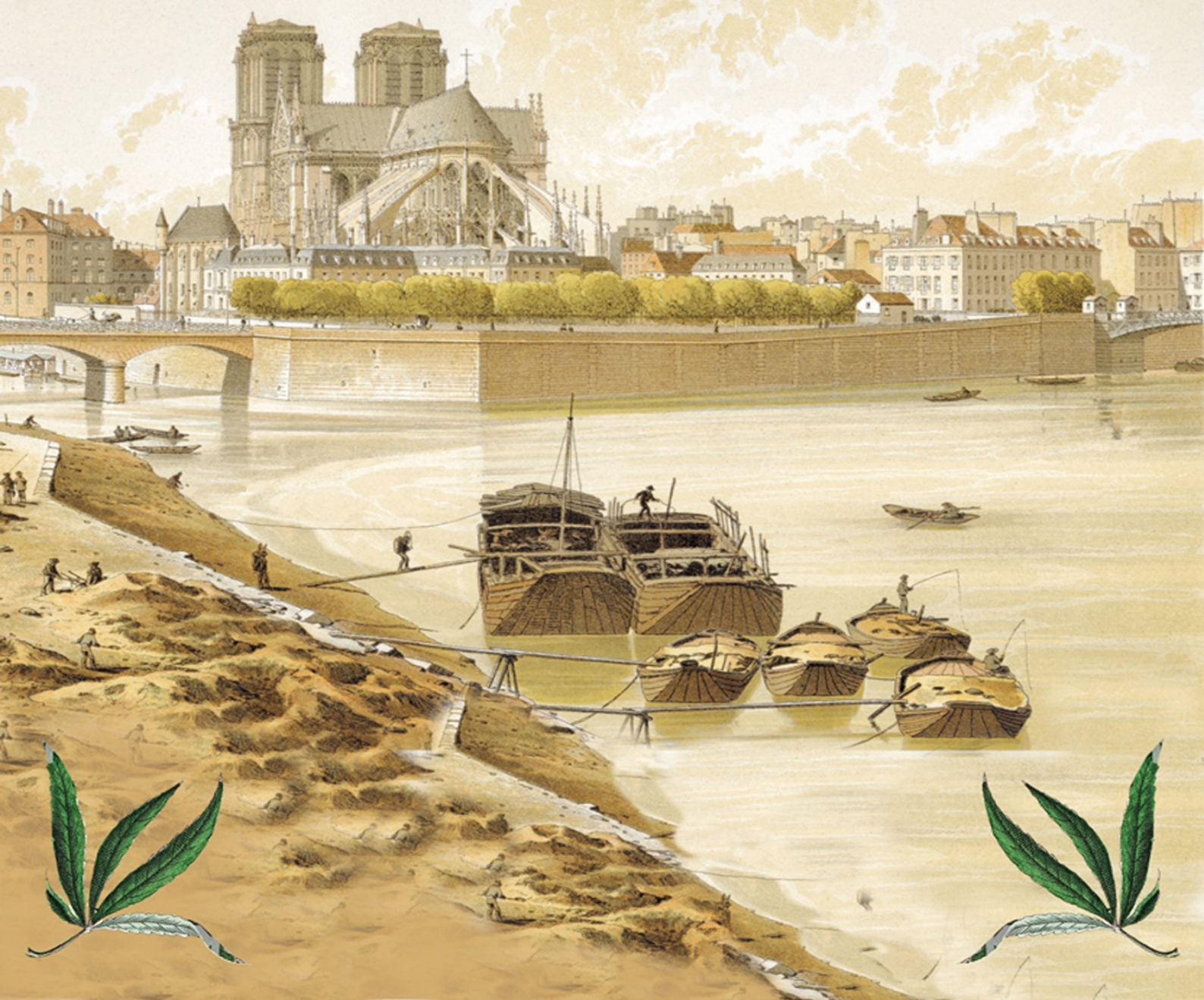




TAMING CANNABIS

Drugs and Empire in Nineteenth-Century France

DAVID A. GUBA, JR





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1 Taming Cannabis

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Acknowledgments

Umberto Eco once argued that “what we become depends on what our fathers teach us at odd moments, when they aren’t trying to teach us.” While it pains me to admit, this book grew out of one such odd moment with my father. Sometime in my youth during a visit to Chuck E. Cheese’s, my father, an avid reader of military histories, told me a factoid that meant little to me then. Without prompting and likely in response to my requests for more pizza or quarters, he told me that the famed French general, Napoleon Bonaparte, passed the first laws against marijuana in modern history in the early 1800s. I immediately forgot about it, likely sulked, and didn’t think of that moment again until graduate school.

As it turns out, my father was wrong about Napoleon. And the many people and academic institutions who helped me prove him wrong and write this book deserve much credit.

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Baltimore, Maryland

TAMING CANNABIS

INTRODUCTION

Hashish, Islam, and Violence in the French Colonial Mind

In late October 1968, the French National Assembly met to discuss the Fifth Republic's efforts to combat international drug trafficking and a recent surge in drug-related arrests in France, especially among university-age youths. Alarmed by the student rebellions of May and June and still anxious over the immigration and integration of *harkis* and *pieds noirs* after the Algerian War, politicians across the ideological spectrum moved to strengthen the nation's commitment to the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 as a means of combating both issues, which many believed were connected. Many in the Assembly also believed that, in such a time of crisis, the French government should go beyond the Convention's protocols and harden its own legal system against the "foreign scourge" of drug use among the nation's rebellious youth.¹ After a series of discussions lasting until December 1970, the Assembly passed Public Health Article L. 627, then the most comprehensive legal measure taken in modern France against the traffic, sale, and use of illicit substances and the basis of French drug laws today.

During the debates leading up to the passing of the 1970 Drug Law, which were often interspersed with French politicians and consulting medical, public health, and legal professionals, the nation's social unrest and drug problems were described as a "foreign plague" spread to France by Arab drug traffickers and provocateurs set on undermining the health, morality, and social order of the body politic. In his address to the Assembly at the first open debate in October 1969, Gaullist Pierre Mazeaud, a jurist and law professor, urged the French government to do all it could to catch and expel "undesirable foreigners" engaged in drug smuggling, including "hippies" and "persons who travel excessively to the Middle or Far Orient."² Daniel Benoist, a socialist deputy in the Assembly, echoed Mazeaud, arguing that the student rebellions, street violence, and the rise in drug-related arrests all stemmed from "the introduction of foreign elements into our country that brought with them radical philosophies and at the same time drugs."³ These alien ideas and drugs, Benoist concluded, had duped France's youth with promises of "artificial paradise," thus sparking the violent student rebellion and current state of crisis in French society.⁴ Driving the point home, fellow socialist deputy René Chazelle reminded the Assembly that the word "assassin" shared an etymology with the word "hashish," both deriving from the name of an

ancient cult of cannabis-smoking murderers in the Islamic world, the “hachichins” in the French, roughly “hashish-eaters” in the English. “This filiation of drugs and crime,” Chazelle warned, “is not simply assonance, it is today a reality.”⁵

The stereotyping of the hash-crazed Arab assassin has a long history in French and European literature, stretching back to the era of the crusades. Marco Polo’s famous travel narratives, first published around 1300 in Venice and translated into the French in 1355 as *Livre des merveilles du monde*, introduced Europeans to the fantastic story of the drug-crazed Ismaili Assassins, their leader Hassan-i Sabbah, and their fortress paradise at Alamut (in modern-day northern Iran). Though this cult of assassins *did* exist and carry out numerous military campaigns during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (mostly against Islamic leaders), modern studies have revealed Polo’s depiction of the cult to be a gripping, but mostly fictitious story intended to captivate Western readers. Moreover, there is no evidence that the cult used hashish or any other intoxicant. Contemporaries in the Arab world did refer to the cult as the “hashish-eaters,” but several historians, and notably Farhad Daftary, have argued that this term designated “an expression of contempt” for the cult’s “wild beliefs and extravagant behavior” and thus “was a derisive comment on their conduct rather than a description of their practices.”⁶ Up through the twentieth century, however, Europeans, especially the French, rarely questioned the credulity of Polo’s story, and the mythical cult of the “Hachichins” remained central to French definitions and depictions of Arabo-Muslim cultures and, consequently, of cannabis use.⁷

Throughout the debates that culminated in the creation of law no. 70-1320 of 31 December 1970, which structures drug policing and prohibition in France today, numerous members of the French National Assembly deployed this centuries-old, racialized myth of the Hachichins, firmly embedded in France’s imperial past, to make sense of and connect drug abuse, student rebellion, and anti-state violence.⁸ Convinced by this rhetoric and explanation, French legislators hardened penalties and lengthened jail time for drug dealers in France and gave police forces unprecedented power to suspend basic civil liberties in the pursuit of suspected traffickers and distributors.⁹ The law also deemed those convicted of possession or public intoxication “victims of addiction” and required them either to undergo rehabilitation treatment supervised by state-regulated medical institutions or to suffer criminal prosecution. In

short, the law victimized drug users, defined as victims of a foreign-born plague in need of state-supervised medical treatment and support, and vilified drug traffickers, understood as hashish-pushing Arab assassins.¹⁰ Moreover, as a 2009 study conducted by Open Society Justice Initiative and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique revealed, France's current war on drugs disproportionately targets the nation's ethnic minorities, believed by legislators and police to be the primary traffickers and distributors of illegal substances in France.¹¹ The joint study concluded that "black" and "Arab" Parisians were, respectively, six and eight times more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession than their white counter-parts.¹² A 2015 study conducted by the Association Française pour la Réduction des Risques also concluded that black and Arabo-Muslim communities in France are systematically targeted by police and are nearly ten times more likely than white French citizens to be stopped by police for random identity checks that often lead to drug arrests.¹³ This no doubt contributes to the mass incarceration of Muslims in France, who make up roughly 8 per cent of the nation's population but account for roughly 50 per cent of its prison population.¹⁴ Thus, far from mere rhetoric, the racialized stereotyping that intellectually underpinned France's prohibition measures has translated into the disproportionate policing and mass incarceration of the country's ethnic and religious minorities.

As the current French government and its president, Emmanuel Macron, move to reform France's drug laws to address the rise in drug-related incarceration rates and the growing popular demand in France for cannabis legalization, there is no better time than now to explore the largely untold history of cannabis use and prohibition in the French imperial nation-state.¹⁵ Though contemporary debates on France's drug problem are less rife with racialized rhetoric than those of the late 1960s, the government's refusal to dismantle the foundation and logic of the 1970 drug law raises the question: Why, so many years after the formal dissolution of the French Empire, is France working to maintain a law embedded in its chequered and violent imperial past? Moreover – and of more interest to historians of France and of the expanding subfield, "drugs and empires" – how did this colonial association between hashish, Islam, and violence come to form the foundation of medical and legal discourse on drug use and prohibition in France in the first place?¹⁶

Taming Cannabis moves us closer to answering these and related

questions by exploring the rise and fall of hashish in France, from Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, where the French first encountered and regulated hashish consumption, through the subsequent medicalization of hashish in metropolitan France between 1800 and 1850, to the criminalization of hashish in French Algeria during the 1850s and 1860s. As the book details, French authorities across the nineteenth century routinely argued that hashish consumption, especially among Muslim North Africans, produced in users a wide array of behaviours deemed irrationally violent and threatening to social order. Moreover, and ironically, this epistemic linkage of hashish with irrational violence – concretized in the scientifically validated mythistory of the Hachichins – provided the primary impetus for French pharmacists and physicians to tame the exotic drug and to deploy it in the homeopathic treatment of mental illness and epidemic disease throughout the 1830s and 1840s. At first heralded by French and Western physicians as a “wonder drug” capable of curing insanity, cholera, and the plague, hashish quickly proved ineffective against these feared diseases and fell from repute by the mid-1850s. However, the association between hashish use and Muslim violence remained and quickly became codified in French colonial medicine and law by the 1860s as a significant cause of mental illness, violence, and anti-state resistance among indigenous Muslim Algerians. This historical ambivalence towards hashish in France across the nineteenth century, I argue, reflected and reinforced the physical, structural, and symbolic violence at the heart of French colonialism, and continues to shape perceptions of drugs, drug prohibition, and citizenship in France today.

Recent studies published on both sides of the Atlantic have begun to shed light on this living but hazy history of drugs and prohibition in modern France.¹⁷ Jean-Jacques Yvorel's *Les Poisons de l'esprit: Drogues et drogués au XIXème siècle* (1992) broke new ground in French historiography by unearthing the development of the medico-legal concept of “toxicomanie,” or addiction, largely understood in fin-de-siècle France as a poisoned national spirit. Yvorel surveyed the records of French doctors and politicians across the nineteenth century as they worked to classify, treat, and ultimately punish “morphinomanes,” or opium addicts, a process culminating in the creation in 1916 of the first anti-drug law inside the Hexagon. Emmanuelle Retaillaud-Bajac's more recent *Les Paradis perdus: Drogues et usagers de drogues dans la France de l'entre-deux-guerres* (2009) continued the story into the twentieth century,

examining the 1916 national drug prohibition and its ultimate failure and inadvertent creation of a vibrant, illicit trade in heroin and cocaine during the interwar period. In his comparative study of British and French drug control policies, *Social Poison: The Culture and Politics of Opiate Control in Britain and France, 1821–1926* (2012), historian Howard Padwa similarly focuses on opioids during the interwar period, arguing that related strains of “anti-narcotic nationalism,” especially heightened during wartime, drove both nations’ opium control efforts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both countries, Padwa argues, fashioned “reasons for wanting to restrict drug use that were both specifically *national* and *anti-narcotic*, built on assumptions about what bound the national community together and on a fear of what opiates could do to a society if their habitual use proliferated.”¹⁸ Alexandre Marchant’s recently released *L’Impossible Prohibition: Drogues et toxicomanie en France, 1945–2017* (2018) carries this story through the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, employing an impressive array of ministerial, police, and medical records to chart the creation and application of the law of December 1970. Marchant deems law no. 70-1320 of 31 December 1970 and its implementation over the past fifty years “contradictory and counterproductive,” rendered largely ineffective by insufficient coordination among ministries and police forces with conflicting objectives. Though all four works offer major contributions to the history of drugs and prohibition in modern France, they are all opium-centric and reduce a much longer story of drugs and prohibition to legislation produced during years of heightened nationalism or domestic political and social crisis. Moreover, by defining French drug control policies in decidedly national terms, all four works ignore the imperial origins of drugs and prohibition in France and thus fail to account for the lasting influence of colonial violence on contemporary French efforts to understand and prohibit drugs, particularly cannabis.¹⁹

By exploring the history of cannabis within the context of French Empire, this book builds on recent scholarly efforts to investigate the intersections of France’s national and imperial pasts.²⁰ This “imperial turn” in French historiography is driven by a key assumption that imperialism played a crucial role in the making of contemporary European nation-states, particularly France, and thus that empires and nations should be considered part of, as Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper put it, “a single analytical field.”²¹ In his seminal work, *The French Imperial*

Nation-State: Négritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars (2005), scholar Gary Wilder captures this historiographical shift well, arguing that “French historiography is traditionally guided by a national paradigm for which a correspondence between territory, population, and state is considered normal and the existence of colonies is treated as exceptional.” This fabricated barrier between France’s national and imperial pasts, he writes, conceals the reality that “the metropole and its overseas colonies exercised a reciprocal influence upon one another” and that both should be studied as one political and socio-cultural unit, or what he terms the “imperial nation-state.”²²

As French historian Marc Ferro argues, this traditional reluctance in France to view colony and metropole as a connected historical process has rendered largely “inaudible” the violent history of French colonization in Africa and Asia.²³ Through self- and governmental censorship, Ferro contends, the French people and the Fifth Republic largely have excused, revised, or forgotten the many forms of violence at the heart of the nation’s colonial ventures during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.²⁴ In late February of 2005 the French National Assembly authorized this popular historical negationism by passing a law requiring history teachers in lycées nation-wide to highlight “the positive role of the French presence overseas, notably in North Africa.”²⁵ The thousands tortured and killed during the Algerian Revolution, the six thousand plus massacred at Sétif in 1945, the millions suspended in liminal legal citizenship for over a century, and the estimated 830,000 indigenous Algerians who lost their lives during the first forty-five years of French occupation – not to mention the many symbolic violences suffered by generations subjected to French colonialism – all mattered less, as Ferro aptly puts it, than “the conviction, internalized by the French, that the government can make mistakes, but my country is always right.”²⁶

For the past three decades, historians of France have worked to address these blind spots in French historiography and popular memory by examining the complex, often violent realities of the nation’s colonial past and the ways in which that history continues to unfold and echo into the present. Performing what Ferro calls a historical “repentance,” historians of France have increasingly refocused their work on the ways in which the histories of the Hexagon and those of colonial and postcolonial Africa and Asia share many unwritten, unfinished, and bloody chapters. In the final years of formal French Empire, scholar-revolutionary Frantz Fanon

forcefully penned the foreword to these chapters by decrying the corporeal, structural, and symbolic violences perpetrated in Algeria in the name of French civilization.²⁷ In his powerful *Les Damnés de la terre* (1961) and lesser known but equally fiery *L'An cinq de la révolution algérienne* (1959), Fanon highlighted the central role of violence in the creation and maintenance of French Algeria and the consequent need for violence to destroy the colonial regime and regenerate a national consciousness in indigenous Algerian populations. “In a world where oppression is maintained by violence from above,” Fanon wrote in *L'An cinq*, “it is only possible to liquidate it with violence from below.”²⁸

This violent, Manichean contest between colonizer and colonized described by Fanon set the tone of early scholarship on the history of French colonialism in North Africa. In true Fanonian style historians publishing during the 1990s and early 2000s, such as Yves Bénot, Mohammed Harbi, Sven Lindqvist, Kamel Kateb, and Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, focused their studies on the many violences perpetrated by the French state during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries against colonial subjects in Africa and Asia. These works highlighted the excessive physical brutality of French conquest and the ways in which, as Grandmaison aptly put it, “colonization and extermination often went hand in hand.”²⁹

In addition to amassing a colonial body count, historians have also examined the many structural violences instituted by the French state in the name of civilization and their causes and consequences in both colonial and metropolitan contexts.³⁰ Alice Conklin’s work, and notably *A Mission to Civilize* (1997), highlights numerous forms of “state-sanctioned violence” at the core of France’s colonization of West Africa under the Third Republic.³¹ Conklin convincingly shows how, in the decades surrounding the First World War, the Government General of French West Africa strategically used the rhetoric of universal republicanism to justify unequal, segregated, and repressive labour practices and juridical systems that denied full citizenship to Africans. Historian Amit Prakash explored a similar example of structural violence but in the French metropole, detailing how North and West African migrants in Paris after the First World War faced extra-legal and racist systems of state violence at the hands of police. Using the archives of the Parisian Police Prefecture, Prakash detailed the surveillance, harassment, and at times outright murder of Africans by Parisian police, who in official statements reductively

classified North Africans migrants as prone to irrational violence, thus “necessitating” increased and illegal policing.³² This extra-legal policing of North Africans in the capital reached a climax in October 1961 when Paris police attacked a large crowd of Algerian Front de libération nationale supporters protesting near the Seine, killing over two hundred demonstrators.³³ In both the metropole and the colonies, then, the French exercised excessive and extra-legal violence against colonized subjects in the name of civilization and social order.

