THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO GENDER AND BORDERLANDS

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CHAPTER 15

ALCOHOL, TEMPERANCE, AND THE SHIFTING BORDERS OF GENDER, 1750–1850

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Introduction

One of the most famous incidents in the history of alcohol – the "gin craze" that engulfed England during the first half of the eighteenth century – signaled important shifts taking place in the relationship between alcohol and gender around the world. Between 1750 and 1850, some of these shifts solidified into enduring patterns, while others changed direction. Historically, the "gin craze" refers to the "explosion" of gin consumption that took place in the early 1700s, especially in London, and the "moral panic" that arose in reaction to it, both of which were highly gendered (Hailwood 2021: 131; Phillips 2014: 123). Working women in London were very active in the petty retail trade of gin, women consumers had ready access to public drinking places serving gin, and women became so closely associated with the spirit that it was personified as female, with names like Madam Geneva, Mother Gin, and Ladies' Delight (Warner and Ivis 2000: 85). While concerns about drunkenness and disorder had been shaped by ideas of gender and sexuality in earlier centuries too, the reaction to England's gin craze marked a significant departure in how these concerns were framed and acted upon (Hailwood 2021: 131–2). As Rod Phillips has argued, it became a "class and gender war" in which, for the first time across Europe, "the full force of the state" was brought to bear on the consumption of alcohol, with moral censure and government policy focused on controlling the public drinking of the urban working poor and the public drinking of women (2014: 128–129). In the evolving gendered discourse, women's drinking was framed in terms of impacting their ability to be good wives and mothers to future generations, while working-class men's drinking was problematized more in terms of crime, social disorder, and economic prosperity.

Although this particular "gin craze" was localized to England, the gendered concerns about alcohol to which it gave sharp focus were not. Nor were they short-lived. This chapter surveys and synthesizes historical scholarship on the gendered dimensions of alcohol production, exchange, and consumption from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century, across Britain, Europe, the Americas, and parts of Africa to analyze how alcohol and temperance shaped shifting borders of gender during this time. By 1850, powerful anti-alcohol movements had emerged on both sides of the Atlantic and would subsequently spread globally. In bringing together scholarship examining the relationship between alcohol and gender from the "gin craze" of the early 1700s to the

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emergence of the temperance movement by the mid-1800s, we show how and why a strong nexus between anti-alcohol ideas and gendered ideology was forged. We argue that alcohol was involved in drawing multiple gendered borders in politics and political discourse, patterns of sociability, and material livelihoods in different parts of the world. At the same time, we explore the gendered implications of how alcohol could facilitate the blurring of social boundaries, demonstrating how alcohol itself crossed geographical borders, both as a commodity and as a set of norms and ideas.

In the first part of the chapter, we argue that eighteenth-century political developments meant that alcohol's relationship to masculinity became increasingly and more sharply differentiated by social class in Europe and the Americas. The model of behavior for the cultured elite or middle-class man prized moderation and sobriety as cornerstones of masculine independence, self-control, and economic success. Furthering the concept of sobriety as a virtue, anti-alcohol concerns coalesced into a mass organized temperance movement in North America and Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century. As the chapter's second part shows, this movement primarily singled out the drinking habits of poor, laboring, and working-class men as the source of all social evils and promoted a gendered ideology that placed further demands of sobriety and moral purity on women. In other places, where organized temperance movements emerged later, women's consumption of alcohol was nevertheless governed by behavioral codes of respectability that constructed social borders around what beverages women could consume, where, with whom, on what occasions, and why without attracting moral censure, especially in terms of sexuality.

