act of 1935, excluded agriculture as a regulatory category.

Could it be that one motive for these omissions might pertain to that children working in agriculture are frequently employed along with other members of their family, if not directly by their family, and are always under close supervision?

Children also figured into the sexual stereotypes of the time, but in a different way. Although children were not the only persons who masturbated - some young adults exhibited this behavior as well - they were the group most likely harmed by the behavior. This action, if continued, would rob their impressionable minds of keenness, their supple bodies of youthful vigor, and destroy all prospects for an uplifting life. What was required was that close and continual supervision be maintained, as one writer quoted in a previous section strongly urged.

But how could this be accomplished with the child away from the home a good portion of the time? The answer was simple. Allow a woman to follow her basic nature: remove her from employment outside the home. Simultaneously, prohibit child labor, and allow the two the opportunity to give to each other what they need most - supervision and protection for the child, and security and mothering for the woman.

Thus, this scenario, predicated on assumptions about the nature of woman and the vulnerability of children, served all parties concerned. It strengthened the family in a changing age, defended cherished values and traditions, and reinforced the male's status as provider and breadwinner.

Now we can see Victorian ideas about sexuality as merely repressive, or note its occurrence as a strange aberration in the course of human history. Or, we can ask, what latent and manifest functions did it have for a group of people at a particular point of time?

Our goal has been the latter, and it is our contention that the sexual stereotypes of the time served as symbolic vehicles justifying

the redifinition of the status of women and children in a changing age.

Interestingly, the process at a later date would repeat itself, but in an opposite direction. Masturbation, we were informed, for women was fun; it was necessary for their sexual fulfillment. But what is the symbolic message embodied in this account? Simply this: women are free to choose, free to experience, and above all, in all ways, independent. Again sexuality would provide a forum by which changing statuses in a changing age could be brought into focus.

But no sooner did the stereotype image of the masturbator begin to come apart, the recurring image of the self abuser was applied to another behavior, which equally focused on some pressing issues of the time. Whereas Victorian sexual stereotypes served to buttress the family in a changing age, the negative typification of the alcohol user would serve to strengthen the values and traditions of old guard, Protestant America.

ALCOHOL

The stereotyped image of the spirit drinker resulting ultimately in Prohibition, served to redefine the statuses of conflicting groups within a heterogenous society. The immigrant, especially the Irish Catholic, and his penchant for the city and the saloon were viewed by native born Americans as a threat to Protestant morality and Anglo-Saxon traditions.

Thus, the immigrant, the city, ardent spirits, and the saloon would come to be equated with political corruption, papism, and decadence. Temporarily rural, Protestant America would prevail and resolve this status conflict advantageously with the passage of the eighteenth amendment.

But as it became apparent that prohibition was failing, an interesting phenomenon occurred. Whereas a distrust and fear of the Irish and later German-American provided much of the justification for Prohibition, its continuance would be justified by the disapproval and fear of the Italian-American. This immigrant group, singled out of a field of many, and its alleged criminal organization, the Mafia, were undermining America's efforts to remain dry, cultivating a disrespect for the law, and corrupting her democratic institution.

Again, the symbolism was clear. The new immigrants with their unfamiliar customs, strange appearances, and Godless ways were not to be trusted. But just as time would show that Prohibition was untenable, so too would its passage, with different degrees, allow for the assimilation of the Irish, German, and Italian-American.

Thus, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the abandonment of the stereotyped image of the spirit drinker, signified not only a status loss for old guard, rural, Protestant America, but tantamountly showed the status improvement of the nation's most recent immigrants.

MARIJUANA

By the time Prohibition was repealed the country was in the throes of the Great Depression. Nevertheless, that experience,

(the Depression), would provide the groundwork for America's discovery of a new type of self abuse - the marijuana smoker. Up until the passage of the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 forces would campaign vigorously against this alleged vice. The old fears were aroused of genetically defective offspring loose sex and anti-social behavior. But equally important was that fear and prejudice towards the Mexican-American and the Mexican migrant worker were finding an avenue of expression.

Because the depression created conditions of economic insecurity, the issue of marijuana use served to, in some measure, remove the Chicano, who was competing for jobs in an already taxed market, from the labor force.[4]

HEROIN

For the next decade and a half Americans would be preoccupied with their recovery from the great Depression and their preparations and entry into World War II. Then in the early fifties an interesting situation emerged. Opiates suddenly reappeared in the limelight of the American imagination. This time the villain was not the sly Oriental luring innocent Caucasian women into his somke filled den of iniquity, but it was the Mafioso pusher doling free heroin to innocent teenagers of the inner city. Once hooked the addict would

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4 For an exposition of this argument see John Helmer, Drugs and Minority Oppression (New York: The Seabury Press, 1975).

rob, steal, cheat, prostitute and even murder to continue with his self destructive and pariah-like habit.