As Prakash, Conklin, and Fanon all underscored, a complex process of symbolic dehumanization often accompanied and bolstered the structural inequities and practices of coercive violence at the heart of French colonialism. As Fanon put it in his first book, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952), the ideals of French colonialism demanded that African and Asian populations abandon their indigenous ways of life and, through the acquisition of French language, science, and republicanism, work towards full acceptance “into the rank of Men.” “The more the colonized has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis,” Fanon argued, “the more he will have escaped the bush.”³⁴ This process of coercive assimilation, for Fanon, did violence to the humanity of colonized peoples because it simultaneously qualified or outright negated their indigenous cultures and locked them in an absurd, injurious mission to become French. Moreover, in the minds of French authorities, whether the Parisian police or the Government General of French West Africa, this “immutable otherness” of colonized subjects, as historian Julia Clancy-Smith terms it, simultaneously explained their supposed barbarism and justified the state’s use of excessive and extra-legal violence to tame that barbarism.³⁵

In her book *Politics of the Veil* (2007), historian Joan Wallach Scott examines this central paradox of French colonial history – that the French consciously conceptualized colonialism as a mission to civilize the violent *with* violence – and argues that it forms the historical backdrop of contemporary debates in France over Muslim women publicly wearing the hijab. In March 2004, the government of the French Fifth Republic banned “the wearing of signs or clothing which conspicuously manifest students’ religious affiliation” in public schools, arguing that to do so sullied the core tenets of French republicanism, namely, the separation of church and state (*laïcité*) and gender equality.³⁶ Several French politicians, including former president Jacques Chirac, also linked the wearing of headscarves to Islamic-fundamentalist terrorism, arguing that veils constituted an overt

“aggression” against the French state and its republican values.³⁷ In July 2010, the National Assembly, citing the dangers of terrorism and the defence of liberty, voted to extend the 2004 ban on hijabs, burqas, and niqabs to all citizens in all public spaces.³⁸ When presenting the bill to the Assembly, Minister of Justice Michèle Alliot-Marie argued that “democracy thrives when it is open-faced.” One deputy even described the veil as a “walking coffin” and “a muzzle on freedom,” and another as “a sign of alienation on their faces.”³⁹ To liberate Muslim women, then, the French government believed it necessary to eliminate their religious freedoms.

Joan Scott reminds us that this process of inscribing symbolic otherness onto the bodies and cultures of colonized peoples, especially Muslim North Africans, has both a long and living history in France. From the first decades of French conquest in North Africa through the Algerian War for Independence to contemporary debates in postcolonial France over immigration and terrorism, Scott argues, French authorities routinely defined Arabo-Muslim people as criminals prone to lascivious, irrational, and violent behaviours because of, as Alexis de Tocqueville put it, the “morbid consequences and decadence of Islam.”⁴⁰ As Scott details, French authorities across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries largely shared Tocqueville’s sentiment, believing that Islam transformed North Africans into “a race apart” and paradoxically functioned as both “the cause *and* the effect of their inferiority.”⁴¹ François Guizot, then foreign minister to King Louis Philip I, deployed this sentiment to justify the heavy-handedness of colonial conquest in North Africa, writing in 1846 that “Algeria is filled with people who are half savages, [and thus] one is obliged to employ more violent and sometimes harsher methods” to force their assimilation and ensure colonial order.⁴² The hijab, Scott argues, historically has served as symbolic shorthand in France for the barbarism of Islam and thus as an expression of the natural resistance of all Muslims to the “civilizing mission” and its demands for cultural assimilation. “We cannot understand contemporary debates about the veil without this history,” Scott concludes, because “in French Eyes, the veil has long been a symbol of the irreducible difference and thus the inassimilability of Islam.”⁴³

Much as with the veil, one cannot understand contemporary debates in France concerning cannabis without first knowing the centuries-old and continually unfolding colonial history that produced them. As the following pages detail, the story of cannabis in modern France is firmly

embedded within the nation's complicated, contested, and still unfolding history of colonial violence. French authorities across the past three centuries have used hashish and cannabis-based intoxicants to define Arabo-Muslim people in French space as a "race apart"; to explain away their resistance to colonization (and decolonization) as drug-induced, religious fanaticism; and to justify extra-legal and repressive prohibitions against cultural practices deemed antithetical to French values. Also like the veil, hashish intoxication time and again functioned in French colonial minds as both an explanation for anti-state violence and a justification for the often extra-legal and excessive measures taken by the French state to combat that violence and its assumed causes, chief among them being intoxication and Islam.⁴⁴ Whether expressed as indigenous resistance to colonization in North Africa, as student-led political protest in the streets of Paris, or, more recently, as fundamentalist Islamic terrorism across the West,⁴⁵ the "social dramas caused by this foreign drug," as Socialist deputy Daniel M. Benoist described the student protests of '68 to the National Assembly in October 1969, routinely necessitated in the minds of French authorities extra-legal measures to re-establish social order, ranging from the suspension of civil liberties to the use of military force.⁴⁶ In short, historically, hashish intoxication has functioned for the French as an Oriental bogeyman that simultaneously explains away the contradictions of colonialism and anti-colonial violence as drug-induced lunacy and justifies the creation and expansion of extra-legal state measures to combat resistance to the French brand of liberty and civilization.

The story of how cannabis-based intoxicants metamorphosed in French minds into an Oriental monster begins in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when both hashish and the Islamic world primarily existed in the imaginations of the French, who had had little direct contact with the region since the era of the Crusades. The gap between reality and discourse – that is, between their actual knowledge of hashish and their musings about it – allowed French fiction- and travel writers, such as Antoine Galland and Charles Sonnini de Manoncourt, to bridge the divide with reductive depictions of non-Western people as a "race apart," driven to fanatical violence by superstitions parading as religions and hashish abuse. The first chapter of this book charts these early, often fantastical references in French discourse to hashish use in North Africa and the Middle East, demonstrating that, despite the Islamic world's centuries-long

and complex history with the drug as both medicine and (often illegal) recreational intoxicant, eighteenth-century French writers routinely proffered hashish as both a cause and a consequence of Oriental savagery and thus as symbolic shorthand for the “irreducible difference of Islam,” as Scott put it. The history of hashish in early modern France thus was largely a work of historical fiction culled from reductive fantasies that functioned to dehumanize Arabo-Muslim cultures and solidify the epistemic link between cannabis-based intoxicants and Muslim violence in the French colonial mind.

Chapter 2 examines Napoleon’s ill-fated Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801) and the ways in which the short-lived occupation of Egypt by the French Armée d’Orient closed the gap between the discourse and realities of cannabis-based intoxicants in the colonial minds of French soldiers and military physicians. The chapter opens with a discussion of Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign from 1798 to 1801 and, building on the work of historian Juan Cole, attempts to revise traditional portrayals of this military venture as a cut and dry example of traditional imperial conquest. Far from abolishing or repressing local customs in Egypt, Napoleon worked to establish a colonial administration that integrated key components of Egypt’s dominant cultures of Islam as well as key members of its Sunni elite into the administration and operation of the French imperial nation-state’s newest Sister Republic. Though many Egyptians had little interest in Napoleon’s efforts to create an integrated republic and in October 1798 rose in rebellion against French occupation forces in Cairo, Napoleon’s colonial policies throughout the campaign continued to push for the mixing and mimicry of Muslims and Islam into the governance and culture of the new colony. As the chapter argues, the standard portrayal of Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign as an abortive episode of empire building fails to account for or explain the myriad moments of contact, exchange, and even cooperation that occurred between the French and Egyptians between 1798 and 1801. In fact, under the command of Napoleon and later of the lesser-known Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou – who converted to Islam, adopted the name Abdallah (meaning “servant of Allah”), and married into an elite Sunni family from Rosetta – the French Army pursued a systematic policy of integration in Egypt that included Egyptian elites in the colony’s governance and defence and integrated key aspects of Islamic civilization into the colony’s political culture. It is from these policies of mixing and mimicry, however fleeting, phony, or failed, that

the figure of Abdallah Menou and his colony-wide prohibition of hashish in October 1800, the first anti-cannabis law in French history, emerged.

The third chapter follows hashish back to France in the early decades of the 1800s when few people, outside of veterans stationed in the port cities of Marseilles and Toulon and a handful of medical practitioners in Paris who were veterans of the Egyptian Campaign, had reliable access to hashish. This dearth of supply did little to stymie the rise in popularity of the intoxicant as a discursive marker of the Oriental world in the developing French imperial imaginary. Building on recent scholarship on the historical intersections of intoxicants and European empires, chapter 3 shows how early French conceptions of hashish use emerged from a popular imperial imaginary developing across France and the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that routinely envisaged drugs as stereotypical markers of Oriental barbarism and, especially, violence. It also examines the discursive process through which the mythic connection between hashish and Islamic assassins, first established by French linguist Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in 1809, became a proven fact in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. A careful reading of Sacy's works and sources reveals that Sacy based his studies of the Islamic assassins on Orientalized illusions rather than facts and thus inaccurately portrayed hashish as an evil intoxicant used by certain Muslims to transform disciples into blindly obedient and bloodthirsty murderers. Ignorant of or indifferent to the inaccuracies in Sacy's contentions, scholars and scientists working in a range of academic disciplines routinely referenced Sacy's myth when discussing hashish and the Arabo-Islamic world. With their repeated, mostly uncritical citations of Sacy's work, French and European scholars steadily transformed the myth of the hashish-eating Muslim assassins into common knowledge requiring, by the middle of the nineteenth century, no citation or reference to prove its veracity.

Among the most active in this process of creating facts about hashish were French pharmacists and physicians practising in France and abroad from the late 1830s through the 1850s. As chapter 5 details, dozens of French pharmacists and physicians practising in the mid-nineteenth century employed cannabis-based medicines, generally in the forms of dawamesk (an edible made with hashish) and hashish tinctures, to treat physical and psychological diseases ranging from the plague and cholera to insanity. These medical practitioners published numerous peer-reviewed

articles in medical journals and dozens of doctoral and medical dissertations on the subject of cannabis as medicine. Close examination of these publications reveals that discussion and debates about cannabis-based medicines figured prominently in the early professional development of French pharmacy and in prominent debates concerning the medical theories of anticontagionism and homeopathy. For example, many French epidemiologists practising at this time, such as Louis Rémy Aubert-Roche, Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey, Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, and Alexandre Willemin, believed in the anticontagionist nature of epidemic diseases – that is, they believed that cholera and the plague were disorders of the central nervous system transmitted to humans via miasmas, or “bad air,” released in unhygienic and poorly aerated areas. These and numerous other physicians and pharmacists correspondingly believed that *Cannabis indica*, though a dangerous and exotic substance from the Orient, could be tamed by the developing pharmaceutical sciences and, once refined, used by physicians as a homeopathic remedy to combat the damage done to the brain by the miasmas. Two prominent pharmacists, Joseph-Bernard Gastinel and Edmond de Courtive, even waged a war of words in the pages of Parisian medical journals in the summer and fall of 1848 over who first developed a particularly potent cannabis tincture. The “Affaire Gastinel,” as the French press dubbed the controversy, marked the drug’s zenith of popularity within the profession. After hashish proved ineffective against cholera during the outbreak in Paris in the early months of 1849, many pharmacists and physicians began to publish articles condemning the intoxicant as more dangerous than useful. And by the 1860s numerous physicians, particularly hygienists and alienists living and working in French Algeria, increasingly published reports of “hashish poisoning” and “hashish-induced insanity,” particularly among the newly colonized subjects of North Africa.

Medically speaking, this critical and minority opinion of hashish as a poison largely congealed around the writings of Alexandre Brière de Boismont (1797–1881), a prominent alienist from Montmartre who published an immediate response to the above-mentioned report of hashish poisoning in Marseilles in the 17 November edition of the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*. In his letter to the editor, Boismont confirmed that “hashish has a special property, well known to the Orientals, that gives rise to serious accidents” and that “madness is often the consequence of prolonged use of this substance.”⁴⁷

Chapter 5 examines the writings of Brière de Boismont and shows how his critiques of hashish flowed from his belief that mental illness was not solely a physiological phenomenon but also and more often a disorder of one's moral and spiritual constitution, which existed, as Boismont put it, "denuded of the organs."⁴⁸ Boismont's conception of insanity ran directly counter to that of Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, who understood mental illness as a physiological phenomenon rooted in the organic process of the brain understood as an organ and not as a scientifically repackaged soul, or what Boismont and fellow spiritualists called the *sens intime*, or "visceral sense." This nineteenth-century medical debate between "physiologists" (Moreau and others who believed in the physical nature of insanity) and "psychologists" (Boismont and those who believed in the metaphysical nature of insanity) over the source of mental illness produced contrasting positions on the utility of hashish as a treatment in the fight against it.⁴⁹ Moreau and his fellow physiologists believed insanity flowed from a "fundamental lesion" in the brain and that "simile-based therapies" such as hashish offered an effective research tool and potential remedy for disorders of the central nervous system. Contrary to this, Boismont and his fellow psychologists believed in the spiritual and moral nature of insanity and understood mental illness as a disorder of thinking best conceptualized and treated with philosophical rather than physiological inquiry. Boismont thus believed that hashish provided no medicinal benefit, merely caused users to act irrationally and violently, and should be legally prohibited throughout the French Empire. Much as in the contagionism/anticontagionism debates over the nature and spread of epidemic diseases, then, hashish played a prominent role in mid-nineteenth-century disputes in France over the nature and treatment of mental illness. One's personal medical philosophies often determined whether or not one supported the medicalization of hashish.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, hashish gradually lost the medicinal legitimacy it had enjoyed during its heyday in 1840s France, appearing to French physicians by the 1880s, much as it had to Boismont, as a poison and threat to social order rather than as a remedy and tool for medical research. Though physiological interpretations of mental illness, as well as of disease more generally, came to dominate French and Western medicine during the second half of the nineteenth century, earlier physiology-based justifications for hashish as a treatment for mental and physical diseases did not accompany the school of thought's rise to

prominence.⁵⁰ French historian Jacques Arveiller has argued that the de-medicalization of hashish in France during the second half of the nineteenth century was linked to the scientific discoveries of Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch, which marked the triumph of contagionism over the miasmatic theories of epidemic disease.⁵¹ With the discoveries of the bacteria that produced the plague and cholera came the obsolescence of the anticontagionist logic that underpinned the use of hashish in earlier treatments during the first half of the century. Dutch historians Stephen Snelders, Charles Kaplan, and Toine Pieters expressed a similar view, writing that interest in cannabis in France declined “because the drug did not belong to the new ‘scientific’ era of modern psychopharmacology” and thus “did not look forward to the hopes of final conquest of physiological and mental diseases by modern medicine.”⁵² Snelders et al. also point to the inability of chemists and pharmacists to isolate and standardize the psychoactive properties of cannabis and the contemporaneous rise of Romantic art and literature that Orientalized hashish consumption as contributing factors to this decline in the “career cycle” of medicinal cannabis in Western Europe during the nineteenth century.