However, despite anti-alcohol discourse and action increasingly traversing geographic borders, alcohol continued to play important roles in the lives of many men and women and shaped their experiences *as* men and women. In the third part, we show that across a wide range of geographies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, public drinking establishments were, or became, spaces for the articulation and contestation of popular masculinities. Taverns and other public houses fostered the formation of fraternal bonds, mutual aid networks, and communal identity among working-class or non-elite men in France, Spanish America, North America and elsewhere, especially in urban areas. At the same time, rivalries and disputes between men were often aired and negotiated in public drinking places, where the boundaries of masculine identity, honor, and control were established, policed, and defended before an audience of mostly peers. While alcohol consumption was less important for feminine sociability and identity, we show in the final part of the chapter that participation in alcohol production and trade continued to be important for many women's economic survival or independence across the globe. As breweries and distilleries became large, increasingly masculinized, commercial concerns, women faced challenges to their participation in alcohol production. However, their role in small-scale, informal production and in alcohol retailing was far less reduced and meant that women were able to occupy fringe spaces of resistance to the social borders of feminine duty. Producing and/or selling alcohol from domestic premises continued to provide livelihoods for women while enabling them to carry out their household labor.

Republican Virtue and Sober Masculinity

Historians of sex and gender have shown that the eighteenth century saw a re-conceptualization of male and female bodies as fundamentally different, in connection with European enlightenment philosophy identifying reason, rationality, and moderation as the keys to "advancing" civilization. Scientific treatises about women's skeletons, nervous systems, and reproductive systems held that women had less natural reason than men yet were more innately moral and destined for motherhood. The progress of civilization would therefore be advanced by the greater differentiation of

male and female roles in society that corresponded to men's affinity for reason and women's "moral barometer." This conceptualization of bodily and gender difference typically underpinned an idealized division of social roles into the public and political for men, and the private and domestic for women (Gallagher and Lacquer 1987).

As political ideals of reason and rationality increasingly shaped political discourse, and republican revolutions remade (male) subjects into (male) citizens across many parts of Europe and the Americas, sobriety in alcohol consumption – variously defined as moderate, self-controlled, or totally abstinent – was increasingly valued as a masculine ideal. This process signaled the cross-border reach of gendered ideas about alcohol that accompanied the political and economic rise of the emergent middle classes. In revolutionary France, the political ideals of fraternity, brotherhood among men, and republican virtue, meant turning away from irrational, immoral vices like drunkenness – understood in this discourse as "an offense against reason" – to build a new male citizen for whom self-mastery, containment, and control were paramount (Brennan 1988: 197–198; de Baecque 1997: 247–250). In early republican Mexico various constitutional revisions of the 1830s and 1840s made habitual drunkenness grounds for the suspension or revocation of citizenship, which was limited to middling class and elite men through property and literacy qualifications in these decades, though universal male suffrage was in operation in both earlier and later periods (Toner 2015: 158–160). Ideals of republican virtue merged with religious revivalism in the newly formed United States of America to shape emergent middle-class and elite masculine identity around the values of industriousness, familial, fraternal, and community responsibility, and individual perfectionism. In this milieu, sobriety could be construed as manly because it protected against a slide into poverty, which would be a failure of manhood both as an individual head of household and as a citizen of the virtuous republic (Fletcher 2008: 11).

Sober masculinities defined by enlightenment rationality and republican virtue were not incompatible with all alcoholic beverages and all drinking occasions, which remained appropriate within certain social boundaries. The increasing importance of fraternity as an organizing principle of political culture across the eighteenth century tended to legitimize and even valorize the consumption of drinks that symbolized middling class masculinity. This was especially the case when consumed in ritualized, homosocial settings that expressed some aspect of citizenship and political authority. Karen Harvey, for instance, demonstrates that punch became a symbolic marker in Britain, distinguishing the drinking culture of middling sorts of men in the evolving political landscape of the eighteenth century. Punch bowls were generally decorated with images or words connected to "guilds, clubs, companies, the navy or militia" – typically all-male, homosocial settings – but they were made from refined, expensive materials and were used in a structured form of male sociability that emphasized fraternal community and authority (Harvey 2012: 187–188). The use of punch pots to serve the drink in domestic homes and the semi-public space of men's clubs in Britain and North America in the late eighteenth century further illustrates this middling ground of a sober, or moderate, form of masculine drinking. Emulating the material culture of tea consumption, which was associated with femininity, domesticity, and polite society, meant that the once raucous and bawdy drinking culture of the homosocial punch party could be as compatible with the sober masculine virtues of self-control and rationality, and as constitutive of the fraternal community, as coffee houses (Harvey 2008: 212–216).

