Introduction
Of wine and sugar

In September 1908 André Jénair, a self-described republican citizen and
former slave, addressed a letter to the French Minister of the Colonies in
which he detailed the growing despair of rural citizens of color in Guade-
loupe. The colony, Jénair wrote, had descended into a "state of anarchy."
Universal suffrage in Guadeloupe had been "strangled" by violence and
fraud such that "election results were never sincere." Those that complained
risked prosecution while "the real committers of fraud go unpunished."
"We are prey," he continued, "to the malicious passions of autocrats who
wish to deprive us of our rights [*droits de l'homme*] by all means possible."
Loyal citizens like himself sought help, but "now that we are free, we do
not know who to address about the injustices we endure; nothing has
come of our concerns; they are sometimes silenced before they even
arrive at their destination." Still, he concluded, "I have faith in *la France
humanitaire* and *la France libératrice*." France, he argued, "cannot abandon
its children."[1]

In his 70 years, Jénair had experienced a remarkable set of changes. Born
a slave, Jénair was only 10 when the Second Republic announced the
immediate abolition of slavery. As a result, he had no chance to enjoy the
political rights bestowed upon him by the Republic and whisked away
equally quickly by Napoleon III. Still, his faith in France remained
steadfast, and in 1870 he offered to join the army to defend France from
the German invaders; he did so, he wrote, "out of love and recognition of
the rights that had been accorded me in 1848." Although he did not have
the opportunity to join the war effort, Jénair's patriotism was ultimately
rewarded by the Third Republic, which reinstated the civil and political
liberties first extended to inhabitants of the *vieilles colonies* in 1848. Starting
the Third Republic as a full citizen endowed with the same rights and
privileges as his metropolitan peers, Jénair's patriotism swelled. "I had been

[1] ANOM FM SG-G 265/1631, Letter, Jénair to Minister of Colonies, September 3, 1908.

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a slave," he reflected, "and estimated that no sacrifice would be too great to
pay for the liberty I had been given."[2]

By 1908, though, Jénair's faith had begun to waver and for good reason.
After decades of economic crisis and growing impoverishment, life for
most Guadeloupean workers of color had become one of hardship. The
colonial government initially offered some assistance to the colony's rural
workers and small-scale farmers, but after 1900 increasingly turned a blind
eye to their misery. Moreover, the administration began to undercut
the political and social rights of Guadeloupean workers in the name
of economic efficiency and productivity. Far from merely abandoning
Guadeloupeans to the whims of local despots, the Third Republic
appeared actively engaged in a policy of political disenfranchisement and
social marginalization intended to reduce individuals like André Jénair to
the status of a second-class citizen.

Jénair's letter is a stark reminder that shifts in colonial policy, so often
written about in the abstract, affected and devastated real individuals trying
to build lives, support families, and create meaningful existences. Jénair's
growing despair, however, acquires new import when compared with the
experiences of rural citizens and peasant farmers in other economically
troubled regions of metropolitan France. In the early twentieth century
rural metropolitan citizens also sought the Republic's aid. Yet, the Third
Republic did not "abandon" its metropolitan citizens to the turbulence of
a crisis-prone global economy or the machinations of local elites trying to
secure profits and bolster political status. Instead, the state accorded rural
workers and smallholders new economic and social protections and under-
took policies to safeguard their political rights. To be sure, metropolitan
citizens did not win these concessions without a struggle. In one of the
most afflicted areas, the wine-producing department of Aude, beleaguered
citizens like Paul Ader petitioned the Republic for assistance and aid, and
when these tactics did not work, he rallied thousands of other winegrowers
to protest in the streets. The Third Republic's response to the winegrowers
was hesitant and sometimes violent, but ultimately conciliatory. The social
and economic policies that emerged from these struggles formed the basis
of a new social citizenship and nascent welfare state that included urban
and rural France.

Wine, Sugar, and the Making of Modern France argues that André
Jénair's declining status was not incidental to Paul Ader's ability to claim
new social rights and redefine the nature of French republican citizenship

[2] *Ibid.*

in the metropole, but rather fundamental to it. In the metropole the
Third Republic enacted, albeit hesitantly and only after immense popular
pressure, new social and economic policies. However, these policies repre-
sented only one facet of the Third Republic's response to global economic
pressures and the social unrest it generated. Colonial productivity fur-
nished the economic and social basis upon which metropolitan policies
could be implemented. By displacing the costs of metropolitan reforms
onto colonial individuals like André Jénair the Third Republic found a way
to balance the ideals of republican citizenship with the realities of the
global market, all while avoiding massive social or economic reform in the
metropole. The economic development of the colonies and the racialized
labor regime it promoted served as the foundation of the Republic's
stability. The inequalities and exploitation that accompanied colonial
development found justification in, and legitimated, claims about the
relevance of racial and cultural differences; the civilizing mission in turn
promised colonial subjects that hard work, savings, and discipline would
provide moral and material improvement as well as full integration into the
nation. In the empire liberal conceptions of the individual found new life,
ultimately providing the economic and conceptual counterweight for an
emerging form of social citizenship in the metropole.