As chapter 6 demonstrates, these previous explanations for the de-medicalization and criminalization of hashish in France during the second half of the nineteenth century are incomplete because they fail to consider the important influence of French colonial expansion in North Africa on popular, medical, and legal perceptions of hashish back in metropolitan France. The inability to standardize tincture doses and transformations in medical philosophies and practices certainly fuelled the de-medicalization of hashish in France in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the fall of medicalized hashish in nineteenth-century France cannot be understood fully when examined outside the contexts of the French Empire. With the extension of French territorial control in Algeria during the second half of the nineteenth century, a colonial project reinvigorated by the 1847 French victory over El-Kader’s resistance forces and subsequent partitioning of the colony into three administrative départements (Alger, Oran, and Constantine) the following year, came a renewed effort by French writers, artists, scholars, and physicians to embed depictions of the Orient and corresponding portrayals of hashish in what Edward Said called an “imaginative geography” of empire that sought to discursively exile Arabo-Islamic cultures from the conceptual topography of Western civilization.⁵³ In this imagined imperial landscape –

rendered in the writings of Théophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire, and Alexandre Dumas; the paintings of Eugène Delacroix; the scholarship of Ernest Renan; and in dozens of medical and legal texts penned by imperial bureaucrats and physicians in French Algeria throughout the second half of the nineteenth century –hashish, which for centuries had been an accepted if contentious medical panacea and intoxicant in the Arabo-Islamic world, transformed into a clear marker of Oriental savagery and a key basis of distinction between the civilized culture of France and the barbarism of Muslim Algerians. Proven incapable by the 1850s of being tamed by Western medical sciences, hashish thus took on a renewed flagitiousness in France. Whereas the Orientalized psychotropic profile of hashish fuelled cannabis-based medical research and treatments in the late 1830s and 1840s, by the late 1850s the same profile was increasingly (re)emplotted into an imperial discourse about drug-induced mass violence among colonized Muslims that justified official appeals for hashish prohibition across the French Empire by the 1850s and beyond.

Competing Strains: The Two Histories of Cannabis in Early Modern France

There are no drugs “in nature.” There may be “natural” poisons and indeed naturally lethal poisons, but they are not poisonous insofar as they are drugs ... the concept of drugs supposes an instituted and an institutional definition: a history is required, and a culture, conventions, evaluations, norms, an entire network of intertwined discourses, a rhetoric, whether explicit or elliptical. One must conclude, then, that the concept of drugs is a non-scientific one, that it is instituted on the basis of moral or political evaluations; it carries in itself no norm or prohibition and allows no possibility of description or certification—it is a decree, a mot d’ordre.

Jacques Derrida, “L’esprit des drogues” (1989)

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1865, several French farmers in colonial Bône, a city in northeastern Algeria known today as Annaba, purchased seeds from an “Arab merchant” who guaranteed they would grow into cannabis fit for the production of *tekrouri*, slang in Algeria for hashish.¹ The farmers were familiar with “chanvre ordinaire,” long grown in France for the production of hemp, but they were hoping to increase their revenues by planting hemp’s exotic cousin, “chanvre indien,” known as *kif* in Algeria, the harvest of which once processed into hashish demanded a much higher price in the markets of Bône.² However, the farmers’ plans were foiled when they returned to harvest their fields at the end of the summer only to find them almost entirely filled with ordinary hemp. As a result, the farmers filed a formal complaint with the city’s civil tribunal, seeking damages for lost revenues caused by the merchant’s fraudulent sale.

To better understand the details of the case before rendering a verdict, the tribunal tasked Isidore Dukerley, a doctor in the French Army, amateur botanist, and member of the Société Botanique de France, with outlining the observable differences between the two species, determining if it is possible to distinguish between their seeds and thus helping the court decide whether or not it was reasonable to assume the merchant knew the difference.³ As Dukerley detailed in his report, the official distinction between chanvre ordinaire and chanvre indien had been codified in Western science a century earlier. In 1753, Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus classified cannabis grown in Sweden for the production of hemp as

Cannabis sativa, and in 1783 French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck labelled samples from Southeast Asia supplied by French explorer Pierre Sonnerat *Cannabis indica*.⁴ Lamarck argued that “Indian cannabis” differed significantly from Europe’s “cultivated cannabis” in stalk height and thickness, branching pattern, flowering cycle, and leaflet size. Whereas *C. sativa* took roughly four months to grow an average height of one to two metres with thin foliage and herbaceous (meaning thin and pliable) stalk, *C. indica* grew more quickly (two to three months), rarely above one metre, and conversely had thick foliage, a hard, wood-like stalk, and resinous flowers. Lamarck rooted these botanical differences and thus the phylogenetic split of the plant into two distinct species in their contrasting histories and cultures of consumption in Europe and Southeast Asia. Cultivated cannabis, Lamarck remarked, “is an extremely interesting and useful plant ... all the world makes productive use of its prepared bark to fashion ropes and cloth.” While cannabis from India, he contrasted, “constitutes an altogether different species,” used primarily by Indians to “procure a species of intoxication (*espèce d’ivresse*) that disturbs the brain.”⁵

Dukerley agreed that once matured the two varieties of cannabis exhibited important botanical distinctions that lent themselves to contrasting cultures of consumption in Europe and Southeast Asia. He argued, as well, that their seeds similarly offered observable differences, namely, that hemp seeds often were larger, brownish-grey, and striped with uniform white lines, whereas those of cannabis used to make *tekrouri* were generally smaller, reddish-brown, and marked with uneven black stripes. The tribunal also had Dukerley and two of his colleagues, French botanists Pagot and Watebled, examine samples of the seeds sold by the merchant to the French farmers, and all three concurred that the seeds in question were a “mixture of Kif and hemp, but where that of the latter well dominated.” After hearing Dukerley’s testimony, the civil tribunal in Bône found the Algerian merchant guilty of fraud and on the first day of September 1865 sentenced him to fifteen days in prison.⁶

In a report published in the *Bulletin de la Société botanique de France* the following year, Dukerley briefly outlined the details of the case and elaborated on his understanding of the phylogenetic division of cannabis into *C. indica* and *C. sativa*. Going against Lamarckian doctrine, Dukerley argued that the observable distinctions between the plants and their seeds were not the product of fixed biological distinctions but “the direct result

of contrasting climates, soil, and processes of cultivation.” He argued, as well, that he could prove it. If one were to “cultivate ordinary hemp in Algeria under the same conditions as Kif, that is to say, without giving it the vigilant and meticulous care lavished on it in France, and, on the other hand, cultivate in France, with the same treatment and in the same soil, the Kif of Algeria, one would observe without a doubt the characteristics that distinguish the two forms gradually disappear.”⁷ Dukerley claimed he was already in the process of realizing the latter of the two experiments and promised to share the results with the Société upon completion. Unfortunately, no results materialized in future editions of the *Bulletin*.

This episode of cannabis confusion in nineteenth-century Bône reflects a central paradox in French colonial thinking that continues to shape perceptions of the drug in France today. One of the oldest and most enduring “facts” about cannabis – that is, that the plant evolved into separate species called *C. sativa* and *C. indica* – has more often been supported by, as Derrida put it, “moral or political evaluations” than by observable or verifiable proof “in nature.”⁸ Put another way, historically, in French scientific, legal, and popular discourse, the prevailing distinction between chanvre ordinaire and chanvre indien has been articulated through a rhetoric of empire that was as concerned with the power to define notions of otherness and sameness as it was with uncovering objective truths to underpin those biological concepts. For example, in his final analysis, Dukerley appeared less concerned with determining whether or not the merchant committed fraud or explaining exactly how the mixture of seeds grew into hemp than he was with exercising the power to (re)define the biological origin and identity of cannabis, however specious. Moreover, Dukerley’s critique of Lamarckian tradition ironically provided an exception that proved the rule. Even though he believed the plants’ observable distinctions belied a common biological origin, Dukerley in the same breath argued that only through an agricultural decivilizing process, described as the withholding of the “vigilant and meticulous care lavished on it in France,” could hemp degenerate into kif in Algeria, and, conversely, only through a process of careful cultivation in the fields of France could kif regenerate into hemp. Whether through nature or nurture, then, cannabis grown outside of Europe for the production of intoxicants had degenerated into an observable species apart.

This chapter explores the “intertwined discourses” of science, travel literature, fiction, and diplomacy produced in France between 1600 and

1800 that together first solidified in the minds of French and Western “men of letters” the idea that cannabis had evolved (and degenerated) into two distinct species reflective of contrasting cultures of consumption produced by races of presumed unequal values and ranks. Working in the vein of “post-colonial science studies,” which approaches modern science as a product of colonial societies with, as historian Sandra Harding puts it, “unattractive cultural and political commitments” to Eurocentrism, I argue that the speciation of cannabis into *C. sativa* and *C. indica* formulated during the second half of the eighteenth century, and biological taxonomies of that era in general, flowed as much from a developing imaginary of French national identity set against an exotic, undiscovered (and thus potentially conquerable) world as it did from observable and verifiable “facts” about cannabis in nature.⁹ Put another way, the distinctive species of cannabis were primarily rendered distinct during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by a rhetoric – that is, by an artificial system of names and historico-cultural narratives that largely functioned to explain and order the natural world in ways that privileged France and Europe as the epicentres of knowledge, progress, and thus of civilization.

“CHANVRE CULTIVÉ”: HEMP AND HERITAGE IN EARLY MODERN FRANCE

In the spring of 1793, Alexandre-Henri Tessier, a medical doctor, agronomist, and professor of both at the Academy of Sciences in Paris, published a new volume of the famous *Encyclopédies méthodiques* on the subjects of agriculture and medical botany.¹⁰ Originally edited by Denis Diderot and Jean-Baptiste le Rond D’Alembert and published by Panckoucke in 216 volumes between 1751 and 1832, the *Encyclopédies* exemplified the spirit and logic of knowledge production during the French Enlightenment. In his famous “Discours préliminaire des éditeurs,” written as the foreword to the first volume in 1751 and often considered the manifesto of the French Enlightenment, Diderot argued that “these works have two aims – to set forth the order and connection of the parts of human knowledge” and to articulate “the general principles that form the basis of each science and each art, liberal or mechanical, and the most essential facts that make up the body and substance of each.”¹¹ A renewed belief in humanity’s ability to sense, systematically chart, explain, and then improve upon the many operations of human life, or at least those of Europe’s most privileged and best informed, lie at the overlapping hearts of the *Encyclopédies* and the Enlightenment project.¹² Tessier’s volume, then, provided France’s “men of letters” authorized insights into the “essential facts” so far produced by the agricultural and botanical

sciences.¹³

An experienced agronomist who helped eradicate ergot from rye crops in the swamplands of the Sologne in the 1770s and, in the 1780s, oversaw experiments in animal husbandry and grass transplantation at the royal farm at Rambouillet leading to the successful acclimatization of Merino sheep in France, Tessier largely earned his reputation among France's educated elite as the leading expert on all things farming. In fact, he had cultivated cannabis for the production of hemp on his farm in Brie for over a decade and thus was able to speak from both authority and experience on the subject of "chanvre cultivé."¹⁴ Tessier drew from this expertise when writing his entry on "CHANVRE, *Cannabis. L.*" and its variant species, "Canabis [sic] sativa L." and "Chanvre des Indes ... ou Cannabis indica La."¹⁵ The opening lines of the entry make clear the distinctions between the two species in terms of scientific knowledge. "The first species [*Cannabis sativa*], Tessier wrote, "is too well known to require extended description"; whereas "the cannabis of the second variety [*Cannabis indica*], having never been cultivated in Europe," remains elusive to Western science. Therefore, "we do not know what care it might require."¹⁶ All that is known of the second species, Tessier contended, came from the writings of French and European adventurers, "who say it is cultivated in the Indies to obtain, by its means, a species of intoxication." Perhaps, Tessier ruminates, "this need of the inhabitants of the Tropics to procure such intoxication stems from the hot climate, which relaxes their tissue and deprives them of their energy; or should we render it a product of the despotism of their governments and the torpor in which they live? Regardless, it is a fact that the peoples of these climates have a multitude of preparations that ennoble them and that they have an invincible penchant for this state [of intoxication]."¹⁷ Whatever the causes, then, the phylogenetic split of cannabis into separate species, one reflective of an industrious and powerful Europe and the other of the harsh climates, widespread indolence, and despotic political cultures of non-Western societies, was a *fait prouvé* in France by the late eighteenth century.

Unlike its exotic and mostly imagined cousin from the tropics, *Cannabis sativa*, meaning "cultivated" or "useful" cannabis in Latin – and to which Tessier devoted the remaining twenty-one pages of his encyclopaedia entry – had, by the eighteenth century, enjoyed a lengthy and lauded history in France and throughout much of Europe. The French had cultivated cannabis for the production of hemp textiles and cordage

since as early as the first century AD, Tessier argued, when the Romans spread the crop to the conquered Celtic-Gaul.¹⁸ Building on these (fictional) imperial roots, France and the other “great States of Europe” recognized the plant’s utility as a source of raw materials “necessary for civilized life” at home and the extension of power abroad. “We owe to this plant,” Tessier wrote, “the linen which clothes us, and that which covers our tables and warms us at night. To the art of healing, it gives bandages and compressions; to the printing press, its paper; to the navies, their ropes and sails; to the millers, the wings of their mills; and to the artists, their canvases.” He estimated that this universal demand for hemp in France drove consumption to nearly 400,000,000 *livre pesants*, or roughly 196,000,000 kilograms, in 1783, with roughly two-thirds coming from domestic production and the other third supplied primarily by imports from Piedmont and Russia.¹⁹ Tessier viewed this heavy reliance on foreign hemp imports as an affront to France’s “fertile Kingdom” and a serious threat to the country’s precarious geopolitical position vis-à-vis Great Britain and the First Coalition. In this time of war, Tessier contended, the threat to French power caused by hemp dependency required immediate action and, if necessary, domestic sacrifice. “In a country as populous as France, where the consumption of hemp is enormous for domestic purposes,” Tessier pondered, “would it be dangerous to devote more ground to the cultivation [of hemp] to whet the supplies of the Navy, at the expense of other productions?”²⁰ Nearly two decades later, in 1812, Napoleon Bonaparte I – self-crowned emperor of France since his coronation at Versailles in December 1804 – likewise believed the fate of France hinged on controlling the international hemp market and invaded Tsarist Russia in part to arrest its ongoing and illicit trade in hemp and flax with rival Great Britain.²¹ Much as oil dependency did to US foreign policies during the twentieth century, then, a dependence on hemp at numerous times dictated the direction of French foreign and domestic affairs during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²²

Building on the research of Alfred W. Crosby on the history of hemp in the Atlantic World, recent works by historians Bradley Borougerdi and Nick Mattingly have shed additional light on this vital role played by hemp within the competition of Great Powers in early modern Europe.²³ As Crosby details in *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon* (1966), hemp had become an essential resource to all of Europe’s major powers by as early as the sixteenth century.²⁴ As the mercantilist Age of Exploration gave way

to one of capitalism, colonization, and imperial warfare, Europe's demand for hemp grew in proportion to the growth of its navies, which, as Alfred Thayer Mahan argued in 1890, operated as the primary engine of imperial power during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁵ Thus, in addition to the French, the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Austrian, British, and Russian monarchic empires all engaged in the international hemp trade during the early modern era as cultivators, manufacturers, and/or importer/exporters.²⁶ None, however, surpassed the hemp production of Tsarist Russia in both quality and quantity, particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The reasons for Russia's domination of the international hemp market were multiple. Peter the Great's efforts to expand his country's foreign exports and corresponding takeover of the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea early in the century created the necessary infrastructure for Russia to increase its exports to the West. As Crosby argued, this new infrastructure was coupled with an abundance of fertile land, cheap labour, and patience necessary to see through the often one- to two-year process of growing, water retting, combing, and twisting cannabis into workable hemp fibres, a process often truncated and rushed in Western countries and their colonies.²⁷ By the end of the eighteenth century, Russia's hemp-making machine exported an average of sixty thousand tons per year from its Baltic Sea ports in Riga and St Petersburg to the competing powers of Western Europe.²⁸