In Sweden, while sexual and bodily comportment among middle to upper-class society was similarly and increasingly shaped by a discourse of respectability in the early nineteenth century, male homosocial drinking could be compatible with shifting gender norms in the context of fraternities. The respectability discourse was defined by the values of "decency, decorum, modesty, moderation, purity, devotion to duty, and restraint of passions," and led to a gradual decrease in

men and women drinking together in public social settings across the nineteenth century (Enefalk 2013: 297; 2015: 738). Men of the middling classes formed homosocial drinking environments in the ritualized form of fraternities, which affirmed the values of respectability, modesty, and moderation through their gender segregation and semi-private nature rather than through abstemiousness in alcohol consumption. In nineteenth-century Norway, meanwhile, elite men adopted ideals of "refinement, cleanliness and sobriety," drinking tea and coffee instead of traditional distilled liquor to "think clearer," "behave more gentlemanly," and distinguish themselves from the lower orders (Hutchison 2011: 172–174). Tea and coffee contributed to shifts – or attempted shifts – in masculine drinking cultures in radically different contexts too: in 1832, the U.S. military replaced the traditional whiskey ration for soldiers with these "sober" beverages and also forbade civilians from selling spirits to soldiers. Although many American soldiers continued to drink alcohol despite these policies, the attempt to create the "first officially dry army in the Western world" shows the increasing connections between sobriety, masculine duty, patriotic virtue, self-control, and discipline that spread during the eighteenth century (Phillips 2014: 183).

The Gendered Ideology of Temperance

During the first half of the nineteenth century, social concerns about alcohol consumption coalesced into a mass temperance movement in the United States, Britain, and parts of Canada, before becoming an international and transnational phenomenon later in the century. The temperance movement mainly focused on drinking as a male problem and associated alcohol abuse – and the family breakdown, poverty, criminality, and illness it was thought to engender – with the working classes. This was partly because women's drinking, like that of many middle and upper-class men, often took place in more private spaces and was therefore less visible than the alcohol consumption of the majority of male customers of taverns, bars, and public houses (Phillips 2014: 173–174). Of greater influence was the increasing dominance in public discourse of middle-class gender ideology. This helped to solidify the imagined borders between appropriate male and female roles into public and private categories that had already emerged through enlightenment-era conceptualizations of bodily and gender difference. This "separate spheres" ideology intersected with behavioral codes of respectability, which promoted moderation, sobriety, or abstinence as masculine ideals, and demanded even more in terms of sexual propriety and moral purity from women.

The majority of United States' temperance discourse of the early nineteenth century helped to "normalize gendered separate spheres, whiteness, middle-class gentility, hard work and domestic bliss alongside sobriety as conditions for responsible, even sensible or intelligible citizenship" (Norton 2017: 170). Scott C. Martin has argued that a new understanding of femininity became dominant via both the temperance movement and the middle-class ideology of domesticity by the middle of the nineteenth century. The transition was from an early modern view of womankind "as (at least potentially) depraved sinner complicit in man's downfall" to an emergent image of "woman as innocent victim of man's brutality" in the early nineteenth century, which then became the dominant image very quickly (Martin 2000: 310). Once this was established, by about 1830, women's drunkenness proved a difficult topic for temperance reformers to discuss, so much so that they generally avoided mentioning it at all; not because women's drunkenness did not exist, but because it belied the ideological construction of separate spheres upon which "middle-class identity and authority depended heavily." In this gendered ideology of temperance, in the "female private sphere" women "exerted a salutary moral influence on men hardened by their struggles and exertions in the male public sphere," encouraging sobriety and respectability. The specter of women's drunkenness could not only expose the "artificiality" of these gender roles, but also,

consequently, undermine the authority of middle-class masculinity by highlighting the porousness of the borders between public and private, thereby corrupting the purported source of middle-class morality (Martin 2010: 7–11).