Empire, then, was essential to the Third Republic and its survival.
Through empire the Third Republic found a way to manage the growing
tensions between the ideals of French republicanism and the logic of a global
capitalist economy. Early welfare policies, which drew upon ideas of frater-
nity and solidarity, provided the exit from this apparent puzzle in the
metropole, but it represented only one facet of this solution; exclusion,
inequality, and economic productivity in the colonies constituted an equally
important component of this synthesis. Integrating the stories of Audois and
Guadeloupean citizens therefore offers a new way to understand the Third
Republic and its dual dedication to republicanism and colonization. Empire
did not rest uneasily with republicanism but, rather, was integral to the
Third Republic's ability to stabilize a republican regime that began to
unravel in an age of economic globalization. The logic of this "republican
synthesis" was one of universalism limited by exclusionary mechanisms.[3]

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[3] I am indebted to Stanley Hoffman's conception of a "republican synthesis" in "Paradoxes of the
French Political Community," in *In Search of France*, ed. Stanley Hoffman *et al.* (Cambridge, MA:
Harvard University Press, 1963), and Richard Kuisel's idea of the Third Republic as a non-
interventionist state in *Capitalism and the State in Modern France: Renovation and Economic
Management in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1981).

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To the extent to which these exclusions fell along the lines of race, the Third
Republic took the form of a racial state.[4]

These characteristics would emerge full blown in the interwar period,
during which the colonial policy of assimilation would give way to
association and a more transparent racial discourse. Interwar manifest-
ations of the French racial state are well known, especially the sharp divide
that emerged between citizen and non-citizen and the role that racial
ideologies played in justifying these inequalities.[5] By analyzing the forma-
tive years of the Third Republic and the welfare state one gains new
insights into the ways that tensions within republicanism itself, namely
the tensions between the ideals of liberty and equality, conditioned this
development. Nevertheless, the stakes go beyond mere genealogy. This
history also reveals the construction of race as a meaningful social category
at a foundational moment in French history. Without disregarding the fact
that the actual content of these racial constructions changed over time, this
history shows how structures of exclusion and inequality were incorporated
into the very building block of the French nation: citizenship. Social rights
and welfare served as discrete political and cultural markers distinguishing
full, active citizenship from a new form of passive citizenship. Citizenship,
in other words, was not a neutral category, but one that actively helped to
construct the social categories that defined some groups as "deserving" and
others as "undeserving," all while claiming to represent "natural"

[4] David Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). Also Thomas Holt, "Marking: Race,
Race-Making, and the Writing of History," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 1 (February 1995):
1–20. For other examinations of France as a racial state see: Tyler Stovall, "Color-Blind France?
Colonial Workers during the First World War," *Race and Class* 35, no. 2 (1993): 35–55; Jean-Loup
Amselle, *Vers un multiculturalisme français: l'empire de la coutume* (Paris: Aubier, 1996); Laurent
Dubois, "La République Métissée: Citizenship, Colonialism, and the Borders of French History,"
Cultural Studies 14, no. 1 (2000): 15–24; Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude
and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).
[5] A vast literature on the interwar period has emerged in recent years. Of particular note are: Stovall,
"Color-Blind France?"; Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars Over Cultural Identity, 1900–1945*
(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights,
Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press,
2000); Wilder, *French Imperial Nation-State*; Clifford Rosenberg, *Policing Paris: The Origins of
Modern Immigration Control between the Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Mary
Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic: Migrant Rights and the Limits of Universalism in France,
1918–1940* (Stanford University Press, 2007); Emmanuelle Saada, *Les Enfants de la colonie: les métis de
l'Empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté* (Paris: Éditions la Découverte, 2007); Martin Thomas,
The French Empire Between the Wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society (Manchester University Press,
2007); Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the
Early Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Jennifer Boittin, *Colonial
Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln:
University of Nebraska Press, 2010).

differences stemming from culture, race, and ethnicity.[6] These exclu-
sions shaped the groundwork and foundation upon which the welfare
state would be constructed in the interwar and post–World War II
period.[7] This process has largely been erased from the history of France.[8]
It is the goal of this book to reclaim this history and, in so doing, identify
a key moment in the formation of the Third Republic and French
republicanism.