As Nick Mattingly's research has shown, the history of hemp in early modern England is largely a story of the empire's mostly unsuccessful efforts to unfasten itself from a dependency on Russian imports.²⁹ The British, much as the French, depended on hemp fibre for the cordage, canvas, and linen essential to material life and naval power. Try as they might, British efforts to increase domestic production throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries largely failed, forcing the empire to import as much as 80 per cent of its annual needs from Russia and elsewhere.³⁰ Mattingly argues that policy-makers in London tried to promote domestic cultivation through a rhetoric of "agrarian improvement," often articulated as a "system of self-defence" in moments of war and economic crisis.³¹ For example, in response to wars with the Dutch Republic in the mid-seventeenth century, which closed off the Baltic Sea to the English, Cromwell's Interregnum government (1649–60) drained the swamplands of the Fens, on the eastern coast of England near Lincolnshire, to increase cultivable land for growing hemp, and the Navy

Board agreed to purchase the hemp produced there at a competitive price. This state-sponsored hemp program, made official by act in May 1649, also functioned in the minds of policy-makers as a potential engine of economic “relief to the poor, by setting them to work.”³² The English pursued a similar tack in 1704 in Ireland, when cut off from the Baltic by the Great Northern War; in the Carolina colonies in the 1760s in response to the Seven Years’ War; and in New Zealand in the 1780s after being drained of hemp resources after the American Revolutionary Wars. “Hemp cultivation,” Mattingly thus concludes, “became associated with an imperial ideology of agrarian improvement and was promoted as a means to enhance national and social security.” Despite their persistent and systematic efforts, the English never managed to increase hemp production, largely because agrarian improvement campaigns could not convince farmers to substitute cannabis for more profitable and more easily processable food crops. The British thus remained dependent on Russian hemp until steam power and wire cables replaced it in the mid- to late nineteenth century.³³

The history of hemp in early modern France followed a path similarly shaped by the push and pull of geopolitics and subsequent attempts by French monarchs, their ministers, and later Revolutionera politicians to mitigate the impact of war on hemp imports by promoting domestic cannabis cultivation, and often through a rhetoric of national security and *patrimoine*. Much as the British, the French understood that the operations of their navy and thus the maintenance and extension of their overseas empire were directly linked to their ability to obtain hemp to manufacture into cordage and canvas for their warships. The average, fully rigged warship at the end of the early eighteenth century carried about one hundred tons of hemp canvas and cordage aboard, compared to the roughly seventy-five tons in iron used for weaponry and fasteners.³⁴ The finance minister under Louis XIV, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, understood hemp’s importance to naval power and to the kingdom’s ability to compete with rival England and realize its growing colonial ambitions. In the late 1660s, he thus constructed new rope-making facilities, or “corderie,” at naval yards in Le Havre, Brest, Toulon, Marseilles, and Rochefort-sur-Mer.³⁵ The Corderie Royale, as it came to be known, in Rochefort-sur-Mer became operational in 1669 and pumped out rope for the French Navy for nearly two hundred years until its official operations ceased in 1865.³⁶ The Corderie’s main “ropewalk,” razed by the Nazis during the Second World

War and later rebuilt as a museum in the 1970s, was a continuous hall of over three hundred metres, which then was necessary to “twist” or “commit” hemp into standard lengths of 194.4 metres, or 120 fathoms. The shipyard and rope factory at Rochefort equipped over four hundred ships during its lifetime, including *La Belle*, the famous vessel used by Robert de La Salle to launch New France, and the *Hermione*, used by Marquis de Lafayette to bring aid to the American revolutionaries in 1780.³⁷ According to historians C.W. Cole and Serge Allegret, Colbert believed his network of ports and cordieries with Rochefort at its centre provided France the infrastructure necessary to extend and maintain French power abroad and thus viewed the cultivation of cannabis as a geopolitical priority for the French kingdom.³⁸ By the late 1680s, Allegret reports, Colbert and then his son, the Marquis de Seignelay, had successfully stimulated domestic cannabis cultivation in Brittany, Auvergne, and Garonne as well as in Quebec under the direction of Jean Talon, Count d’Orsainville.³⁹ Though the French occasionally imported supplies from Russia and Piedmont in moments of shortage, Colbert’s promotion of French cannabis across the empire ensured consistent sourcing and prices for the French military through the turn into the eighteenth century and simultaneously rooted chanvre cultivé in the intertwined political and agricultural histories of early modern France.

As the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth, however, Colbert’s network of cordieries and farms failed to satiate France’s growing demands for hemp fibre. In 1716, France imported just 1.8 million kilograms of hemp from Holland, Venice, and Russia but by 1787 had increased its imports to nearly 21.8 million kilograms and primarily from the Russian port in Riga.⁴⁰ In a speech given to the Institut National in Paris on 11 January 1800, Jean-Baptiste Rougier de La Bergerie (1757–1836), an agronomist and Revolution-era politician, argued that the nation’s dependence on Russian hemp stemmed from a century of protectionist policies promulgated by the Bourbon kings and their foreign ministers. It all began, Rougier argued, as a consequence of the Nine Years’ War (1688–97) between France and an alliance of the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch Republic, and England. “The famous war of 1690,” he argued, “is one of the most striking periods for the utility and the excellence of the hemp of France for the service of the navy.”⁴¹ Cut off from hemp supplies in Venice (then an independent republic and allied with England) and imports from Russia’s Baltic Sea ports (by the presence

of the Dutch and English navy in the North Sea), the government of Louis XIV again sought to fix the country's hemp deficit by stimulating domestic cannabis cultivation, particularly in Auvergne. In order to incentivize French farmers to take on the tall and costly task of cultivating and retting cannabis, the government arranged that "hemp fit for the navy should be paid for at a high price," or thirty-five livre per quintal (112 pounds, or 50.8 kilograms), nearly 40 per cent above the average price.⁴²

If Louis XIV and his ministers had stopped there, Rougier mused, perhaps their scheme to establish hemp self-sufficiency for France might have worked. However, the Sun King's successor, Louis XV, went a step further and created a state-sponsored hemp monopoly bastioned by price-fixing and rigid export restrictions. In 1719, La Compagnie des Indes Orientales (the French East India Company) founded by Colbert in 1664 saw an opportunity in the fixed price of thirty-five livre per quintal of hemp and approached Louis XIV with a plan to ensure French hemp supplies by creating a state monopoly.⁴³ The French East India Company, which throughout the seventeenth century operated France's spice and silk trade across the Indian and Pacific Oceans as well as their slave, tobacco, and fur trades in the Atlantic World, proposed to the Crown that it stop growing tobacco and instead cultivate hemp that it could sell to the French Navy for the established price of thirty-five livre per quintal from 1690.⁴⁴

As historian Michael Kwass details in *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (2014), the French East India Company held an official (if tenuous) monopoly on the empire's tobacco trade since 1674, when the aforementioned Minister Colbert convinced Louis XIV to grant his company complete control over tobacco imports from Saint-Domingue and New France.⁴⁵ At that time, Louis XIV hoped to pay for France's wars with rival powers by "fiscalizing consumption," as Kwass puts it, and increasing taxes on exotic consumer goods, such as tobacco, coffee, sugar, and foreign spirits.⁴⁶ Heeding Colbert's advice, Louis XIV tasked the Company with procuring taxes on tobacco imported from the colonies and granted it complete control over processing, distributing, and retailing the final product (mostly snuff and smoking tobacco) across the country. As Kwass details in *Contraband*, Colbert contracted the United General Farms in 1681 to manage the operations of the tobacco monopoly inside France. Their expansive operation, referred to as "the Farm," consisted of tens of thousands of bankers, bureaucrats, farmers, and (mostly) armed guards, who worked collectively to supply

France's burgeoning consumer market with tobacco, to snuff out smuggling, and to ensure the Crown received its cut. The Farm also operated the dozen or so tobacco manufactories in France, where cured tobacco leaves were processed into "carrots," or bound sticks, and then sent to one of three distribution centres that, by the mid-eighteenth century, supplied nearly six hundred warehouses and over ten thousand licensed venders throughout the country.⁴⁷ Even though, as Kwass points out, "every link in the chain of production and exchange from the New World plantation to the local French consumer was riddled with fraud," the tobacco monopoly produced significant tax revenues for the Bourbon kings and, at its height in the eighteenth century, constituted roughly 7 per cent of total state income.⁴⁸

During the 1720s, this tobacco monopoly, operated jointly by the Farm and the French East India Company, went against traditional mercantilist principles, stopped purchasing tobacco from planters in their colonies of Louisiana and Saint Domingue, and instead secured cheaper supplies from British merchants selling Virginia-grown cured leaf. Michael Kwass argues that this shift represented a "slippage from mercantilism to fiscalism," where "revenue took priority over empire-building."⁴⁹ In other words, the Crown could earn more to project French power by indirectly buying tobacco grown in British territory and taxing its consumption than by supporting domestic cultivation of tobacco in, and thus the economic well-being of, France's own colonies. This slippage from mercantilism to fiscalism explains the timing and motivations of the Company's move to similarly monopolize hemp in France in the same calendar year. As it had with tobacco, the French East India Company requested that it and the Farm be granted full control over the hemp trade, from cultivation through harvesting and retting to the sale of the processed fibres to the Royal Navy. Going a step farther, it also demanded the Royal Council pass an empire-wide prohibition against the exportation of French hemp to foreign markets to better enforce the monopoly, collect taxes, and ensure domestically produced military and commercial supplies. On 19 December 1719, the Royal Council agreed and officially granted the Company complete control over the production of hemp in France and its colonies, declaring in an official *arrêt*, roughly "decision," that "the Company of the Indies offers to furnish to the state at a constant price all the hemp that it needs" and thus has the lawful right to "regulate seed and growing rights" and operate "company stores" across the country.⁵⁰ If people wanted to

grow hemp in French territory they now were required by law to buy their seed from a designated company store, register their crops in estimated hectares with agents of the Farm, grow and ret their hemp to military standards, and then sell the final product back to the original company store or to another in France at a fixed price of thirty livre, giving the company a five-livre profit on every quintal sold to the corderies. The *arrêt* listed company stores in a dozen cities and communes across France, including Nantes, Port-Louis, Rouen, Tonneins, Valence, Maringues, Clermont, Auxonne, La Charité-sur-Loire, Moulins, Châtelleraut, and Saumur, where French farmers could “freely” buy seeds, register crops, and sell their hemp.⁵¹ To be doubly sure and “defend against foreign export,” the Act also threatened the “penalty of confiscation and a fine of 10,000 livres, payable by body to the benefit of the Compagnie des Indes,” for anyone caught evading taxes or forging tax seals, smuggling contraband hemp into France, or selling French-grown hemp on foreign markets.⁵² Thus, what started as an attempt to achieve hemp self-sufficiency quickly transformed, much along the lines of tobacco, into a state-backed hemp monopoly with a vibrant underground market.⁵³

In his speech at the Institut national in Paris in January 1800, Jean-Baptiste Rougier de La Bergerie pointed to the Company’s hemp and tobacco monopolies, price fixing, and export restrictions throughout the eighteenth century to explain the young nation’s current domestic shortages and continued reliance on foreign imports. “Even though the price of 35 livres exceeded that of the best product of the north,” Rougier explained, focusing on hemp, “the French cultivators, having no longer the liberty to dispose of their products [in foreign markets], ceased to grow hemp for commerce.”⁵⁴ Even after the Crown allowed but heavily taxed the export of French hemp after 1722, he contended, the damage was done, and the “fatal prejudice” that “foreign hemp was preferable to that of France for the service of the navy” drove down domestic cultivation as it fortified legal and illicit imports of “chanvre du nord” from England, Holland, and Russia. Rougier likewise linked the Company’s monopoly and export restrictions to the over tenfold increase in foreign hemp imports to France between 1717 and 1787 (from 1.8 million to nearly 21.8 million kilograms). “These facts,” Rougier argued, “demonstrate the disastrous effects which always result from attacks on the liberty of commerce,” and the Company’s “financial monopoly from the years 1719 to 1722 must be a lesson for the years of the republican era, to very moderately use

prohibitions and regulations for the accounting of government.”⁵⁵ They needn’t look farther than the hemp-strapped markets of France, he argued, for proof of the regulations’ negative effects on French trade and power. To address the shortfall in hemp, Rougier advised that the republic must follow the example of Colbert’s initial *corderie* system from 1690 but resist granting control of the trade to a single company and refocus efforts on incentivizing French farmers to grow hemp with rational prices and free access to foreign markets. “Let it be understood,” Rougier concluded, “that when we cultivate one hectare less, the foreigner, the year after, cultivates one more, and hemp secures their superiority, once acquired, until a violent cause or a very great difference in the price determines it [hemp] to be less cultivable.”⁵⁶ Much as the monarchs and ministers of the *ancien régime*, then, Rougier believed the relationship between hemp and French power to be directly proportional. But as a French politician clearly excited by the realization of economic liberalism let loose by the Revolution, he believed the path to domestic cultivation required a liberalized map more attuned to the modern economic landscape and the needs of the French people.

Jean-Baptiste Rougier de La Bergerie’s speech to the Institut national in 1800 and Alexandre-Henri Tessier’s *Encyclopédie d’agriculture* in 1793 captured well the historical processes that, in early modern France, produced an official rhetoric that defined “chanvre cultivé” as a material source of power and civilized life and, thus, its cultivation as an essential part of French *patrimoine*, or national heritage. Time and again during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, increasingly global wars with rival powers coupled with burgeoning consumer demand for hemp goods at home pushed and pulled French governments into flashy but fleeting attempts to stimulate domestic cannabis cultivation that, as we have seen, often produced more hot air than actual home-grown hemp. But the hot air did not simply evaporate. The story connecting chanvre cultivé to French power and *patrimoine* gradually condensed and came to form the foundation of French perceptions of the plant up through the eve of the Revolution. Thus, when the scientific classification of *Cannabis sativa* formalized by Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus in 1753 first appeared in French print, most authors, much as Tessier and Rougier, affixed the taxonomy to this centuries-old story about hemp, heritage, and power in early modern France.⁵⁷

Famed French naturalist and then assistant botanist at the Jardin des

Plantes in Paris, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, offers a description of “CHANVRE cultivé, *Cannabis sativa*. Lin.” in the first tome of his *Encyclopédie méthodique. Botanique* (1783) that well illustrates the heavy influence of hemp’s developing national mythos on the production of scientific knowledge about cannabis in late eighteenth-century France.⁵⁸ Straying from traditional Linnaean taxonomy, which deliberately confined descriptions of flora and fauna to name, number, and “essential” traits, Lamarck only briefly detailed the plant’s botanical profile while expounding at greater length on its cultural and material import to France and Europe.⁵⁹ “This is an extremely interesting plant for its utility,” he wrote, “and because of this we abundantly cultivate it across Europe, for the immense use that we make of the fibres of its stalk.” “According to Linnaeus, the plant grows naturally in Persia,” Lamarck continued, but as we abundantly cultivate it because of its immense utility, it virtually has naturalized itself in Italy, in the Piedmont region, Switzerland, and especially France, where one often can find it all around the villages, on the side of the roads, and in the woods, in isolated patches that re-seed themselves each year ... And everybody knows that the most important product of this plant consists of the fibres that are removed from its bark after proper preparations, and from which we make sails and ropes whose industrious uses are sufficiently known.⁶⁰

As Michel Foucault detailed in *The Order of Things*, Lamarck’s obsession with biological origins and dynamics reflected a shift in Western science from a “search for order” to a “search for history.”⁶¹ Whereas Linnaeus and his students aimed to create an archive of observable traits – that is, a system of names and physiognomies that functioned as an index of visible living things – Lamarck believed that Latin labels and observable traits were merely the tip of the iceberg, concealing beneath the surface a grand “organic structure,” understood as a perpetually unfolding and universal history of biological life. Lamarck developed a theory called *transformisme*, a forerunner of Darwin’s theory of evolution, to explain the dynamics of this organic schema and the forces within it that drove species to change over time. According to his theory, living things gradually transformed in response to their environments, resulting in the production of heritable “acquired traits” that could either benefit or hinder the development of the species depending on the trait acquired.⁶² Classification after Lamarck, as Foucault put it, thus “no longer meant to refer the visible back to itself.” It now required historico-cultural

explanation “to relate the visible to the invisible, to its deeper cause, as it were, then to rise upwards once more from that hidden architecture toward the more obvious signs displayed on the surface of the bodies.”⁶³

In the case of *Cannabis sativa*, Lamarck deployed a mythos of chanvre cultivé, developing in France since at least the seventeenth century, to articulate the “hidden architecture” and “deeper causes” beneath the plant’s botanical profile. For Lamarck, *Cannabis sativa*’s biological properties flowed from its habitual cultivation and widespread use across French society for commercial and military purposes. The environment and agricultural practices of France provided the hidden architecture while the “industrious” conversion of the plant into hemp for commercial and military uses provided the deeper causes driving the transformation of a once Persian plant into a cultivated species native to France and the West. However, this correlation between environment and acquired traits so central to Lamarckian thinking was in this case both reductive and inaccurate. As Rougier and Tessier detailed, throughout the eighteenth century and especially during the 1780s France struggled to supply hemp to both its navy and its commercial markets because of centuries of royal protectionism and the actions of the short-lived hemp monopoly of the French East India Company. Thus, the perceived ubiquity and indigeneity of chanvre cultivé in early modern France was more rhetoric than reality.