The intertwined gendered ideologies of temperance and separate spheres molded ideas about masculinity too. Competition, ambition, and self-made success, as the values of the public marketplace, were coded as masculine, while "morality, virtue, and self-sacrifice" were associated with domesticity and femininity (Fletcher 2008: 13–14). Temperance advocates depicted drinking as impairing the mental faculties needed for success in the marketplace, and therefore as a threat to white, middle-class, male identity. Racial and racist imagery was common in American temperance literature, associating drunkenness with a loss of whiteness as well as masculinity, by, for instance, depicting drunkards with either reddened or blackened skin, or by including Black men in barroom scenes to emphasize a white drunkard's loss of control. Alcohol was also thought capable of provoking hypermasculinity, leading to the valued masculine attributes of competitiveness, ambition, and authority running out of control, into naked greed, selfishness, and tyranny, and to men abandoning their duties to be kind, fair, and affectionate husbands and fathers. Since alcohol consumption was thought to threaten both main expectations of middle-class manhood – success in the public world and respectability in the domestic world – participation in temperance was one of two key activities men chose to affirm both qualities, the other being membership of fraternal orders (Fletcher 2008: 15–16, 26–27).

Middle-class gender norms shaped temperance discourse in Britain and British North America during the early to mid-nineteenth century. In Britain, the public drinking practices of the urban working poor were subject to the most critical scrutiny, as they had been during the earlier gin craze, but in the nineteenth century these concerns merged with broader debates about public health and the strength of the nation. An ideal, middle-class, or upwardly mobile working-class, male citizen was constructed from this discourse, presiding over a harmonious, temperate, and prosperous domestic household, and carrying this domestic respectability, self-control, and sobriety into civil associations in the public sphere, such as the coffee house (Yeomans 2014: 49–55). In contrast, temperance literature and speeches cast working-class spaces, including public houses, as threatening to this orderly social fabric, and depicted women as either the innocent victims of drunken men, in the "long-suffering wife" role especially, or as fallen women, corrupted into a life of drunkenness, and often prostitution, by the men who sold them alcohol (Warner and Ivis 2000). Likewise, the temperance movement in the Canadian colonies of the early to mid-nineteenth century depicted alcohol and taverns as sources of corruption for men and as a "gateway to prostitution" for women. Sobriety was promoted as a cornerstone of "emerging capitalist values of respectability," alongside self-control, hard work, self-improvement, and independence, which was central to middle-class definitions of manhood (Heron 2003: 59–60; Poutanen 2017: 58). In Scandinavia, while the temperance movement did not take hold until the late 1800s, the nineteenth century as a whole saw emergent middle-class norms of respectability placing greater expectations on women for sober comportment as evidence of their sexual propriety (Enefalk 2015: 738–739; Hutchison 2011: 172).

Although middle-class social norms and temperance discourse intertwined to construct an imagined gendered border between public and private spheres, especially in the United States, Britain, and British North America, it is important to recognize that the temperance movement was not solely the preserve of the middle class, and it could be used to forge alternative gender codes. The temperance movement was, at times, "shaped and claimed by" feminist women, the working classes, African Americans, Native Americans, and others who articulated alternative forms of masculinity and femininity through temperance (Alexander 1988; Fletcher 2008: 5, 30–54).

For example, Eric Norton has shown that some American women writers created a "version of temperance activism that denounces gender inequality and free-market competition" (2017: 172). Community, mutual dependence, and material support, meanwhile, were the cornerstones of sober masculinity espoused by the largely working-class Washingtonian movement of the 1840s, in contrast to the self-mastery and independence emphasized by the mainstream temperance movement (Fletcher 2008: 32–36).