One memorable expose, appearing in a mass circulation magazine, was in the form of a pictorial essay on heroin addiction. It was in its most graphic form, the entire reality of being hooked, for all of America to see - youngsters nodding out, suffering from withdrawal, and infecting themselves with dirty needles while cigarettes scorched their pursed lips. America had discovered a new villain, and a new self abuser.[5]

If our research hypotheses are at all correct, we would expect that in some measure a group of people might be experiencing difficulty relative to defining their cultural universe. Secondly, we would expect that there might be status conflicts revolving around some particular issue. And thirdly, that the creation and articulation of a villainous social type would serve symbolically to locate each group's position within a given social order. Evidence indicates

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5 In a twenty year period, from 1930-1950, a total of fifty-six articles, concerned with opiates, appeared in the mass circulation magazines. Seventeen of these essays appeared from 1930-1932, a little over a quarter, just before the onset of the Great Depression. From 1941-1947, as one would expect, coinciding with the war years, there was a dearth of articles averaging about one per year. Then from 1951 through 1953 a total of thirty-nine essays surfaced relative to heroin use. Proportionately, this was an increase of over 555% over the past two years, and one and one half times the number of essays appearing in the last ten years.

that all three features of our hypothetical model could have been in operation.

Two jolting events were taking shape in the early fifties - one posing an external, the other an internal threat to the status quo.

Internationally, the cold war had heated up to the point of open hostilities and Americans were embroiled in the Korean War. Communism was not only a threat internationally, but as Joseph McCarthy would inform the American public a domestic peril as well. Heading the Committee on Un-American Activities, his now infamous "witch hunts" would remain a blight on America's civil rights record.

But equally alarming was the fact that Blacks were beginning to grasp for the reigns of political power. No longer content to be invisible, while bearing discrimination silently, they were aking for an equal chance at the American dream.

Coincidentally, as these two disparate forces would weigh on the American experience, a New York State Attorney General would declare a heroin epidemic. Based on the discovery that there were over 15,000 addicts in New York City alone, an avalanche of public concern would be shortly forthcoming.[6] And it is interesting to note that while mention was never made in any mass circulation magazine, that a majority of the heroin addicts were black, the effect of this propganda, nevertheless, certainly provided the justification of repressive measures towards that group.

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6 Nathaniel Goldstein was the New York State Attorney General from 1950-1952.

For twenty years the tempo would not slacken, with approximately twenty articles and one major popularized book per year appearing for mass consumption.

Perhaps the zenith of this concern was evidenced in the mid-fifties with the appearance of The Man With The Golden Arm, a fictionalized best seller about one musician's bout with heroin addiction.[7] Quick to see a blockbuster, Hollywood would pick up the screen rights and make the novel into a major motion picture. Just how far this one story went, combined with television, magazine, and press coverage, to solidify the stereotyped image of heroin addiction is uncertain. But one thing is certain, the negative depiction of heroin use at a point of time characterized by accelerated social change and upheaval would play no small role in redefining the American experience and the relative positioning of one group to another.

Just as public concern was waning (there were only seven essays appearing on heroin addiction in mass circulation magazines and four books from 1968 through 1969)[8] the civil rights movement would turn violent and the United States would again become involved in an Asian land war. Then from 1969 through 1970, the pattern witnessed

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7 Nelson Algren, The Man With The Golden Arm (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1949).

8 The material for this section was compiled from the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, the Book Review Digest, and the Cumulative Book Index.

in the fifties, with almost identical forces in operation, would repeat itself. Fifteen major books (a four hundred per cent increase over the previous two year period), and thirty-two essays (up four hundred and twenty five per cent) would appear in the mass circulation magazines.

The search was on again for ways to redefine and clarify the American experience. And how better to do this then by portraying the antithesis of the moral man. Concommitantly, at stake was the relative positioning of two conflicting status groups.