“CHANVRE DES INDES”: HASHISH AND OTHERNESS IN EARLY MODERN FRANCE

After relating the intertwined natural and national histories of *Cannabis sativa* in France, Lamarck turned his attention to “Chanvre des Indes, *Cannabis Indica*,” an “altogether distinct species of the plant” native to “les Indes Orientales,” meaning southeast Asia with India at its centre.⁶⁴ Lamarck noted in the entry’s opening lines that he obtained samples of this separate species of cannabis from French naturalist and adventurer Pierre Sonnerat, who travelled extensively through the region and throughout the Pacific during the 1780s and 1790s. Shorter in height, fuller in foliage with alternating branching, and harder in stalk than its Occidental counterpart, these samples of what Lamarck termed *Cannabis indica* appeared “incapable of producing hemp as the above species.” Instead, he wrote mockingly, “the principal virtue of this plant consists in disturbing the head, deranging the brain, and procuring a species of intoxication that makes one forget their sorrows and gives a sort of contentment.” To procure this intoxication, “the Indians press the sap of the plant’s leaves and seeds, and with it, together with the bark, make a drink that really agitates the senses. When they want to increase the strength of this drink

and become even more intoxicated, they smoke the dry leaves with tobacco.” He concluded the entry noting that “the Indians also are known to add to the pressed sap a little nutmeg, clove, camphor and opium to make this composition called *madjaun*,” which likewise induced a temporary madness.⁶⁵ Much as he had in his entry on chanvre cultivé, Lamarck defined chanvre des Indes through a mythos about the cultivation and consumption of cannabis, but in this instance it was a competing mythos concerning a distinct variety of cannabis grown by non-Western cultures for the production and consumption of intoxicants. Despite having no direct experience with cannabis-based intoxicants or the myriad cultures of “les Indes Orientales” (most of which did not feature cannabis consumption), Lamarck affixed the plant’s observable distinctions to a moral judgment about a complex mass of diverse cultures reduced to the label “Indians.”

As this section details, this story of mass cannabis consumption and madness among non-Western cultures had a long history in France by the time Lamarck affixed to it his scientific label, *Cannabis indica*, in the 1780s. Starting as early as the mid-seventeenth century, French scientists, literati, and travel writers referenced cannabis-based intoxicants and their consumption, often times en masse, by peoples of the “L’Orient” and “les Indes Orientales.”⁶⁶ Despite knowing and writing about the medicinal properties of Occidental cannabis, and particular oils produced of its seed, since at least the Middle Ages scholars and writers in early modern France routinely ignored or remained ignorant of the similar use of cannabis for medicinal purposes in the non-Western world and instead essentialized, amplified, and then codified the consumption of cannabis-based intoxicants outside of Europe as both a cause and a consequence of mass irrationality and violence among non-European peoples.⁶⁷

One of the earliest references in French print to a distinct strain of cannabis grown for the production of intoxicants in the “Orient” and “Indes Orientales” is found in Jacques Daléchamps’s *Histoire générale des plantes* (1653).⁶⁸ An internationally renowned botanist and the head physician at the Hotel-Dieu of Lyon between 1550 and 1580, Daléchamps is well known in French medical history for his contributions to the budding and controversial medical subfield of surgery during the mid-sixteenth century.⁶⁹ In his *Chirurgie françoise* (1569), Daléchamps, the prototypical humanist, translated and abridged the ancient lessons of Dioscorides, Galen, and Hippocrates on the “divine science of surgery”

and provided his own commentary on the latest surgical techniques, providing what one historian called “an expert manual of surgery.”⁷⁰ His work in botany received similar praise, then and now, as an exemplar of the Renaissance-inspired humanistic sciences developing in France and Europe at that time.⁷¹ Daléchamps’s French translations of Theophrastus, a student of both Aristotle and Plato and considered the father of botany, and his own contributions to botany, compiled in his posthumously published *Histoire générale*, provided an early foundation for the scientific study of botany in France nearly two centuries before the classificatory schemas of Linnaeus and Lamarck took root.

In his *Histoire générale des plantes*, Daléchamps described two varieties of cannabis, the traditional “chanvre cultivé” grown in France and Europe for the production of hemp, and “Bangué,” a plant “almost similar to hemp” cultivated in India, Turkey, and Persia for its intoxicating properties.⁷² He used the French word “bangué” (English “bhang”) from the Hindi for “psychoactive cannabis” to describe both the plant and the various intoxicating preparations made from it. Daléchamps noted that Persians call the same intoxicant “Axis,” an early phonetic translation of hashish, and that the Turks called it “asarath” and “maslac.” To make the polynymous intoxicant, he continued, the Turks, Persians, and Indians pulverize the plant’s seed, leaves, and flowers and then snort or smoke the powder, cook it into a drug-laced, sugary confection, or boil it into a potent drink and consume it.⁷³ Daléchamps argued that people from all walks of life in all three societies – men and women, rich and poor, soldiers and peasants – routinely consumed bhang in these multiple forms to “mitigate pain,” “forget their worries,” “obtain agreeable dreams,” and “increase their appetites.” “Many have assured me,” he concluded, “that the seeds and leaves of the plant also are marvelled for the ability to procure lust, which allows one to conclude that this plant has no affinity with hemp.”⁷⁴ Almost similar but with no real affinity, then, “bangué” and “Axis” represented for Daléchamps the biological antithesis of “chanvre cultivé,” a sort of agricultural doppelgänger grown only for reasons of intoxication and lust by the morally bankrupt cultures of the Orient and Indes Orientales.

Travel writings of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries published in French likewise contributed to the idea that cannabis grown for hemp in Europe represented a species apart from cannabis grown in the East for intoxicants. One of the earliest French-language travel writings to

mention encountering cannabis-based intoxicants, specifically bhang, was penned by French gem merchant and adventurer Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who spent nearly forty years during the mid-1600s exploring Asia, India, Persia, and Turkey in search of precious stones to sell to Europe's royals and nobles.⁷⁵ His most famous acquisition was that of a 112-cartat "French Blue" diamond, 45.52 carats of which make up the infamous Hope Diamond today, which he purchased in 1666 in Golconda, India, and sold to Louis XIV in 1668 for 120,000 livres and a barony in Bern.⁷⁶ With a ghostwriter Tavernier wrote several memoirs of his travels and exploits, including *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier... Qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, published in six volumes and widely read in France and across Europe between the 1670s and 1720s.⁷⁷ In a chapter on the "ordinary lives of Persians" in the series' first volume published in 1676, Tavernier described "the Persians" monolithically as a people consumed by intoxicant consumption, especially that of tobacco, opium, and a cannabis-infused draught called bangué. "The Persians, both men and women," Tavernier reported, "are so accustomed to smoking tobacco from a young age, that an artisan who only has the ability to spend 5 sols uses 3 on tobacco. They say that if they do not have some, they will not experience joy. In fact, at the time of their *Ramadan*, or their time of great fasting, in the evening the first thing they prepare is the pipe. Many admit that this amount of tobacco is harmful, but when told of this fact they simply answer, but this is the custom."⁷⁸ In this passage Tavernier defines the Persian culture of tobacco consumption as an irrational and self-harming practice of addiction *avant la lettre*. The research of Howard Padwa, Emmanuelle Retillaud-Bajac, and Jean-Jacques Yvrol has shown that French physicians and jurists did not deploy the official medico-legal concept of addiction, termed *toxicomanie* in France, until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and did so largely in response to increases in opium use around times of national emergency and war.⁷⁹ Written over two centuries before the development of addiction theories in modern French medicine, however, Tavernier's description of tobacco use among Persians reveals a much earlier attempt in France to define the compulsive consumption of intoxicants through a rhetoric – that is, a moral judgment couched as a natural history about the presumed irrationality and obeisance at the core of Persian being. According to Tavernier, the average Persian of the mid-seventeenth century was addicted to tobacco despite knowing full well the negative impact the compulsive consumption had on

his/her health, and likewise threw financial caution to the wind in spending a majority of his/her salary to daily and excessively feed the habit.

This same custom of addiction, Tavernier continued, characterized the average Persian's use of opium and especially bhang, a drink "made from the boiled leaves of cannabis and some other drug that makes it stronger than all the aforementioned intoxicants." Rampant opium and bhang use, he argued, "is the reason why they do not live long and, at the age of 40, they find themselves in bad health and suffering the unbearable pains that accompany the coldness of this drug, which is a species of poison." Bhang, "the strongest of all the aforementioned intoxicants ... invades the mind and causes a strange madness and furious delusions. It thus is prohibited by law"; whereas other vices, such as tobacco, wine and spirits, and opium consumption were either legally permitted or ignored. This rampant use of both illicit and legal intoxicants, Tavernier argued, is present throughout Persia: "it is not easy to find in Persia a man who has not given himself over to these vices, without which they would live without pleasure."⁸⁰ Much as in Daléchamps's descriptions of bhang and hashish consumption in India and Persia, then, a sensationalized story about drug addiction among an unvirtuous people in an untamed land formed the core of Tavernier's conception and description of cannabis grown outside of Europe for the production of intoxicants.

In addition to travel writings and botanical treatises, works of fiction and folklore likewise contributed to the growing idea in early modern France that cannabis grown outside the Occident for the production and consumption of intoxicants constituted a species apart from cannabis grown in Europe for industrious purposes. What the French knew about the Arab world and hashish before the arrival of Napoleon's Armée d'Orient in Egypt in June 1798 predominantly stemmed from European-produced literature, travel narratives, and art that constructed the Orient as the barbaric "other" of the enlightened Occident and correspondingly portrayed hashish as a drug used by violent savages. Arguably the most famous French texts from the early modern era that framed hashish and the Arab world in this way was Antoine Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuits*, or *The Thousand and One Nights*. Published in Paris in twelve volumes between 1704 and 1717, Galland's *Les Nuits* for the first time introduced European readers to the tales of "Sindbad le Marin," "Aladdin ou la lampe merveilleuse," and "Ali-Baba et les quarante voleurs," expropriated and repackaged folktales that continue to echo in France and the West today.⁸¹

Galland, who served as first secretary to the French ambassadors to Constantinople during the 1670s and 1680s and later as professor of Arabic at the Collège Royale during the early 1700s, based his translations on several Arabic manuscripts he acquired during his travels, most notably *Alf Leyla wa Leyla*, as well as on tales he heard from locals along the way. Though numerous translations of *Alf Leyla wa Leyla* appeared across Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Galland's translations from the early eighteenth century and the numerous reprints of his work captured the bulk of readership on the continent through the turn of the twentieth century. As Jorge Luis Borges argued: "The most famous and eloquent encomiums of *Les Nuits* are from readers of Galland's translation. Two hundred years and ten better translations have passed but the man in Europe or the Americas who thinks of the *Thousand and One Nights* thinks, invariably, of this first translation."⁸²

An exemplar of the *Belles Infidèles* literary tradition of eighteenth-century France, Galland's *Les Nuits* offered a sanitized translation of the Arabic tales considered more suitable to the tastes of "civilized" French readers.⁸³ The *Belles Infidèles* was a name given to French translators of Arabic texts during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt, Louis Giry, Pierre Perrin, and Antoine Galland, who employed a method of free translation involving edits, omissions, and revisions aimed at producing a piece of literature more in tune with eighteenth-century French language and culture. Galland, for example, omitted stories that focused on harems and other erotic subject matter found in several of his Arabic manuscripts. Despite the numerous omissions and revisions, what Galland termed "improvements," in *Les Nuits*, a story about cannibals and hashish slipped through the literary sieve of the etiquette-conscious translator.⁸⁴ This story occupies a central position within the broader narrative of Sindbad the Sailor, a character based on a Persian merchant and adventurer who lived in Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate (eighth century AD). During his fourth voyage (of seven), bad weather forces Sindbad and his crew to land their vessel on an island inhabited by black-skinned cannibals who proceed to capture and imprison the trespassing adventurers. The "blacks" (*les noirs*) then force Sindbad and his men to eat "a certain grass" (*une certaine herbe*) that robbed them of their senses and induced insatiable waves of hunger, which the cannibals were happy to address with endless portions of rice and coconut.⁸⁵ Sindbad, however, caught on to his captors' cannibalistic plans

and refrained from eating the intoxicating grass and food so as to maintain his wits and appear thin and unappetizing. Sindbad's plan worked. After the cannibals ate his stoned and fattened crew, Sindbad managed to escape his cage and make for the coast, where he waved down a passing boat that shuttled him off to his next adventure.⁸⁶ This tale of Sindbad the Sailor and his encounter with black-skinned cannibals and their psychoactive grass is one of the earliest portrayals of hashish in popular French literature. Though impossible to verify – as Galland's original Arabic manuscript containing the story of Sinbad is lost to time⁸⁷ – it stands to reason that Galland used the term *herbe* as a direct and faithful translation of the Arabic word for hashish, شيشحلا, meaning “grass,” in his translations of *Les Nuits*. Moreover, Galland's translation portrays this mystical grass as a key component of a cannibalistic plot hatched by dark-skinned savages. This literary framing thus embedded hashish and its psychoactive effects within a growing discourse about the non-Western world that highlighted barbarism, violence, and cultural otherness.

This rhetoric linking hashish, violence, and cultural otherness captured in the expropriated and repackaged folktales of *Les Nuits* gradually transformed into a perceived reality in France during the 1700s thanks to sensationalized reports of cannabis consumption in the Orient penned by French adventurers in the mid- to late eighteenth century, such as Carsten Niebuhr's *Description de l'Arabie, Faite sur des observations propres et des avis recueillis dans les lieux mêmes* (1774) and Charles-Nicolas Sonnini de Manoncourt's *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte* (1798). Carsten Niebuhr, a German-born adventurer and cartographer, travelled to Egypt, Arabia, and Syria in the 1760s with a scientific expedition sponsored by the Danish monarch Frederick V.⁸⁸ This six-man expedition, which was the only expedition of its kind from Scandinavia or the German states during the eighteenth century, set out to scientifically rediscover the lands and Semitic cultures described in the Bible's Old Testament.⁸⁹ Niebuhr, the sole survivor of the expedition, returned home to Copenhagen in 1767, where he delivered his and his fallen companions' findings to the new king of Denmark, Christian VII. Several years later, Niebuhr published an account of his travels in Copenhagen in 1774, and Ferdinand-Louis Mourier published a French translation in Amsterdam the same year, which quickly gained readership in France.⁹⁰

In *Description de l'Arabie*, Niebuhr detailed the geography, governments, militaries, religious practices, languages, and cultures of the

various regions and peoples of the Arabian Peninsula he encountered during his expedition.⁹¹ Though some scholars credit Niebuhr with having an “open mind” absent the “preconceptions or credulity that characterized much of the traditional European approach” to the Orient at this time, his description of hashish consumption in Egypt and across the Arabian Peninsula connected the drug to European stereotypes of irrationality and violence among peoples of the Orient.⁹² In a section of his second volume, which discusses the “Food of Arabs,” Niebuhr introduced the reader to hashish, which he described as “a sort of grass (*sorte d’herbe*) ... made from the flowers of cannabis” and used predominantly by the Arabian poor.⁹³ He went on to recount how one of the native servants he hired for the expedition smoked hashish and became so irrationally bold and violent that he arbitrarily attacked four soldiers in the street. “One of the soldiers gave the servant a sound beating and returned him to our house. Despite this little setback,” Niebuhr continued, “one couldn’t tranquilize the servant who continued to believe himself invincible.”⁹⁴ Though a casual observation tucked between detailed descriptions of customary meals and traditional living arrangements, Niebuhr’s story about his hashish-smoking servant – much like the depiction of hashish in the story of Sindbad from Galland’s translation of *Les Nuits* and those of bhang in Tavernier’s *Les six voyages* – connected the consumption of hashish to lust, irrationality, and acts of violence. Furthermore, the story failed to engage the deeper social or religious dynamics possibly at work within this moment of conflict between the servant and the soldier in the Ottoman Empire and instead normalized the episode, presenting it as a typical encounter with drug-induced lunacy in the Arab world.