Drinking Masculinities

Nevertheless, the rise and spread of new middle-class gender norms, discourses of respectability, and their relationship to temperance ideology did mean that social borders were increasingly drawn between gendered private and public spaces in terms of alcohol consumption. As more middle and upper-class drinking took place in private or semi-private spaces, public drinking places tended to become more segregated by both social class and gender during the period 1750 to 1850, although in terms of gender this change was less pronounced in most parts of the world on which we have available scholarship. As Mark Hailwood has suggested, the mixed-sex sociability that characterized early modern drinking culture, while not without censure before the eighteenth century, came increasingly under scrutiny as that century progressed (2021: 131–132). Much of the historical research examining alcohol and gender in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, meanwhile, concentrates on the importance of saloons and other public drinking places as homosocial spaces for the performance of masculinities, especially among the laboring classes and in urban environments across the United States, Britain, France, Ireland, Mexico, Australia, parts of Africa, and Russia (Moss 2021). Between 1750 and 1850, mixed-sex sociability in taverns and bars seems to have remained relatively common. At the same time, however, such drinking places also became more important as public sites for the articulation of non-elite forms of masculinity, which drew alternative boundaries around masculine authority, honor, and control to those upheld by the temperance movement.

Thomas Brennan's landmark study of popular drinking culture in eighteenth-century Paris, for instance, acknowledges that women routinely patronized and worked in taverns, but emphasizes how they operated as sites for the negotiation and performance of masculinity among non-elite men. Men made up the large majority of tavern customers: 88 percent of those involved as plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and bystanders in the judicial cases about tavern conflict that furnished Brennan's principal primary source material were men. Most of those were tradesmen and laborers, with a minority being bourgeois or soldiers. Tavern-going, particularly in establishments located in neighborhoods where these men lived and worked, was woven into the daily fabric of their lives. They visited taverns throughout the working day, and sometimes went to the tavern to conduct work-related business; they were places to meet people, to pass time, to observe the daily rhythms of neighborhood life (Brennan 1988: 140–146, 234–246). They provided social networks, friendship groups, and sources of solidarity and support among men of similar social standing, prefiguring how drinking places in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century would operate as centers of labor organization and working-class politics (Haine 2006: 135–137). Men belonging to the same trade sometimes organized regular meetings in a particular tavern, as a self-conscious *société* or fellowship group, or for a specific purpose such as gambling or gaming. In these instances, the gambling was often for small-scale stakes connected to the drinking occasion: the loser having to buy a round of drinks, for example, or to cover the whole bill. This was a form of reciprocity that structured the male sociability of the tavern, adding a mild level of competition to other forms of reciprocity such as offering and returning invitations to share wine (Brennan 1988: 222–239).

Women who did patronize Parisian taverns made up a minority of customers, approximately 14 percent by the 1750s, and tavern-going was less integrated into their daily routines than their male counterparts. They tended to go accompanied by their husbands and could experience the tavern as a hostile, male space. In cases where women were the plaintiffs in court proceedings arising from tavern violence, they had been subject to sexual insults, harassment, or assault by other men (Brennan 1988: 147–150). In the second half of the eighteenth century, women became more frequent tavern customers, especially in the increasingly popular *guinguette*, a type of wine shop in Parisian suburbs, often with quite large premises including gardens that facilitated music and dancing. Because they were located outside city tax limits, the wine was cheaper, and men and women tended to attend *guinguettes* in mixed groups on Sunday outings. This was a distinct type of leisure activity, "separated from work, domesticity, and neighbourhood," in comparison to inner-city tavern-going, which was more thoroughly connected to men's daily routines in their neighborhoods, jobs, and homes (Brennan 1988: 175–185).

At the same time, tavern-going was important to popular masculinity because it offered a public arena where disputes and rivalries could be provoked, aired, and worked out. The constituent values of popular masculinity contested in the tavern environment in this way were honesty, especially professional honesty, bravery, respect and self-respect, and honor. Honor was typically related either to a man's sexual propriety, his sexual control over a wife or female dependent, or to his honoring of a material debt. Disputes that came to blows and ended up leaving a record in the Parisian judicial system were therefore usually connected to either work, money, or sexual relationships (Brennan 1988: 51–73). The publicness of the tavern, and its embeddedness in the daily life of Parisian laboring men, were central to this aspect of its connection to popular masculinity: "Public drinking in taverns reenacted a fundamental communion among men, a symbolic consumption and sharing with which they created their solidarities and reaffirmed their values." Where those masculine solidarities and values were threatened or undermined, taverns were the most prominent place where men sought to resolve the conflict, punish the transgressor, and reassert their masculine self-respect (Brennan 1988: 7, 18).