Of wine and sugar, of metropole and colony

To examine the transformation of French republican citizenship in the
early Third Republic and the importance of race and empire in this
reconceptualization, this book employs a detailed comparison of two
populations: the wine-producing citizens of the metropolitan department
of the Aude and the sugar-producing citizens of the island-colony of
Guadeloupe. In this, *Wine, Sugar, and the Making of Modern France* takes
seriously the call to bring "metropole and colony within a single analytic
field," ultimately exploring the possibilities that a radical interpretation of

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[6] My thinking on citizenship has been influenced by a wide range of scholars including: Étienne
Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, and Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); Judith Shklar,
American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991);
Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Sacre du citoyen: histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris: Gallimard,
1992); Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age
of Emancipation* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equality:
Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America* (Oxford University
Press, 2001); Andreas Fahrmeir, *Citizenship: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept* (New Haven,
CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

[7] On the rise of the French welfare state see: Henri Hatzfeld, *Du paupérisme à la sécurité sociale,
1850–1940* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1971); Rachel Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child
Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); François
Ewald, *L'état-providence* (Paris: Grasset, 1986); Douglas Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare States*
(Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European
Welfare State 1875–1975* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence,
and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (Cambridge University Press,
1993); Philip Nord, "The Welfare State in France, 1870–1914," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 3
(1994): 821–38; Paul Dutton, *Origins of the French Welfare State: The Struggle for Social Reform in
France, 1914–1947* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Timothy Smith, *Creating the Welfare State in
France, 1880–1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); Laura Frader, *Breadwinners
and Citizens: Gender in the Making of the French Social Model* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press,
2008). In general this literature does an excellent job of addressing the gendered assumptions guiding
French welfare policies but rarely considers the place of race and ethnicity in metropolitan welfare
policies.

[8] I am drawing upon Myriam Cottias's term "erased" (*gommé*) to describe the absence of the *vieilles
colonies* in the national history of France. Myriam Cottias, "La silence de la nation: les 'vieilles
colonies' comme lieu de définition des dogmes républicains (1848–1905)," *Outre-Mers* 90, no. 338–9
(2003): 21–45.

this approach might offer.[9] It takes as its subject two populations whose lives and fates were tangled up together in the broader processes of imperialist expansion and global economic integration, but who were largely unaware of their connections. André Jénair and Paul Ader may have never seen a picture of the other, much less traveled across the ocean to interact, but by placing their histories within the larger context of empire and globalization this book reveals hidden connections between the two. Above all, it demonstrates how profoundly empire shaped the contours of everyday life in metropolitan France.

The Aude and Guadeloupe each offer an excellent way into these methodological concerns for the very reason that both are far from the focus of recent scholarship on imperial France or the Third Republic and seem, well, *peripheral*, at least to the narrative of France's second empire and the stories of nation-building, welfare-state-building, and citizenship in the Third Republic.[10] The Aude, for its part, does not stand out as a center of imperial trade or immigration; Guadeloupe appears nothing more than a relic of an older empire forgotten by France in its rush to acquire newer colonies in Africa and Asia at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the two regions initially appear devoid of any common point upon which a comparative analysis can be made. In 1870 the Aude was a well-established wine-producing region of southern France, known for its table wines, distinct dialect, and history of religious heretics and radicalism. The Caribbean colony of Guadeloupe, in contrast, was known as an *ancienne colonie*, a former slave society, a producer of sugar, and, at best, a potential model of successful assimilation for the new empire, especially the African colonies. Indeed, to the modern eye the two regions appear as distinct as wine and sugar, the two primary crops that each produced in the Third Republic. It is, in fact, through these two commodities that one can explore the comparability of the Aude and Guadeloupe as well as the foundation upon which a new history of the metropole and colony might be forged.

[9] Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1 and 4.

[10] Recent literature on the second wave of French imperialism generally focuses on France's African colonies, especially Algeria and West Africa, whereas Saint-Domingue dominates the literature on the earlier empire. Notable exceptions include Eric Jennings, *Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940–1944* (Stanford University Press, 2001); Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Frédéric Régent, *Esclavage, métissage, liberté: la révolution française en Guadeloupe, 1789–1802* (Paris: Grasset, 2004); and Caroline Oudin-Bastide, *Travail, capitalisme et société esclavagiste: Guadeloupe, Martinique (XVIIᵉ–XIXᵉ siècle)* (Paris: Éditions la Découverte, 2005).