CHANGING FOCI - FROM TEA TO PCP

> (It) has appeared to us to be especially efficient in producing nightmares with ... hallucinations which may be alarming in their intensity. Another peculiar quality ... is to produce a strange and extreme degree of depression. An hour or two after breakfast at which (it) has been taken ... a grevious sinking ... may seize upon a sufferer, so that to speak is an effort. ...The speech may become weak and vague. ... By miseries such as these, the best years of life may be spoilt.
>
> A description of tea drinking 1900

> ...the sufferer is tremulous and loses his self command; he is subject to fits of agitation and depression. He has a haggard appearance ... As with other such agents, a renewed dose of the poison gives temporary relief, but at the cost of future misery.[9]
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> A description of coffee drinking 1900

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9 Great Britain Advisory Committee on Drug Dependence. Cannabis (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968), p. 16. quoted in Martin R. Haskell and Lewis Yablonsky. Criminology: Crime and Criminality (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1974), p. 337.

By combining aspects of diverse theoretical models we have attempted to draw attention to: (1) the meaning definitions of deviance might have for a group of people; (2) the processes whereby behaviors come to be labeled deviant; and (3) the patterning, if any, whereby such labels are applied.

Our analysis corroborates the writings of Durkheim and Erikson insofar as the deviant oftentimes functions as a scapegoat allowing a group of people to locate and define its cultural boundaries. Here, we have argued that the development of a concept like self abuse allows the articulation of expectations pertaining to "right" and moral conduct by indicating their functionally equivalent opposite.

On another level, Durkheim's analysis appears to require modification. Men living in societies characterized by a complex division of labor, he argued, would enjoy greater freedom. Because of their diverse occupational roles and accompanying varied life-styles, each would have to be more tolerant towards the other. But could it not be equally true that diversity breeds greater conflict, and strife finds its safe release through symbolic action? Subsequently, via symbolism peaceful ways are found to deal with inter group tensions and rivalries which might otherwise erupt into violence.

Therefore, it is no surprise to find that the processes whereby behaviors come to be labeled deviant, in some measure correlate with periods of accelerated change, economic scarcity, and/or cultural instability. Nor is it surprising that labels have been applied selectively, throughout the course of American history, to the actions of low status groups. And finally, that these behaviors

have been code words for "certain kinds of people" justifying differential treatment; masturbation for children; alcohol for Irish; marijuana for Mexicans; opium for Chinese; heroin for blacks; and pot and LSD for hippies.

Our analysis has revealed two things: (1) the symbol is of paramount importance in a complex, heterogeneous society and (2) a limited set of imagery are applied to society's devalued people.

> PCP is the most dangerous drug to hit the streets since LSD became widely available a decade ago. . . . Angel dust has been linked to hundreds of murders, suicides and accidental deaths. . . . A user in California walked into a house picked at random, killed a baby and stabbed a pregnant woman in the stomach. Under influence of the drug, a man in San Jose California, tore out both his eyes with his bare hands. . . . 'Its a real terror of a drug' says NIDA Director Robert Dupont. 'Everything people used to say about marijuana is true about after dust.'[10]
>
> Time Magazine - December 19, 1977

Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose - The more things change, the more they remain the same.

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10 TIME. "PCP: 'A Terror of a Drug', 110: 53, 1977.

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

The primary research technique for this study has been content analysis. When initially conceived the research strategy called for the development of a coding sheet which would have lent itself to the quantification of data. Specifically, the goal was to randomly draw a sample, and then to report that in x percent of the cases the stereotype image of a particular behavior was in evidence.

But as the study evolved, it became increasingly clear that the statistical presentation of the data might actually conceal and obfuscate rather than explicate and convey continuities in stereotyping. This outcome appeared plausible for a number of reasons.

First, the data did not deal uniformly with all aspects of the stereotypifications. For example, some publications dealt primarily with the alleged physiological effects of the behaviors, others dealt with the presumed characterological changes, and still others with the personality structure of the self abuser.

Because of the nature of this material, its statistical presentation might be misleading. Let us take a hypothetical example, and for a moment assume that only three percent of the sample emphasized contagion as a significant dimension of the self abuser's portrait. Obviously the number is so small that it would not be statistically significant. However, does this figure do justice to the data? Are we apprised, for example, of whether or not this assumption was implicit in the author's analysis? Or, for that matter, the degree

to which such an assumption was embraced a priori by the audience? No it does not, nor can it ever hope to do so. Subsequently, the statement that three percent of the sample emphasized contagion as a dimension of the self abuser's portrait could hide more than it reveals, might conceal more than it conveys, and obscure more than it illuminates.

On another level, that the fear was articulated at all, over a period of two centuries, and figures prominently into descriptions of many behaviors defined as self abuse is probably of greater sociological significance and importance; because it makes reference to and demonstrates a patterned system of response, perception, and evaluation of certain classes of actors and actions. Thus, this study implicitly sought a level of generalization which would emphasize rather than diminish the importance of these observations, and consequently it was decided to organize the data in such a manner that the reader could see the validity of these claims by making reference to the actual arguments themselves.