Drinking places played similar roles in the articulation and contestation of non-elite masculinities in Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru when they were still part of the Spanish empire and after their revolutions for independence in the early nineteenth century. Numerous scholars agree that men and women alike patronized *vinaterías* (wine shops), *pulquerías* (bars selling pulque, a fermented beverage made from Mexican agaves), *estancos* (spirits shops), *chicherías* (bars selling chicha, a maize beer produced in parts of South America), and other types of taverns. Sometimes men and women drank in each other's company, and other times kept to same-sex groups, and women often managed or worked in these taverns (Bristol 2017: 137–138; Chambers 1999: 109–114; Corcuera de Mancera 1994: 210–217; Dunn 2012: 81–85; Hernández Quiroz 2020: 6–15; Toner 2015: 82–86; Toxqui 2014: 108–110). Even while acknowledging that such taverns were gathering places for romantic assignations between the sexes, scholars have shown that, at the same time, they were one of just a few cultural spaces integral to the performance of popular masculinity centered on the display and defense of masculine honor. In his study of late colonial Mexico, for instance, Steve Stern argues that wealthy, elite men demonstrated their honor through "cultural displays of forcefulness, household authority, and social decorum," often by publicly demeaning their male servants, employees, and social inferiors. Men of the lower orders sought alternative ways to express their honor – their bravery, competence, authority, and respect – in homosocial spaces among their peers, where challenges from either women or elite men were unlikely. Socializing in taverns, along with participation in local politics and sporting events, were the most important arenas for the expression of popular masculinities (Stern 1995: 161–162). As in eighteenth-century Parisian

taverns, the competition as well as camaraderie inherent to these homosocial spaces could turn to conflict and violence when men had their honor challenged or were subject to some perceived or actual insult. But this danger and the men's willingness to confront it reinforced the sense in which masculinity could be affirmed: "For subaltern men, successful manhood implied competence and courage amidst adversity" (Stern 1995: 171–177).

Tamara Walker has further highlighted how taverns facilitated the collective and violent defense of masculine honor. Walker analyzed the racial and gender dynamics of an assault in the Peruvian port city of Callao in 1774, in which a Spanish sailor savagely beat a Black woman laundress with whom he was in a sexual relationship, after she had been seen passing a tavern in the company of another man. Friends or colleagues of the sailor had seen the woman from their social gathering in the tavern; they then informed the sailor who had not been present when she walked by with the other man. The friends/colleagues subsequently participated in the violent attack against the woman after meeting in the tavern again with the sailor before going together to assail her. This demonstrates how taverns functioned as a nexus for meetings and information exchange between men, a space where they were concerned to publicly defend their honor and reputation, which was frequently linked to their sexual relationships with and control over women. The collectivity of this 1774 assault suggests, moreover, that taverns fostered a masculinity in which men were concerned not only to protect their own individual honor, but also that of their friends or of the group of men as a whole (Walker 2019).

In the United States, most of the historiography on masculinity and drinking places focuses on the working-class saloon where similar dynamics of solidarity and competition prevailed in late nineteenth-century urban communities. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the "mixed-gender 'tavern'" was more common, although it could still act as an arena for articulating and negotiating masculinities (Parsons 2003: 58). Drinking toasts to one's health in taverns was a popular means of declaring, experiencing, and celebrating men's identities as "vocal, critical and active citizens" in the new republic until the early 1800s when temperance-promoted sober masculinities became more mainstream (Conroy 2006: 50–51, 56–57). Between the 1830s and 1860s, as many elite and middle-class men moved their drinking to private clubs or the home, and others – along with many working-class men – joined the temperance movement and abstained from drinking, the tavern changed into the saloon, with its "self-consciously working-class" and homosocial culture (Powers 2006: 147).