A short analysis of the cultural and historical ideas associated with the
two commodities shows how the appearance of difference in the cultural
realm often masks deeper similarities in the economic, social, and political
realms as well as the processes by which differences take on new meaning
and import. Jules Guyot's study of the wine of southern France for the
Ministry of Agriculture in 1862 perhaps best captures the perceived cultural
gulf that separates these two goods and our own assumptions of their
incompatibility. "France," he wrote, "possesses . . . the richest monopoly in
the universe . . . because wine . . . is far more essential to human progress
than sugar, cotton, than coffee, tea, and opium."[11] Grapevines flourished in
France long before the Romans colonized the region, and wine is said to
have shaped the history of the land and its people.[12] As the historian Roger
Dion argued, wine was a source of "collective pride" for the French "even
before the sentiment of French patriotism had been awakened in them."[13]
Wine has a mythical association with France, as if the liquor were a magical
elixir offering unequaled insights into the essence of French culture. It was
the drink of French aristocrats and kings, who counted it among their
most important sources of wealth. Even after the Revolution fine wine
retained its aristocratic distinction and association with luxury and sump-
tuousness. A well-aged glass of Bordeaux or Burgundy conjures images of
chateaux and palaces; it suggests refinement, luxury, and culture, all
qualities long associated with France and French civilization.[14]

Today French wine, like camembert, foie gras, champagne, and other
contemporary emissaries of French culture, retains a highly provincial
element and a unique tie to the French countryside.[15] Each bottle of wine
represents its region of origin, or *terroir*, and wines bearing an AOC label
reflect particular pride in the area's geography, history, and culture.[16]
Connoisseurs attribute the distinctiveness of French wine – its quality,
taste, and richness – to the soil where the grapes are cultivated. A bottle of
French wine is said to reveal the special connections between *vignerons* and

[11] Jules Guyot, *Sur la viticulture du sud-ouest de la France* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1862), 245.
[12] James Wilson, *Terroir* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1998), 45–6.
[13] Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXᵉ siècle* (Paris: n.p., 1959), viii.
[14] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), Chapter 1.
[15] Kolleen Guy, *When Champagne Became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity*
(Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Pierre Boisard, *Camembert: A National
Myth*, trans. Richard Miller (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
[16] Wilson, *Terroir*, 55–6. AOC (*appellation d'origine contrôlée*) is a labeling system that denotes the
geographic origins of wines and other regional products. It is administered by the Institut national
des appellations d'origine (INAO), which was formed in 1935.

the land on which they carefully tend their vines.[17] French wine promises
to connect the drinker with the countryside and to fortify them with the
strength of the land. The great variety of French wine makes it accessible to
individuals of all social groups, thereby allowing everyone to participate
and identify with French tradition and culture.

The process by which regional wines became universally accessible
reflects the slow integration of consumption habits in France. In the
nineteenth century, as wine became more affordable among the urban
lower classes, the beverage became an integral part of everyday life in the
cities. During this period wine was frequently described as a healthy tonic
(*boisson hygiénique*).[18] Workers and soldiers were encouraged to drink a bit
of wine during the day to increase their strength and fortify themselves for
a long day of labor. Wine was also praised for its uplifting and civilizing
influence. Wine-drinking, Guyot wrote, "not only strengthens the body,
but it also civilizes and refines one's manners and increases their intelli-
gence and spirit."[19] Throughout the nineteenth century wine stood apart
from other alcohols. Popular opinion and even temperance reformers
distinguished between hard alcohol, which they linked with drunkenness
and alcoholism, and wine, which they associated with sociability and
fraternity.[20] For most Frenchmen, a glass of wine held the promise of
happier moments and gaiety, and helped to carve out moments of social-
izing from the tedium of the workday. Most of all, wine forged connec-
tions and created community.

Thus, in spite of its everydayness, wine in France retained a unique
quality that enabled it to provide meaning to the mundane events of the
everyday. Historically, wine accompanied special events and commemor-
ations.[21] In the modern age, wine enlivened daily events and rendered them
less commonplace. Wine, according to Roland Barthes, "is an ornament in
the slightest ceremonials of French daily life, from the snack (plonk and
camembert) to the feast, from the conversation at the local café to the

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[17] As the documentary *Mondovino* has suggested, this image is also part of the myth of French wine.
Jonathan Nossiter, prod., *Mondovino* (Brussels: Diaphona Films, 2004).

[18] Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789–1914*
(Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 101; Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday
Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 236.

[19] Guyot, *Sur la viticulture du sud-ouest*, 44.