On this note, adverbial statements such as typically, frequently, usually etc. have been employed in the text to reinforce that level of generalization, and only when the data overwhelming and clearly indicated that such choices were in order.

But as the analysis proceeded, it became apparent that not only did the data indicate a recurrence of particular "code" words used to describe certain forms of conduct, but it also showed that certain thematic concerns appeared over and over again.

Combining the initial idea with the later discovery, yielded the following content analysis schedule.

CODING SHEET

PERIODICAL : _____
ARTICLE : _____
NO. OF PAGES: _____
AUTHOR : _____
YEAR : _____

PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Cleanliness

Worn or dirty clothing _____
Uncombed or dirty hair _____
Unwashed _____
Epidermal sores/track marks _____
Venereal disease _____

Physical Manifestations

Sweaty palms _____
Excessive perspiration _____
Pallid complexion _____
Bloodshot eyes/Running eyes _____
Incoherent speech _____
Loss of appetite _____
Hunched posture _____

Physio-Psychological Effects

Nervousness/Restlessness/Agitation _____
Craving/Insatiability _____
Inability to Concentrate _____
Delayed Reactions _____

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Personality

Immature/Childlike/Selfish _____
Compulsive _____
Passive _____
Guilt Ridden/Anxious _____
Insecure _____
Frustrated _____

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Behavior

Lying _____
No remorse _____
Depressed/Withdrawn _____
Viscious/Violent/Angry _____
Unpredictable _____
Masochistic _____
Cannot Deal with Stress _____
Lacks Self Control _____

Relationships - Psycho-Social

Incapable of permanent attachments _____
Manipulative/Insincere _____
Submissive _____
Dominant _____

LIFE STYLE EFFECTS

Criminal _____
Sexually Promiscuous _____
Impotent _____
Cannot work _____
Inefficient _____
Anti-Social _____
Falls to poverty _____

SOCIETAL EFFECTS

Contagious _____
Destroys Social Order _____

SUMMARY: _____

THE DATA

Opiates

The coding sheet was used to analyze mass circulation periodicals for the sections on opiates and ardent spirits. A total of three hundred and seven articles were located from 1930-1970 dealing with opiates. Utilizing the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature the topic was cross indexed under such headings as addiction, demerol, drugs, drug addiction, dope fiend, crime, heroin, insanity, methadone, morphine, morphia, narcotics, narcotic traffic, and narcotics legislation.

A one hundred per cent sample was used for opiates because of the availability of the literature and as a pre-test for the content analysis schedule. From 1930-1970 it was found that of the three hundred and seven essays dealing with aspects of opiate use; two hundred and fifty-six articles negatively typified the behavior, thirty-seven merely reported on developments pertaining to medical cures, drug trafficking, law enforcement efforts, etc., and fourteen essays questioned the validity of the stereotype image.

Alcohol

Nine hundred and forty-five mass circulation magazine articles were located from 1890-1932 dealing with alcohol use. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature as well as Poole's Guide to Periodical Literature were used in the data selection. The literature search was cross indexed under such headings as alcohol, alcoholism, ardent spirits, breweries, drink, drunkenness, Drys, ethyl alcohol, inebriety,

liquor, the liquor question, the Liquor Association, organized crime, Prohibition, the saloon, the Saloon League, temperance, the Volstead Act, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. From what could be ascertained from their titles, seven hundred and seventy-three of the nine hundred and forty-five articles stereotyped the behavior, eighty-eight were informational, and eighty-four questioned the stereotyped image. Because of the large number of publications, a random sample of one hundred articles was drawn from the entire field of known publications.

However, this strategy had to be abandoned for a number of reasons. First, many of the articles indexed by the guides could not be located. Either libraries had failed to catalogue the publications, or the ravages of time had taken their toll. Secondly, after a considerable expenditure of time, and even more effort, it became apparent that the findings were becoming repetitious in some instances.

Opiates, Alcohol, the Mass Circulation Magazine and Supplementary Data

Here, as with opiates, it was found that these magazines, because of their commercial nature, frequently adopted a format which emphasized brevity and simplicity at the expense of detailed analysis. For example, although they delved with sufficient depth into the alleged life style effects, their coverage of the presumed physiological consequences was shallow. Accordingly, for the sections on Opiates and Ardent Spirits only those essays which were representative of the ways in which the behaviors were described, and spoke to different aspects of the stereotyped image of the self abuser, were included in the text. What evolved was a somewhat loose stratified random sample

of publications by topic and emphasis.