Elaine Franz Parsons has demonstrated how these homosocial drinking cultures could operate as an alternative means of demonstrating the masculine qualities promoted by the temperance movement – independence, autonomy, and self-mastery over one's own behavior, economic interests, and domestic affairs – qualities described by saloon-goers as "minding one's business." The homosocial environment of the saloon was a public arena in which men could "establish and defend, both through words and actions, the boundaries of their business." Saloon-going was, however, a "risky" business for masculinity, since remaining able to mind one's business while under the influence of alcohol was the behavioral standard through which the social border between manly drinking and unmanly drunkenness was drawn. Becoming drunk increased a man's risk of losing self-control, engaging in violent altercations with other saloon-goers, becoming physically vulnerable or in need of assistance, neglecting his family or job responsibilities and, in the worst cases, having his personal affairs aired in court under the Dram Shop Acts. These laws "enabled third parties harmed by individuals' drinking to recover damages from whomever had sold alcohol to them," and were mainly employed by drinkers' wives to prosecute saloonkeepers: women taking such legal action was a clear challenge to masculine "business minding." Most saloon-goers did not end up in court, however, so we can use the way that litigants, defendants, and

witnesses discussed cases where someone had failed to mind his business to infer how negotiating this discourse routinely worked to establish relationships and bonds between men. As Parsons argues, the "competitive jockeying for position" through which men measured themselves against one another in saloons – through games, banter, exchanging drinks, and other staples of barroom culture – only rarely resulted in violence that left a record in the court system; more routinely it "encouraged camaraderie by assuring that each man knew the relationship in which he stood to the others" (Parsons 2000: 285–287).

Women's Roles in Alcohol Production and Retail

While spaces of alcohol consumption may have become determinedly masculinized throughout the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century, the same was not true of the production or retail of alcoholic drinks. Women's roles did become more circumscribed in producing certain drinks in cases where the scale and technical specialization of production had been increasing dramatically. Hopped beer brewing in England, Germany, and the Netherlands, for instance, was largely dominated by men by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the transformation of distilling from small-scale domestic enterprises run by women to large-scale industries dominated by men was well underway by the end of the eighteenth century in parts of Northern Europe and North America (Enefalk 2015: 738; Hailwood 2021: 6–8; Meacham 2009; Unger 2001). Alcohol retailing, meanwhile, represented an area in which women retained a very significant presence, offering in some cases the only acceptable or "respectable" motive for women to cross social borders into spaces such as taverns that were increasingly designated arenas for masculine sociability.

Producing and selling alcohol were trades that lent themselves well to the gendered requirements of many women's lives. In the early nineteenth century, around half of Mexico City's unlicensed pulque taverns were run by women, selling the drink from their homes (Arrom 1985: 158–166). In early nineteenth-century Guatemala, women who worked as *clandestinistas* (unlicensed liquor producers, of whom women made up over 77 percent) made the distilled drink aguardiente in domestic premises, allowing them to also perform tasks such as childcare. While these women were in one sense complying with social borders that pushed women to stay home, *clandestinistas* also traversed them to defend their aguardiente businesses. In 1841 the women of Quetzaltenango made a public petition against the proposed introduction of an alcohol monopoly in their town, criticizing a system that sought to exclude them from a profitable industry simply "because our sex is said to be fit only for domestic activities such as sewing, embroidery, [making] cigars, etc." (Reeves 2012: 45, 56, 61). Women's leading roles in the domestic production and petty trading of alcohol had a long history in Guatemala and continued well into the twentieth century, with Maya women using gendered discourses to defend their unlicensed moonshining businesses as essential to supporting their families into the 1940s (Carey Jr. 2012).

Where women sold alcohol from the home, the space became a hybrid area – at once public and domestic space – in which tasks pertaining to each were performed and the borders between imagined separate spheres were blurred. In mid-nineteenth-century Montreal, female tavern keepers balanced serving customers with caring for their children and carrying out household labor. Deeply personal moments of family life took place within the walls of these taverns, where married women would also care for ailing husbands or relatives and give birth to their children (Poutanen 2017). Moreover, as both Julia Roberts and Mary Ann Poutanen have pointed out, the tavern keeper's "performance of domesticity" was central to the success of her business, since the ability to maintain a home-like atmosphere for customers while also seeing to her own household served to bolster her image as a respectable woman. Failing to navigate the borders of feminine

respectability could put businesses at risk: licenses could be rejected or revoked if women tavern-keepers' reputations were called into disrepute (Poutanen 2017: 63–66; Roberts 2009: 138).