In his 1798 publication *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*, Alsatian adventurer and naturalist Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt similarly connected hashish consumption to developing ideas of Arabo-Muslim irrationality and cultural otherness.⁹⁵ The son of an Italian-born *petite noblesse* (lower noble), Sonnini earned the equivalent of a doctoral degree in natural sciences at the age of fifteen, briefly studied law in Strasbourg, and then served as a marine engineer in French Guiana during the early 1770s.⁹⁶ After several voyages to South America, Sonnini returned to France and received a commission from Louis XVI to join an expedition to Egypt led by François Baron de Tott, a Hungarian-born nobleman and mercenary.⁹⁷ Though the French government publicly declared the mission scientific in nature, the expedition’s secret task was to

conduct reconnaissance and determine the viability of establishing a French colony in the region. The demands of the Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) significantly weakened Ottoman control in North Africa, and many within the French court believed Egypt a valuable addition – geopolitically, commercially, and symbolically – to the French Empire, which was still reeling from the recent loss of New France after the Seven Years’ War. To further hide the expedition’s imperialistic intentions, the French foreign ministry rounded out the team with two additional scientists and the famed Orientalist Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, who later served as Napoleon’s personal interpreter during the Egyptian Campaign.⁹⁸ The expedition’s secret imperialistic goals coupled with the chaos of the French Revolution led to a twenty-year delay in the publication of Sonnini’s *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*. When the travelogue finally appeared in the spring of 1798, the four-volume work became enormously popular, and its popularity in France and across Europe only grew as a result of Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign, which began that summer.

In the third volume of *Voyage*, Sonnini meticulously detailed Egypt’s flora and fauna and praised the “now extinct” civilization that once flourished in the region “before the time before Christ.” Despite the praise for the country’s wildlife, he often wrote disparagingly of Egypt’s contemporary inhabitants, describing them as a “thieving” people with “barbarous” cultural and religious practices.⁹⁹ Sonnini’s descriptions of mass cannabis consumption throughout the country figured prominently in his condemnation of contemporary Egyptian society as both backward and uncivilized. “Cannabis is cultivated in the plains of the country, but they do not draw hemp from it as in Europe, which it could probably provide,” he reported. “In the absence of alcoholic liquors,” Sonnini continued, “the Arabs and Egyptians compose a variety of preparations from which they procure a state of reverie that provides happiness and pleasant dreams. This species of the annihilation of the faculty of thinking, this species of sleep of the soul has no relation to the intoxication occasioned by wine or strong liquors, and our language has no terms to express it. The Arabs call it *kif*, this voluptuous abandonment, this sort of delicious stupor.”¹⁰⁰ With thick, poetic prose Sonnini here attempts to articulate for his French readers the supposedly inarticulable nature of cannabis consumption in the Arabo-Muslim world. The cultivation of cannabis for the production and use of intoxicants in Egypt, for Sonnini, constituted a cultural practice that

defied “our” reason and language. First, the religious dictates of Islam in Sonnini’s eyes prevented most Egyptians’ from practising accepted cultures of intoxicant consumption, namely, those involving alcohol widely accepted and practised in the West. He thus frames cannabis consumption as a byproduct of an irrational religion, what he calls on other pages of *Voyage* a “strange practice of superstitions.”¹⁰¹ Second, Sonnini argued that the state of intoxication caused by cannabis grown in Egypt defied explanation in French, requiring sensationalized turns of phrase about cannabis destroying souls and minds, and then, set within this hyperbolic rhetoric, he offers an appropriated Arabic term, “kif,” which is still used in common French slang today to express satisfaction and/or to describe hashish/getting high.¹⁰² Foreground by a rhetoric of “annihilation” and “stupor,” kif use in Egypt is rendered by Sonnini into symbolic shorthand for the cultural otherness of the Arabo-Muslim world, making cannabis intoxication simultaneously knowable and exotic for French readers who likely would only imagine the experience during their lifetimes.

Much as Daléchamps, Tavernier, Galland, and Niebuhr before him, Sonnini described the botanical distinctions between cannabis grown in Egypt and Europe as a byproduct of two contrasting attitudes towards cannabis cultivation and its consumption as an intoxicant. “Although the cannabis of Egypt much resembles our own,” he wrote, “it nevertheless differs by some characteristics that appear to constitute a particular species.”¹⁰³ These botanical distinctions between cannabis grown in Egypt and Europe, Sonnini argued, were linked to the ways in which the Egyptians grew and prepared the plant for the manufacture of intoxicants. In his travelogue Sonnini wrapped his botanical description of Egyptian cannabis in Egypt with details of the drug’s nefarious effects and the various methods used by Egyptians to procure them. Sonnini reported observing many “poor Egyptians” eating a hashish-infused “jam made from honey, pepper, and nutmeg called *dawamesk* to alleviate their misery.” Others simply smoked dried and pulverized cannabis leaves or seeds to achieve the same euphoric escape. “All of these preparations, “ Sonnini continued, “are known by the same Arabic term, hashish, which means ‘grass’ (*l’herbe*) and the consumption of this ‘grass’ is considerable across the Orient.”¹⁰⁴ Once again a French observer used stories of mass intoxicant dependency to describe and explain the supposed otherness and irrationality of a non-Western culture.

As this section details, a notable number of French travel writers, scholars, physicians, and naturalists publishing in France in the two centuries leading up to the French Revolution articulated a rhetoric of cultural otherness to describe cannabis grown in the non-Western world from the production and consumption of intoxicants. These are all stories of foreign peoples who ignore the more industrious and virtuous uses of cannabis and instead cultivate the plant to produce bhang, dawamesk, or hashish, all of which are defined as exotic and dangerous drugs that both cause and reflect the irrationality and violence of peoples and cultures of the non-Western world. When Lamarck codified *Cannabis indica* in his 1783 *Encyclopédie de botanique*, he affixed his botanical description of cannabis grown outside of Europe, samples of which he obtained from French naturalist and adventurer Pierre Sonnerat, to the established rhetoric about cannabis intoxication in the Orient and Indes Orientales.

CONCLUSION: HISTORICIZING THE TAXONOMY OF CANNABIS

Despite persistent confusion and debates over the proper scientific taxonomy of cannabis, the polytypic concept concretized by Lamarck in 1783 has dominated Western scientific, popular, and legal perceptions of the plant and its byproducts through to the present day.¹⁰⁵ Scientists, scholars, and laypeople alike generally believed and still believe that there are distinct species of cannabis –*Cannabis sativa*, *Cannabis indica*, and, after 1924, *Cannabis ruderalis*.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, this polytypic concept has allowed, as in the above writings of French naturalists, travel writers, physicians, government officials, and literati, French authorities to speak of each subspecies as a pure type with essential characteristics reflective of contrasting (and unequal) cultures of cultivation and consumption.

Cannabis laws in France today attest to the resiliency of the polytypic concept and the competing, historic rhetorics of chanvre indien and chanvre cultivé that underpin the concept in legal matters concerning cannabis within the Hexagon. Despite having the highest rates of cannabis (intoxicant) consumption in all of Europe today, the use of cannabis-based intoxicants and the cultivation of cannabis with testable THC levels above 0.2 per cent are prohibited by laws first established in the 1970 drug prohibition. These laws have done much to fill the prisons of France with ethnic and religious minorities, legally viewed as the source of the nation's drug problems and thus disproportionately targeted by police, and next to nothing to abate growing rates of consumption among all ages and ethnicities of the French citizenry. According to a report commissioned by the French National Assembly and released in late January 2018, France

witnessed a tenfold increase in the number of narcotics convictions between 2000 and 2015, growing from 3,481 to 37,160 nationwide across the fifteen-year period. And in 2010, the peak year for arrests, 102,000 of 140,000 (or 72.8 per cent of) arrests for simple drug possession in France involved cannabis.¹⁰⁷ In a country where reportedly 42 per cent of citizens illegally consume cannabis as a recreational intoxicant or self-remedy at least once a year, these high rates of arrest, especially among the country's disproportionately targeted Muslim population, speak to the continued belief in France in the cultural otherness of cannabis intoxication and thus its (and their) danger to the French state.¹⁰⁸ Bookended by Al-Qaeda's attacks on New York City on 11 September 2001 and the string of ISIS coordinated assaults in Paris between January and November of 2015, this era of heightened anti-Islamic sentiment across the West arguably led to a revival of the historic rhetoric in France about chanvre indien and mass addiction among people from the East being a threat to the French nation.¹⁰⁹ Controversial pundit Éric Zemmour brazenly gave voice to this rhetoric connecting criminality, drugs, and racial otherness in a TV interview of March 2010 on the Canal+ show *Salut les Terriens* when he declared in a conversation about terrorism and immigration that "la plupart des trafiquants sont noirs et arabes!" (the majority of drug traffickers are blacks and Arabs!).¹¹⁰ In the months following the November 2015 attacks in Paris, the French and Western media likewise connected hashish use to violent criminality among Muslims, and specifically to the masterminds of the attacks, brothers Salah and Brahim Abdeslam, who, in one article published days after the attack, were called the "Joint Brothers" in reference to their supposed cannabis addiction in the years leading up to their radicalization.¹¹¹ The assertions by Zemmour about the ethnicity of drug dealers in France and by the media about the attackers' supposed cannabis addiction have been proven false; however, the "colour-blind" and "drug-blind" rhetoric connecting the illicit consumption of *Cannabis indica* and its derivatives to violent crime committed by foreign enemies of state will likely live on in France and prevent progressive policy reforms.¹¹²

Conversely, the current career cycle of *Cannabis sativa* has enjoyed a legal path to general acceptance comfortably paved by the historic rhetoric of chanvre cultivé and its supposed indigeneity in France and historic contributions to the extension of French power and civilization. On 5 February 2019, growers, manufacturers, and distributors of "chanvre

industriel,” or hemp, from across the globe met in Paris for the “All Hemp – Congrès international du chanvre,” the first international conference of its kind held on French soil. Organized by the French hemp-growers union, InterChanvre, the conference assembled industry professionals and researchers in France, the current epicentre of European hemp cultivation, to “bring notoriety to the industry and to this virtuous plant in terms of the economy and eco-responsibility.” In 2016, just over 1,400 French farmers cultivated over half of the European Union’s total hectareage of hemp, nearly 17,000 of 33,000 hectares, which was three times the amount of hemp cultivated in the United States during the same year.¹¹³ The French farmers and manufacturers of InterChanvre thus organized the conference both to highlight France’s domestic hemp farming and to promote hemp-based products, such as building materials, plastics, textiles, cosmetics, oils, and dietary supplements, on the international market.¹¹⁴

The recent All Hemp conference reflects an ongoing renaissance for hemp in France, which in 1970 only grew 170 hectares compared to its 17,000+ today. This “return of hemp to the Hexagon,” as one cultivator put it, stems from the entrepreneurial activities of the seven major hemp cultivators that comprise InterChanvre coupled with changes made to French law in the early 2000s that legally opened the door for growth. During the second half of the twentieth century, the cultivation of cannabis for the production of hemp was legally limited in France to the Aube region for the production of paper pulp. However, in 2004 the French government aligned its policies with those of the European Union and permitted the cultivation of *Cannabis sativa* with testable THC levels not to exceed 0.2 per cent (known as Regulation 619/70). French and EU law likewise regulate the sale of hemp seed, requiring seeds to be certified, registered, and sold in packaging affixed with the official label of the SOC (Service officiel de contrôle et de certification). The SOC also conducts yearly tests on both seeds and the plants from a sampling of 30 per cent of the country’s *C. sativa* crops to ensure THC levels remain below the 0.2 per cent limit. The growers of InterChanvre view these regulations as a “key legislative framework that prevents the drifts that made hemp almost disappear globally in the 1960s” and currently allows “France to conquer, with a rate of 0.2%, new opportunities, notably in dietary supplements, building and automobile materials, all sectors that require very strict specifications.”¹¹⁵

This “drift,” of course, refers to the blurring of distinctions between

Cannabis sativa and *Cannabis indica* in French law during the last decades of the twentieth century. Much as the United States had done in the immediate aftermath of the tumultuous 1960s, France heavily curtailed the cultivation of hemp from the 1970s onward as it prioritized the eradication of the consumption of hemp's exotic and troublesome cousin, *Cannabis indica*. The French law of 30 December 1970, written without making an official distinction between species, prohibited the cultivation of all "intoxicating plants" in France, especially "cannabis." This law marked an official reversal of the scientific idea, widely held in France and the West since the late eighteenth century, that cannabis had evolved into two species reflective of and produced by contrasting cultures of cultivation and consumption.

As this chapter details, Lamarck pulled from competing mythoi of cannabis, which had been developing in France since at least the seventeenth century, to articulate the "hidden architecture" and "deeper causes" beneath the plants' distinct botanical profiles. For Lamarck, *Cannabis sativa*'s biological properties flowed from its long history of cultivation and widespread use across French society for commercial and military purposes. Indeed, hemp is rooted in the history of early modern France. Conversely, he affixed the taxon *Cannabis indica* to a competing mythos, also developing in early modern France and Europe, about chanvre des Indes, a distinct variety of cannabis grown by non-Western cultures for the production and consumption of intoxicants. Having no direct experience with cannabis-based intoxicants or the myriad cultures of "les Indes Orientales" and "l'Orient" (the majority of which did not feature cannabis consumption), Lamarck pulled from sensationalized reports of cannabis-crazed foreigners made popular by the literary works of Antoine Galland, "translator" of *Les mille et une nuits*, and the travel writings of French and European explorers, such as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier and Carsten Niebuhr, to explain the organic structures that produced the distinct species of *Cannabis indica*. Niebuhr's tales of a hash-smoking servant attacking a group of soldiers, much as the story of Sindbad and the use of hashish by African cannibals in Galland's translation of *Les mille et une nuits*, connected the consumption of cannabis-based intoxicants to acts of violence and irrationality among non-Western "savages." These stories of hash-crazed Arabs and Africans provided the historical and biological backdrops for Lamarck's scientific classification of *Cannabis indica*.

Lamarck's official division of cannabis into distinct species reflective

of different cultures of cultivation and consumption has remained to this day, with some variations and with the exception of the aforementioned legal conflation between 1970 and 2004, the foundation of popular, scientific, and legal perceptions of the controversial plant in France. InterChanvre has effectively exploited official acceptance of this division to distance its industry from illicit cannabis-based intoxicants to ensure continued growth in a nation with strict anti-drug laws. However, by continuing to pull from an archaic mythos about chanvre cultiv   set against that of chanvre indien to reify the legitimate and legal status of cannabis grown for hemp in France, InterChanvre contributes to the kind of reductive thinking about cannabis that has plagued drug policy reforms in the country for decades and that, ultimately, led to the heavy-handed prohibitions of 1970 that nearly wiped out the hemp industry in the first place.

Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou, Colonial Mimicry, and the First
Anti-Cannabis Law in French History

*If colonialism takes power in the name of history, it repeatedly
exercises its authority through the figures of farce.*

Homi K. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man” (1984)

*I have received serious complaints about soldiers mistreating
native inhabitants. What! You are republicans and you are not
generous! You are French and you would be barbarians! Ah! I
want to believe these insults and excesses delivered by many of you
are the result of intoxication. The intoxicated man is nothing but a
frantic, who succumbs to all impulses, and who can commit the
most horrible crimes ... The Egyptians today are French; they are
our brothers!*

Jacques-François Abdallah Menou (1800)

INTRODUCTION

For nearly a century, a large number of professional and amateur historians across the West have relayed to their readers the story of Napoleon Bonaparte’s passing an official ban on hashish across French-occupied Egypt in October 1800 after personally observing rampant use of the drug among his rank and file.¹ In *Shooting Up: A Short History of Drugs and War* (2016), Lukasz Kamienski devotes an entire chapter to the infamous anecdote involving Napoleon’s “adventures with hashish” during his ill-fated Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801). Pulling haphazardly from outdated secondary sources, Kamienski argues that the thirty-six thousand French troops in Egypt under Napoleon’s command “quickly became familiar with the local equivalent of alcohol, that is, drinks and dishes made of hashish” as a result of the country’s Islamic prohibition of alcohol. The soldiers thus used and became addicted to hashish, Kamienski continues, “for once tried it is difficult to do without it. In order to prevent disobedience and the demoralization of his men, which could have called into question the prospects of the entire campaign, Napoleon issued a prohibitive order.” Hashish use, then, represented a “threat to fighting power and military discipline [that] was quite real and grave,” and Napoleon’s ban was a calculated and tactical response to restore order among his troops.²

For Kamienski and many other scholars of drugs and drug prohibition, Napoleon’s hashish ban marked the first anti-drug law in modern French and Western history and thus serves as an important milestone in the story

of drugs and prohibition in the Western world. However, in October of 1800, Napoleon was neither in Egypt nor was he the ranking general in chief of the French Armée d'Orient tenuously occupying the country. Frustrated by his repeated setbacks in Egypt, Napoleon abandoned the Army of the Orient in August 1799 and secretly departed for France to begin his meteoric rise to political power.³ Upon Napoleon's departure command in Egypt passed to Jean-Baptiste Kléber, one of the most celebrated generals in French history, who controlled the colony until a Kurdish student from Aleppo called Soliman al-Halabi assassinated him in June 1800. After Kléber's assassination, Jacques-François "Abdallah" Menou, the divisional commander of Rosetta, took over as general in chief. When Abdallah Menou passed the hashish ban in Egypt in early October 1800, (then) First Consul Napoleon was nearly thirty-two hundred kilometres away in Paris fending off the famous "dagger plot" and preoccupied with a growing war in Europe against Austria and the Second Coalition. Moreover, a close reading of official correspondence between Paris and Alexandria throughout 1800 reveals that Napoleon had no involvement in or even knowledge of the hashish prohibition in Egypt passed by Menou in October.⁴ In his correspondence with Paris during the months of August, September, October, and November 1800, Menou failed to mention hashish and, in fact, gave Citizen Consul Napoleon glowing reports, boasting of the Army of the Orient's strong morale and vastly improved living conditions.⁵ Why, then, has this myth of Napoleon's banning hashish in Egypt appeared and reappeared as a historical fact for so long, and what has this myth hidden from us about the real historical circumstances that produced this first of several drug prohibition measure in modern French history?