All told, over eighty-five mass circulation magazines were sampled and no significant differences were observed relative to their portrayal of the behaviors in question. If variations were noticed, they pertained to nuances in coverage rather to differences in characterization. For example, some periodicals emphasized news, others instruction, and still others the uncovering of social ills.

When the data were inadequate, other sources were used. Those materials included: personal accounts by well known persons, tracts written by medical men for the public, popularized books authored by law enforcement personnel, clergy, behavioral scientists and others, and works of fiction by famous writers. Guides such as the Book Review Digest and the Cumulative Book Index were used to assist with the data selection and cross indexed under the headings previously mentioned.

MASTURBATION

However, mass circulation magazines did not arise as a communication phenomenon until the early twentieth century. Even if they did exist, it is doubtful, given the moral climate of the times, that a subject such as masturbation would have been treated freely by these publications.

Accordingly, the data for this section had to be located elsewhere. Materials were found under such headings as child rearing, ethics, eugenics, genetics, insanity, onanism, masturbation, sexual economy, sex education, sexual hygiene, and sex instruction. Where possible, works which had gone through many editions and/or claimed large circulations were included in the text.

Thirty seven books and pamphlets, written between 1800-1929, were located. Because of the small number, a one hundred percent sample was utilized. That sample included every known publication on the subject housed by the New York Public Library and the Academy of Medicine. Of the thirty-seven tracts, thirty-five negatively typified the behavior, none were informational, and two questioned the stereotyped image.

Tables I, II, and III summarize the data referred to in this appendix.

TABLE I

ARTICLES DEALING WITH OPIATES IN
MASS CIRCULATION MAGAZINES, 1930-1970

N=307

PERIOD*	N	QUESTIONED STEREOTYPE	NEGATIVELY TYPIFIED BEHAVIOR	NO TYPIFICATION-INFORMATIONAL
1930-1932	(17)	1	9	7
1932-1935	(4)	0	2	2
1935-1937	(3)	1	2	0
1937-1939	(4)	0	4	0
1939-1941	(5)	0	3	2
1941-1943	(2)	0	1	1
1943-1945	(1)	0	1	0
1945-1947	(1)	0	1	0
1947-1949	(7)	0	7	0
1949-1951	(7)	0	6	1
1951-1953	(39)	1	37	1
1953-1955	(17)	0	15	2
1955-1957	(23)	2	17	4
1957-1959	(13)	1	12	0
1959-1961	(22)	1	21	0
1961-1963	(17)	0	17	0
1963-1965	(23)	1	20	2
1965-1966	(18)	0	15	3
1966-1967	(19)	1	16	2
1967-1968	(25)	2	20	3
1968-1969	(7)	1	5	1
1969-1970	(32)	2	25	5
TOTALS	307	14	256	37

*Overlapping due to mid-year count

TABLE II

ARCICLES DEALING WITH ALCOHOLISM
MASS CIRCULATION MAGAZINES, 1890-1932

N=945

PERIOD	N	QUESTIONED STEREOTYPED	NEGATIVELY TYPIFIED BEHAVIOR	NO TYPIFICATION-INFORMATIONAL
1890-1899	(18)	0	15	3
1900-1904	(18)	1	16	1
1905-1909	(39)	0	32	7
1910-1914	(59)	0	55	4
1915-1918	(253)	2	243	8
1919-1921	(182)	5	162	15
1922-1924	(102)	2	84	13
1925-1928	(25)	2	22	1
1929-1932	(249)	69	144	36
TOTALS	945	84	773	88

TABLE III

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS DEALING WITH
MASTURBATION, 1800-1929
N=37

PERIOD	N	QUESTIONED STEREOTYPED IMAGE	NEGATIVELY TYPIFIED BEHAVIOR	NO TYPIFICATION-INFORMATIONAL
1800-1809	(0)	0	0	0
1810-1819	(0)	0	0	0
1820-1829	(0)	0	0	0
1830-1839	(0)	0	0	0
1840-1849	(2)	0	2	0
1850-1859	(0)	0	0	0
1860-1869	(5)	0	5	0
1870-1879	(7)	0	7	0
1880-1889	(8)	0	8	0
1890-1899	(3)	0	3	0
1900-1909	(4)	1	3	0
1910-1919	(7)	1	6	0
1920-1929	(1)	0	1	0
TOTALS	37	2	35	0

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