Producing and/or selling alcohol could present an appealing option for women of limited means in other circumstances. Vanessa Oliveira has argued that for both free and enslaved women living in the Angolan port city of Luanda, a key port in the transatlantic slave trade, working as a *quitandeira* (foodstuff vendor) represented one of the few opportunities available to them to profit from the bustling port economy (2015). *Quitandeiras* generally sold alcoholic drinks such as *oallo* (millet or sorghum beer) alongside food, as did most grocery stores, indicating a steady demand for alcohol in the port. The drinks sold in Luanda may well also have been produced by women. As José Curto has noted, alcohol in central Angola was mainly produced by women as part of their household and agricultural duties; it seems likely therefore that women also made the Angolan forms of alcohol on sale in Luanda, such as *oallo* or palm wine (2011: 55). Across the Atlantic, in the Brazilian gold-mining region of Minas Gerais, free women of color and Black freedwomen worked both as licensed food and drink sellers in markets and wet goods stores, and as itinerant vendors known as *negras de taboleiro* (Higgins 1999: 197). In this way, these retailers managed to benefit economically from the prosperity Minas Gerais had achieved as a mining town.

In other regions of the Americas, women of higher social and economic status were involved prominently in alcohol production and retail. In Mexico, for example, by the late eighteenth century, the most profitable pulque operations were run by members of the mainly Spanish and creole (of Hispanic descent, born in the Americas) landed elite. This represented a significant change from previous centuries in which Indigenous individuals and communities led the pulque trade (Bailey 2023). Áurea Toxqui has demonstrated that elite women took on active roles in managing the production of their pulque estates and overseeing the pulque taverns that many also owned. As wealthy, elite landowners, these so-called "ladies of pulque" stood in a far more secure position as alcohol producers and retailers than petty traders who were often unable to afford the licenses that would have legalized their businesses (Toxqui 2014). Similarly in Arequipa, Peru during the late eighteenth century, around a quarter of the wine tithe in the Vitor district was paid by female wine producers who owned their own vineyards. Proportionately, these women produced more wine than their male counterparts (Chambers 1999: 49).

Conclusion

Gender is profoundly important to the transnational history of alcohol and particularly significant for understanding how the temperance movement became so fully intertwined with middle-class gender ideology by the mid-nineteenth century. In examining how societies have thought about, consumed, traded, and turned against alcohol, we observe the significant commonalities in gendered ideas across borders, as people tried to determine who should drink what and where (if at all) and how their relationship with alcohol could provide them with a reinforced sense of who they were as social agents. Aside from its influence on social identities, alcohol played a very material role in the economic lives of individuals across parts of Europe, Africa, and the Americas as both men and women pursued a living in producing and selling alcohol.

In the political and social transformations of the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century, a powerful relationship between ideals of masculine rationality, self-control, responsible citizenship, and sobriety was forged. This further coalesced with the rise of middle-class interests and identities in Britain, parts of Europe, and North America in the development of a gendered ideology of temperance, and discourses of respectability, which centered concerns on the poverty, violence, and disorder associated with poorer men's drinking and made it increasingly disreputable

for women and wealthier men to patronize public drinking places. Although this ideology was predicated on the creation of gendered borders between the masculine public and the feminine domestic, the histories of both public drinking places and the anti-alcohol or temperance movements belie the porousness of these social borders. Many women, particularly but not exclusively of the lower orders, continued to earn their living through the production, trade, and sale of alcohol: this appears to have been a global phenomenon, suggesting that women's entrepreneurship was key to navigating the hardening social borders of gender during this time period. Further research into the history of alcohol in a wider range of geographies would help to confirm this view. Finally, taverns had long been considered important for masculine sociability in Britain, Europe, North America, and Spanish America. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the trend for women and well-to-do men to consume their beverage of choice in more private settings for the sake of respectability seems to have cemented how central public drinking places were to establishing boundaries for competition and camaraderie in the performance of non-elite masculinities.

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