Answers to these questions advance the overlapping historiographies of Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign and of drugs and prohibition in modern France. For the past fifty years, historians publishing on both sides of the Atlantic have generally portrayed the Egyptian Campaign as a whimsical misstep in Napoleon's otherwise impressive military and political career. From this vantage the only redeeming aspects of Napoleon's "folie égyptienne," as French scholars often label the campaign, are found in the subsequent developments of Egyptology and "Orientalism" in Europe and the introduction of Western sciences and political institutions in Egypt via French colonization.⁶ Scholars hotly debate the nature and outcomes of these cross-cultural encounters between the French and Egyptians for the

histories of both France and Egypt; however, regardless of their position in these disputes, historians generally present the campaign itself as a brief and futile attempt to extend French hegemony in North Africa.

The persistent recitation of the myth that Napoleon banned hashish in the midst of his “folie égyptienne,” a myth that first appeared in French print in the late 1820s, has silenced from history both the true story of the prohibition and the underlying “contact zones” opened up in Egypt during the three-year attempt by the French to construct a sister republic in the predominantly Muslim country.⁷ In fact, under the command of Napoleon and later of Menou, the French Army of the Orient pursued colonial policies of mixing and mimicry that heavily involved Egypt’s Sunni elite in the colony’s governance, recruited Mamelukes and Muslim-Arabs into the French military, and incorporated key aspects of Islamic law into the new colony’s political culture and public ceremonies. In addition to these colonial policies of mixing and mimicry, which presaged later colonial strategies of “association” and “politique indigène” practised by the French in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in West Africa, Napoleon likewise promoted traditional policies of cultural mixing, or “assimilation,” that sought to modernize Egypt and simultaneously mix the indigenous population (or at least the elites necessary to secure French control) into the body politic of the newest Sister Republic.⁸ Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou, the commander in Rosetta during the initial years of the campaign and then general in chief of the entire Army of the Orient after July 1800, embodied these policies of mixing and mimicry and converted to Islam, took the name Abdallah (meaning “servant of Allah”), and married into an elite Sunni family from Rosetta that claimed ancestral ties to the Prophet Muhammad (a title called *sharif*).⁹ As this chapter details, it is from these complex colonial policies in French-occupied Egypt that the figure of Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou and his colony-wide prohibition of hashish in October 1800 truly emerged. The famous hashish ban thus was not an attempt by Napoleon to discipline his troops and neutralize, as Kamienski put it, a “quite real and grave threat to fighting power,” but instead flowed from Abdallah Menou’s attempts to satisfy the social, economic, and religious interests of Egypt’s Sunni elite and further integrate Egypt’s Muslims into the French Republic and its expanding imperial nation-state.¹⁰

“A POISON AS WELL AS A REMEDY”: HASHISH IN EGYPT BEFORE 1798

Before the arrival of the French in Egypt in late June 1798, hashish for

centuries had occupied a complex and controversial position in Egyptian society and throughout the Arabo-Islamic world. People living in the Arabian Peninsula cultivated cannabis (*al-qinnab al-hindi* in Arabic) as early as 1000 BCE and used the plant to produce hemp fibre and feed for animals. Scholars believe that the use of cannabis as an intoxicant only gained significant traction in the Middle East around the ninth century CE, when traders from India and the central Asian Steppe introduced the cannabis-based intoxicant bhang to Persia and the surrounding areas.¹¹ Often consumed as a baked, greenish paste made from hashish or cannabis leaves ground with sesame and sugar, *bhāng* spread quickly across the Islamic world as both an intoxicant and an analgesic.¹²

As early as the tenth century, several Islamic physicians, including Muhammad bin Zakariya al-Razi in Persia and Ibn Wahshiyyah in Bagdad, published treatises on hashish that both praised the drug's medicinal properties and warned against over-consumption.¹³ In his work *On Poisons*, Ibn Wahshiyyah described the drug ambivalently as “a poison as well as a remedy. In certain quantities it is useful, and in others it is fatal.”¹⁴ Ibn Wahshiyyah went on to detail several methods of producing and using hashish, arguing that a “juice” made from hashish, called scammony, “eases the bile and moisture powerfully.” However, taken in other forms and in larger doses, this remedy turns toxic, he warned. The Iraqi toxicologist also cautioned readers that when one habitually smoked hashish, usually by placing the substance in burning oil, a person's “face and eyes are affected by an extreme and intensive burning; he does not see anything and cannot say what he wishes. He swoons, then recovers, swoons [again], and recovers [again]. He goes on in this way until he dies. A violent anxiety and fainting followed until he succumbs a day later.”¹⁵ Several other Islamic alchemists and physicians writing around this time, including the Persians al-Razi and al-Majusi, shared this ambivalent opinion of hashish and described the drug as a medicinal remedy when taken in moderation and a dangerous poison when abused.¹⁶

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, several religious orders and mystical sects operating on the Arabian Peninsula appropriated hashish use as a spiritual ritual, further adding to the drug's ambiguous and increasingly ubiquitous role in Islamic society. Then as now, the Koran prohibited the consumption of alcohol and “intoxicating beverages,” called *khamr*, but it said nothing about hashish. Thus, at least at first, Muslim lawmakers offered little resistance to the growing use of hashish among

emergent religious orders.¹⁷ According to historian Franz Rosenthal, the Sufis of Khorasan, an Islamic fraternal order and sect then proselytizing in what is now Iran and Afghanistan, made use of this leniency and popularized hashish use in Persia during the middle of the twelfth century.¹⁸ At this time the Sufis promoted a mystical form of Islam that privileged the personal and spiritual aspects of faith over the religion's institutional and social dimensions. The Sufis of Khorasan (modern-day Afghanistan and northwest Iran) and their leader, Sheikh Haydar, believed cannabis holy and its use a key to experiencing spiritual enlightenment.¹⁹ Legend tells that Haydar discovered the cannabis plant while on a contemplative walk near his monastery around 1250 CE. After chewing the plant's leaves, Haydar experienced a strange euphoria and later shared his happy discovery with his Sufi followers. Regardless of the legend's veracity, Western and Arabic scholars largely agree that the Sufis went on to popularize hashish consumption across the Islamic world by making its use "an act of worship" permitted (or at least not forbidden by) the Koran.²⁰ Within a century the Mongol invasions drove many Sufi communities west, spreading the mystical sect and its ritualistic practice of hashish consumption into Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, where Sufism gained many adherents, especially from the lower classes.²¹ As Ahmad Khalifa and others have argued, the Muslim peasantry and labouring classes in these areas were attracted to Sufism's ascetic lifestyle and alternative religious ideas. And for some, the religious justification of hashish use provided a permissible and affordable vice, one similar to alcohol consumption common among the Muslim elite.²²

Hashish consumption continued to grow in popularity in Egypt and across the Islamic world throughout the thirteenth century. When Ibn al-Baytar al-Malaqi, a Spanish-born botanist and physician, travelled to Egypt in 1227 he encountered many Egyptian Sufis, called *fakirs*, eating and smoking hashish in parks, cafés, and public squares. In his travel journals, al-Baytar loathed this ubiquity of hashish consumption in Cairo, calling the habit "a revolting excrement" practised by "men of the vilest class."²³ "People who use it habitually," he continued, "have proved its pernicious effects; it enfeebles their minds by carrying them to manic affections, sometimes it even causes death ... I recall having seen a time when men of the vilest class alone dared to eat it, still, they did not like the name of 'takers of hashish' applied to them."²⁴ Al-Baytar's observations reveal the extent to which hashish consumption had become an issue of

class, a dividing line in Egyptian society between a predominantly Sufi peasantry and Sunni ruling elite.²⁵

This social and religious divide shaped legal discourse about hashish consumption and prohibition in Egypt and across the Islamic world into the early modern era. As Franz Rosenthal details in his excellent study, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (1971), hashish consumption became a controversial topic for Sunni jurists in the Mameluke Sultanate during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Again, the Koran provided no explicit mention or prohibition of hashish consumption. Thus, as Rosenthal argues, Islamic jurists “had no occasion to talk about hashish unless and until it became a social problem that required legal attention regardless.”²⁶ As the number of hashish users increased among the poorer classes, the drug became a controversial topic for Sunni authorities concerned with the social and moral consequences of drug abuse and the spread of Sufism. Starting in the fourteenth century, Sunni legal scholars increasingly pushed for hashish prohibition by broadening their interpretation of the term *khamr* to include all intoxicants and not just alcoholic beverages. Ibn Taymiyyah, the most vocal and influential of these fourteenth-century Sunni jurists, deemed hashish use analogous to drinking wine and thus argued that it should carry the same prohibition.²⁷ Ibn Taymiyyah, whose writings became the basis of hashish prohibition laws in modern Egypt, also argued that those who used hashish were non-believers and deserved the same punishment as those who consumed wine – a whipping of forty to eighty lashes depending on the severity of the crime. By the turn of the fifteenth century, three of the four dominant schools of Sunni legal thought (Maliki, Shafi, and Hanbali) followed Ibn Taymiyyah and declared hashish illegal according to Koranic law.²⁸

As more and more jurists supported hashish prohibition between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, efforts to prohibit the production, sale, and consumption of hashish likewise increased. In 1266, the Mameluke king al-Zahir Babar decreed hashish consumption illegal in Cairo, ordered the gardens of Kafur (where the city’s poor grew cannabis plants and produced and consumed hashish) destroyed, and threatened anyone caught cultivating, selling, or consuming the drug with imprisonment and de-teething. The threats and ban failed to slow hashish consumption in Cairo, however, and numerous enterprising farmers outside city limits planted cannabis and soon replaced the urban market. Babar’s successors at first

allowed this cultivation and even taxed the sale of hashish. But tensions over the drug continued into the fourteenth century, erupting into scenes of violence and bloodshed. In 1324 and then again in 1376, Mameluke rulers declared hashish illegal and marched armies against cultivators of cannabis in the city's outskirts. In both instances the governors' military forces overwhelmed the farmers, burned their crops, and placed their land under temporary martial law. In 1378, Cairo's amir closed cafes known to sell hashish and arrested and publicly tortured their proprietors.²⁹ Despite the bans, however, hashish consumption remained a common practice in Egypt for centuries, especially among Sufi religious orders and the poorer classes.³⁰ As the Egyptian historian al-Makrizi wrote in 1436, hashish was "eaten openly and discussed candidly in the streets of Cairo, especially among the poor who claim the drug helps them escape their miserable condition."³¹ And, over a century later, historian al-Tunis remarked that many peasants in Egypt used hashish, known throughout the region as the "grass of the poor," to mimic the alcohol consumption of wealthier classes and briefly escape the hardships of life.³²

Comparatively little opposition to hashish consumption marks Egyptian history between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. After the Ottoman Empire conquered Egypt in 1517, the Sultanate maintained nominal rule over the country and within twenty years empowered the Mamelukes to serve as proxy ruler for the empire. Through the eighteenth century, the Mameluke beys spent the majority of their time feuding with one another for dominance and only rarely, if brutally, suppressed cannabis cultivation or hashish use.³³ These rare occasions of hashish prohibition in Ottoman-controlled Egypt took place in 1632 and 1725. In 1632, the Ottoman sultan, Murad IV, banned opium, wine, and hashish consumption and closed coffeehouses across the empire where these drugs were sold and consumed. And, in 1725, a decree passed by the sultan specifically forbade hashish, which, as the law stated, "lately is being smoked like tobacco." According to this law, those caught producing, selling, or consuming hashish faced exile, the galleys, imprisonment, or a public flogging. Despite these repeated measures the drug remained a ubiquitous but controversial feature of everyday life in Egypt up through the arrival of Napoleon's soldiers on the shores of Alexandria in June 1798. However, various prohibition initiatives and corresponding debates about the medicinal, psychological, religious, and socio-economic consequences of hashish consumption consistently mark the precontact,

indigenous history of hashish in Egypt. As in any civilization, drug use in the early modern Islamic world posed complex questions for lawmakers, doctors, and officials charged with prohibition enforcement. To answer these questions, Muslim rulers and jurists in Egypt relied on centuries of evolving medical, religious, and legal thought to make sense of hashish use and to argue for or against prohibition measures. Comparable to the drug policies later passed by imperial nation-states of the West, these prohibition measures were often rife with biases based on race, religion, and class, maintaining or further solidifying extant social hierarchies in Egypt's Islamic society. Thus, far from being uncivilized, backward, or barbaric, the use *and* prohibition of cannabis in Egypt in the centuries leading up to Napoleon's invasion in 1798 must be understood within the historical context of an evolving Islamic civilization and its influence on Ottoman-controlled Egyptian society.

“TELL THE PEOPLE THAT WE ARE TRUE MUSLIMS!” NAPOLEON'S ISLAMIC
REPUBLIC

Fresh off decisive victories against the First Coalition in Italy in the summer of 1797, the up and coming General Napoleon Bonaparte sought to continue his meteoric rise to power in Revolutionary France by conquering Egypt and using the new colony to launch an assault on Great Britain's trade routes to India and the Far East. Revolutionary France had been at war with a coalition of European powers since the spring of 1793, but with Napoleon's decisive victories in Switzerland, the Rhineland, and Italy, the land war in Europe against the First Coalition appeared to be nearing an end. In a letter to the French Directory dated 16 August 1797, Napoleon urged the executive to redouble its efforts against France's last remaining foe, Great Britain, and to realize that “the time is not far distant when we will realize that in order to destroy England, we must take possession of Egypt.”³⁴

Reeling from the recent loss of colonial territories in North America and the ongoing slave revolt in Saint Domingue, the Directory needed little convincing from the Corsican general to expand France's empire towards the East and bring the war against Great Britain to the Orient.³⁵ For nearly a century leading up to the Revolution, numerous French ministers and politicians had ogled the Mediterranean territories of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire, believing them ripe for the picking.³⁶ Egypt, a nominal Ottoman territory controlled as a feudal state by a group of feuding Mameluke beys, appeared to many of this colonial lobby to be one of the most expedient options.³⁷ In the summer of 1797, this century-old

aspiration for colonies in the Levant for the first time appeared geopolitically convenient *and* necessary. In a speech to the Institut National in Paris delivered in July 1797, the newly appointed foreign minister, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, echoed Napoleon's calls for the annexation of Ottoman territories and declared that "the transfer of Egypt to France" would "provide equal production and even more extensive trade than the lost American colonies. This is the same colonial spirit," he argued, "[with which] the English government encourages the cultivation of sugar in Bengal with great success."³⁸ Napoleon also argued that Egypt was "worth more to us than all of Italy together," referencing the recent Cisalpine and Roman "Sister Republics" established out of conquered Austrian lands on the Italian peninsula.³⁹ By March 1798, the French Directory made the formal decision to send Napoleon and thirty-five thousand soldiers to Egypt that summer to establish a new sister republic in the Nile Delta and challenge British domination in the East.

In late June 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte landed a force of thirty-five thousand French soldiers and auxiliaries on the shores of Alexandria. Despite quickly taking Alexandria, winning a decisive victory against the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids, and capturing Cairo within three weeks of landing, Napoleon lost his naval fleet to Horatio Nelson and the British in the Battle of Abukir Bay in early August. With no navy to resupply his soldiers, Napoleon had to alter this strategy and refocus his energies on maintaining control of France's newest colony and on concocting a plan to feed and comfort his increasingly disgruntled soldiers until supply lines could be reestablished.⁴⁰ Upon hearing news of the loss at Abukir Bay, a mathematician called Malus who accompanied the campaign as a member of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts, noted in his journal that "we foresaw that from then on, all communication with Europe would be broken off. We began to lose hope of seeing our fatherland again."⁴¹ Adjutant General Pierre Boyer observed the same despair among the rank and file and informed Napoleon in a letter that "many generals ... wish to return to France" as "there appears to be great discontent in the Army."⁴² Facing mutiny, diminishing supplies, and a Mameluke insurgency led by Ibrahim Bey in the south, Napoleon prepared for a prolonged and precarious stay in Egypt and quickly set about building a sister republic there, much as he had in Italy, the Rhineland, and Switzerland.