[20] Michael Marrus, "Social Drinking in the Belle Epoque," *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 2 (1974):
120. Also Susanna Barrows, "After the Commune: Alcoholism, Temperance, and Literature in the
Early Third Republic," in *Consciousness and Class Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. John
Merriman (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979).

[21] Roche, *History of Everyday Things*, 236.

speech at the formal dinner."[22] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wine connected individuals far from home to the traditions they left behind and new communities. A glass of wine helped individuals mitigate the isolating tendencies of modern life by offering them a way to forge concrete connections to individuals with whom only abstract relations existed previously. In this way wine offered a mooring in tradition and culture that made everyday existence more palatable and meaningful.

In contrast, sugar might be considered a symbol of exactly those forces in modern industrial life that alienate individuals and uproot them from traditions and communities that once gave meaning and importance to everyday life. Consumed and manufactured across the globe, sugar has no particular link to French culture or society. Its connection, rather, is with the culture of capitalism, industrial society, and mass consumerism – forces that challenge the uniqueness and cultural specificity of the French. Furthermore, unlike French regional wines, which proudly display their origins, sugar hides its dark history. Given a cube of white sugar one cannot determine either its source or place of origin; its sweetness erases any trace of the conditions under which it was produced.[23] Sugar was the quintessential colonial product. Produced by slave labor in the colonies, sugar created wealth and new forms of luxury in the metropole. In this way, sugar reflected the contradictions and oppressive nature of the modern period it helped to create.[24] "Sugar," historian Daniel Roche writes, "was the totemic food of the Enlightenment civilization, the two faces which it displayed: one, somber and expensive, associating the production of and trade in sugar with slavery and its horrors, the other bright and merry, associating it with knowledge and the civilization of manners, even with pleasure."[25] Unmasking these contradictions offers insights into the revolutions and riots that formed around sugar, and the complexities of modernity.[26]

[22] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 60.
[23] White, refined sugar is essentially sucrose in "pure" form. There is no chemical or physical difference between sugar produced from sugar cane or sugar beet. While geography may play a role in the ease with which sugar is produced, it does not influence the taste or the consistency of the final product. In this way sugar differs immensely from other sweeteners, such as honey, whose taste, color, and consistency vary widely. See Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985).
[24] See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), Chapter 1.
[25] Roche, *History of Everyday Things*, 245.
[26] For example C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. 2nd edn. (New York: Vintage Books, 1963).

The process by which sugar was transformed from a luxury item to a product of everyday consumption reveals a different kind of colonization – the colonization of the habits and morals of the lower class by the middle class in Europe. Before the advent of the sugar plantation, sugar was an aristocratic luxury reserved for the decorated cakes, sweetened desserts and sauces, and sugared fruit of the wealthy.[27] In this period, sugar most often served as a spice or medicine rather than a sweetener.[28] By the eighteenth century, though, sugar became widely available to well-to-do merchants and middle-class businessmen, who gave it a more practical use: to sweeten stimulating beverages – namely tea and coffee – that were, in essence, the opposite of wine. The darling of the coffee house where business was conducted, sugar quickly became associated with bourgeois values and practices: productivity, economy, and moral uprightness.[29]

As it became more widely available to the working class, sugar assumed a far different role and meaning. Unlike wine, which smoothed the rough edges of modern industrial life and broke up its monotony with conviviality and mirth, sugar made this existence more bearable by deadening the senses to pain and fatigue. Sugar, Sidney Mintz has argued, provided early industrial workers with the energy to work through the day despite excessive physical demands and poor diets.[30] By the end of the nineteenth century sugar was associated with industrial work and alienated labor as well as physical and moral degeneration.

Viewed solely as cultural symbols, wine and sugar circulate in different regimes of value and meaning. Their only link appears to be the binary they construct between tradition and the destruction of traditions by the pressures of modernity. In the abstract it is hard to understand how they might be brought together to construct a common history. However, a different perspective – such as the kitchen table – offers new insights. Wine and sugar, and specifically Audois wine and Guadeloupean sugar, met every day on the tables of the rich and poor in late nineteenth-century

[27] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, Chapter 3.
[28] Amy Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 6. Also Sidney Mintz, "Sugar and Morality," in *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996).
[29] Ralph Austen and Woodruff Smith, "Private Tooth Decay as Public Economic Virtue: The Slave-Sugar Triangle, Consumerism, and European Industrialization," *Social Science History* 14, no. 1 (April 1, 1990): 95–115. Also Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).
[30] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, 147–50 and Chapter 4. Also Martin Bruegel, "A Bourgeois Good? Sugar, Norms of Consumption, and the Labouring Classes in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Food, Drink, and Identity*, ed. Peter Scholliers (Oxford: Berg, 2001).