During the year he spent in Egypt until he abandoned his troops and

returned to France in August 1799, Napoleon worked to construct a viable colonial republic in the Nile Delta as he had done in central Europe.⁴³ In the winter of 1794–95, French Revolutionary forces invaded the Netherlands and there established the Batavian Republic, the French imperial nation-state's first satellite state created during the middle phases of the Revolutionary Wars. In 1796 and 1797, Napoleon's forces continued the country's imperial expansion in Europe, conquering territories in Austrian-controlled Italy and establishing the Cisalpine Republic with a constitution based on the French Constitution of the Year III, recently issued by the Directory in Paris. The Helvetic (Switzerland) and Roman Republics followed suit in 1798. As they would in Egypt, the Revolutionary government and its military generals described the conquest of central Europe as a project of liberation, a preemptive and justified fight against tyrannical monarchs who threatened France and the Revolution, and an effort to seed the universal logic and institutions of republicanism germinated in France in the minds and governments of neighbouring nations.⁴⁴ As "military provinces of the new French Empire," as one historian put it, these Sister Republics were to function as institutional facsimiles of the National Assembly in Paris and as vehicles for the various nations of central Europe to express and protect their popular sovereignty. Historian Ian Coller has argued that Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign should be understood within the context of the French Revolution's expanding imperial ambitions and efforts, particularly after the Directory took power in 1795, to establish a "Grande Nation," or an international federation of republics helmed by the National Assembly in France, by exporting republicanism via military conquest and constructing colonial republics across Europe and the Mediterranean.⁴⁵

Though Napoleon took a more hands-on approach during his year in command in Egypt than he had in the early affairs of the Continental Sister Republics, he mostly pulled from the same imperial playbook to establish a new colonial republic for "The Grand Nation" in North Africa. As historian Saliha Belmessous demonstrates in *Assimilation and Empire: Uniformity in French and British Colonies, 1541–1954* (2011), French colonial thinking, policies, and practices from the seventeenth through the early twentieth centuries, though varied and contested, historically embraced an assimilationist logic, or the idea, as Marc Ferro puts it, that the West has the natural right and thus duty "to civilize, to spread its culture, and to reproduce itself in different spaces."⁴⁶ Whether in the form

of religious conversion, intermarriage and *métissage*, coercive education, juridical disciplining, or cultural assimilation, as well as good old-fashioned structural injustice and physical violence, French colonial authorities historically deployed a myriad of strategies to convince and coerce their colonial subject-citizens to accept the superiority of French modes of thinking and living and adopt them as their own as a condition of acceptance into the rank of civilized French citizens.⁴⁷ A follower and personal product of this French tradition of assimilation now reinvigorated by Revolutionary ideology, the Corsican-born general believed it his republican duty to liberate the Egyptian people from the tyrannical rule of the Mameluke beys and to install a democratic system of governance in Egypt based on the model of the Directory in Paris that would help the indigenous population express and maintain its popular sovereignty (through the adoption of republican values, practices, and institutions) and, in so doing, secure France an important base from which to challenge British domination in the East. Joseph Eschassériaux, member of the Council of Five Hundred, gave wonderful expression to this sentiment in the deliberations leading up to the Directory's commissioning of the campaign in the summer of 1798, writing: "What a finer enterprise for a nation which has already given liberty to Europe and freed America than to regenerate in every sense a country which was the first home to civilization ... and to carry back to their ancient cradle industry, science, and the arts, to cast into the centuries the foundations of a new Thebes or of another Memphis!"⁴⁸ By assimilating into the French imperial nation-state, the French reasoned, Egypt could regenerate itself and return once again to a position of civilizational glory.

Though traditional in many senses, Napoleon's colonial policies in Egypt also demonstrated a divergence from the conventions of assimilation in that he simultaneously pursued a strategy of cultural mixing and imitation in Egypt that worked to include members of the nation's Sunni elite in the colonial republic's governance and operation, open the ranks of the military to Egypt's general population, and install key elements of Islamic law and public ritual in the colony's policies and practices. Even before the French defeat at Abukir Bay, Napoleon and his generals made efforts to include Egyptians in the governance of the new colonial republic, a strategy then called the "Islamic policy." On 27 July 1798, Napoleon organized a meeting with ten Muslim ulama and Mameluke beys in Cairo and, with their guidance, formed an

administrative council, which they called the Directory, or *Diwan* in Arabic. Though power over the Diwan remained firmly in the hands of Napoleon and his generals, the Mameluke beys and Muslim clerics who served in this imperial administration exercised significant control over the day-to-day operations of the new French colony. At the suggestion of the beys and clerics, for example, Napoleon appointed members of established Mameluke houses – the same Mameluke houses the French had just decried as tyrants and overthrown – to the new imperial police forces in Cairo, Alexandria, and Rosetta. The beys and clerics warned Napoleon that common Egyptians would only obey the Ottoman-backed Mamelukes that had controlled and policed the country’s major cities since the late sixteenth century.⁴⁹ As historian Juan Cole has noted, Napoleon included notable Egyptians in the imperial administration of Egypt because he “felt that the chief obstacle to the acceptance of French authority in Egypt would be Islam, and that only a government of the clerics could plausibly lend their authority to his contention that French were as acceptable as Muslims when it came to rule.”⁵⁰ By creating the Diwan and including Egyptian Muslims in the governance of the new republican colony, Napoleon fashioned a new node in the expanding imperial network of Revolutionary France, a node that facilitated the exchange of ideas, cultures, and even people in both directions between the Occident and the Orient.

In addition to appointing Mameluke beys and Muslim clerics to positions of power in the new imperial administration, Napoleon publicly embraced the religion of Islam and claimed to be both the liberator and defender of Muhammad’s people. Napoleon’s first formal proclamation to the Egyptian people, issued in French and Arabic and posted across the country on 2 July 1798, captured this effort to incorporate both Egyptians and Islamic political culture into the developing administration of the Republic’s newest colonial republic. “People of Egypt,” Napoleon declared, “You will be told by our enemies, that I have come to destroy your religion. Believe them not. Tell them that I have come to restore your rights, punish your usurpers, and raise the true worship of Muhammad. Tell them that I venerate, more than the Mamelukes, Allah, His prophet, and the Koran.”⁵¹ In a speech to the Diwan in early August, Napoleon again assured the beys and clerics that he and the French “respect God, his prophet Muhammad, and the glorious Quran” and urged the Diwan to “tell the people that we are true Muslims.” Pointing to his recent victories in

Italy and Malta, Napoleon rhetorically asked the Diwan: “Are we not the one who has destroyed the Pope who preached war against Muslims? Did we not destroy the Knights of Malta, because those fanatics believed God wanted them to make war against the Muslims?”⁵² One can dismiss Napoleon’s rhetoric as duplicitous and self-interested, as a mere shibboleth hiding true motives of power. However, to do so ignores the fact that Napoleon admired Muhammad and the religion of Islam and that many generals and rank and file in the Army of the Orient obediently followed his orders to respect the Egyptians’ indigenous religious and cultural practices. As historian John Tolan has argued, Napoleon conceived of the Prophet Muhammad as “something of a role model” and even fashioned himself as “a new world conqueror and legislator walking in Muhammad’s footsteps.”⁵³ In his memoirs, Napoleon devoted numerous pages to Muhammad and described the Prophet as “a prince” that “rallied his compatriots around him” and “in a few years ... conquered half the world.” Napoleon also described Muhammad as a true republican leader who “uprooted more souls from the false gods, knocked down more idols, razed more pagan temples in fifteen years, than the followers of Moses and Jesus Christ did in fifteen centuries.”⁵⁴ Napoleon’s declarations to the Diwan, therefore, should be taken at face value: Napoleon, if only for a brief time, wanted to build an Islamic sister republic in Egypt and, like Muhammad, enlighten *and* conquer the world.

In early August 1798, Napoleon buoyed this rhetoric with state action by officially allowing Egyptian men to enlist in the French Army of the Orient. The recruitment of Egyptian men into the French Army had the dual benefit of restocking the rank and file, which, by early August, had suffered over ten thousand casualties, and of cultivating loyalty and fraternity among France’s new colonial citizens.⁵⁵ By the end of August, the French recruited (and sometimes forcefully conscripted) enough Egyptians into the army to organize a full colonial battalion with five companies of sixty-five men each to reinforce French troops in Cairo and Alexandria.⁵⁶ In early September, Napoleon also created the Guides d’Omar, a company of 117 former Ottoman soldiers attached to the army’s guide units.⁵⁷ The Guides d’Omar and its commander and namesake, Omar al-Koladi, a former Ottoman officer, were tasked with aiding Napoleon’s personal guides and were often called upon to translate for the army when they advanced into Syria the following year. Known as *Janissaires*, these colonial units were comprised of men from various ethnic and religious

groups present in Egypt at the turn of the nineteenth century, including Ottomans, Mamelukes, Syrians, and Copts. These multi-ethnic Janissaires went on to serve in the Chasseurs Regiment of the French Imperial Guard until the fall of Napoleon's empire in 1815.

That same month (August 1798) Napoleon sponsored the annual Egyptian festivals celebrating the flooding of the Nile and the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, hoping to buttress his new inclusive colonial institutions (e.g., the Diwan and Janissaire units) with creolized public festivals that simultaneously celebrated Egypt's Muslim heritage and France's Revolutionary republicanism. For millennia Egyptians celebrated and religiously revered the Nile's yearly flooding. The Nile River stretches from its headwaters at Lake Tanganyika through Ethiopia and Sudan and into the Egyptian desert, where it irrigates and enriches the land with sediment. Every summer, rains in eastern Africa generated by the Indian monsoon caused the river to overflow its banks and replenish the sunbaked Nile Delta. Egypt's well-being depended on this annual flood. If waters were too low, crops suffered. If the river rose too high, the flood could overwhelm the canals and cause destruction and death in the cities. With the festival of the Nile, Egyptian's hoped to will the river towards the optimal flood stage.⁵⁸ After the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the eighth century CE, Muslim Egyptians combined the festivals of the Nile with the *Mawlid*, the observance of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. Much as his fellow revolutionaries back in France, Napoleon believed that public festivals and celebrations helped generate revolutionary changes in political culture and inculcate loyalty within the body politic. As historians Mona Ozaf, Maurice Agulhon, and Lynn Hunt have demonstrated, radicals in Revolutionary France partly transformed politics through "symbolic practices," such as language, art, fashion, and public festivals.⁵⁹ Napoleon likewise sought to transform the political culture of Egypt through symbolic practices that simultaneously celebrated Egyptians' Muslim heritage and France's Revolutionary republicanism. To further legitimize France's Islamic Republic in Egypt, then, Napoleon commandeered indigenous festivals and used them to support his claims that the French were "true Muslims."

On the morning of 18 August 1798, Napoleon opened the festivals by leading an opulent riverboat procession down the Nile, which included the beys and clerics of the newly formed Diwan, the Ottoman viceroy Mustafa Pasha, and several Janissaire units. Napoleon and this indigenous elite

within France's new Islamic Republic disembarked at the al-Sadd Bridge, where they presided over the opening of the dam and the filling of Cairo's canals. The opening ceremonies received significant coverage in the first edition of the *Courier de l'Égypte*, a newspaper published by the savants of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts to disseminate news (and at times, propaganda) to the Army of the Orient. The *Courier* reported that an immense gathering of locals and soldiers watched the parades and "sang praises to the Prophet and to the French Army."⁶⁰ According to the *Courier*, locals cried out with joy, "You [the French] came to deliver us by the order of God the merciful!"⁶¹ An account of the same festivals written by the Egyptian historian al-Jabarti balances the *Courier's* triumphal telling of the events with a healthy measure of colonial reality. Al-Jabarti reported that Cairo's Muslim population largely boycotted the ceremonies and evening festivities, many of them incensed by the French occupation, the new tax system, and the numerous incidents of rape, murder, and looting by French soldiers. Al-Jabarti recounted, "Not a single person went out at night for pleasure excursions in boats as was customary."⁶²

The actual public reception of these festivals probably lies somewhere between al-Jabarti's critical account and the triumphal narrative provided by the *Courier*. As historian Juan Cole has noted, al-Jabarti's *Chronicles* arguably privileged the viewpoint of Cairo's Sunni middle class and as a result ignored the fact that many Muslim Egyptians, and particularly Sufis, attended the celebrations.⁶³ Also, according to the letters and memoirs of numerous French soldiers in attendance, thousands of Cairo's Muslim peasantry and Sufi devotees attended the festivals and transformed the evenings into, as one French officer wrote, "a bizarre comedy." Quartermaster General François Bernoyer, the army's tailor, observed the evening's celebrations from his bedroom window at Cairo's Grand Palace and described what he saw in a letter to his cousin back in France. "I had the perseverance to watch this gang of charlatans installed beneath my window," Bernoyer wrote. They presented their "crude games" as a religious ceremony; "they were dressed like monks," he wrote, and the "boss of the gang and his disciples were all well aware of the treachery." Bernoyer described how they formed a circle to receive the growing crowd.

The first spectator presented himself to the monks to receive divine inspiration. He approached the venerable pontiff and prostrated himself several times before him. After this, the pontiff took hold

of the postulant's hair, made him rise, and commanded him to close his eyes and open his mouth widely. The pontiff then spat in the mouth of the postulant. Having seen nothing, the postulant believed he had received the divine spirit, which would soon rush through his entire body. He then began howling, his limbs stiffened, one could hear his bones crack, his eyes appeared to exit his head, and a thick froth covered his mouth. But once the number of postulants rose, the charlatans sought to outdo themselves . . . and some of them were biting others and even tearing their flesh. Their mouths were so bloody and disgusting. It seems, my dear friend, that one made these wretches take a dose of hashish, which immersed them in this delirium and causes all these extravagances.⁶⁴

Echoing the style and sentiment of eighteenth-century French travel writing on the Orient and hashish, Bernoyer ignored the cultural and religious significance of the events he witnessed and instead embedded the Sufi rituals within narratives of Oriental barbarism replete with stereotypes of cannibalism and rampant drug use. For Bernoyer, these drug-induced rituals of the Sufis and other Islamic folk sects in Egypt revealed a “fanaticism” impenetrable to reason and civilization. “I wanted to shout the truth to them,” Bernoyer wrote, “but what would it have served?”⁶⁵ In short, Bernoyer believed that the Sufis and their religious practices existed outside of civilization proper, hermetically sealed off from the rational world of republican France.

When taken at face value, the accounts of al-Jabarti and François Bernoyer seem to indicate that Napoleon's efforts to rouse support for the new Islamic Republic through creolized public festivals largely failed. According to al-Jabarti, the Egyptians that mattered most – middle-class and elite Sunnis – boycotted the event entirely. And much like François Bernoyer, who judgmentally watched the spectacle from his room at the Grand Palace, numerous French officers believed Napoleon's efforts to cultivate loyalty among the Muslim Egyptians a colossal waste of time. Joseph-Marie Moiret, captain in the Army of the Orient, shared Bernoyer's disdain for the religious practices of local Egyptians and Napoleon's efforts to Islamize the French Army. In his memoirs Moiret wrote that the French had not “shaken off the superstitions of Europe to adopt those of the Orient.”⁶⁶ Far from the colonial celebration described by the *Courier*, then, these accounts depict a festival replete with the traditional tensions

and miscarriages of colonial occupation.

However, in these failures and tensions lay an important moment of cross-cultural consonance: al-Jabarti and Bernoyer both positioned Sufi religious practices outside of civilization and both used this critique of Egyptian folk culture to challenge the efficacy of Napoleon's Islamic policies in Egypt. Of course, their ideas about what constituted civilization differed significantly, but their shared disdain for the drug-induced rituals of the Sufis created a common ground or bridge between their two worlds. These moments of convergence occasioned by public festivals and mixed colonial institutions, such as the Diwan and the Janissaires, facilitated processes of cultural mixing that naturally accompany colonization.⁶⁷ Pulling from the scholarship of Isabel P.B. Feo Rodrigues, historian Juan Cole labels this process of cultural mixing "creolization," or "the creative process crafted from the tensions of colonial societies ... that cuts across structures of inequality, transforming both colonizer and colonized."⁶⁸ As Juan Cole notes in his article, "Playing Muslim: Bonaparte's Army of the Orient and Euro-Muslim Creolization," cultural creolization functioned in the Islamic Republic of Egypt as "a creative movement deployed by individuals for the purposes of bridging authority structures ... or with the object of subverting them."⁶⁹ Both al-Jabarti and Bernoyer used their critiques of folk Islamic practices to challenge the efficacy of Napoleon's Islamic policies and to subvert the legitimacy of the new Egyptian Republic. Conversely, Napoleon hoped to bridge authority structures in Egypt and legitimize the new Islamic Republic by mixing the Revolutionary republicanism of France with Egypt's Muslim traditions. As Napoleon himself put it, he sought to "combine the experiences of the two worlds, exploiting the realm of all history for my own profit."⁷⁰ Cultural mixing, therefore, cut both ways in French-occupied Egypt, affecting both colonizer and colonized as both negotiated new relations of power and assembled new systems of meaning to make sense of the colonial experience. In regard to the processes of cultural mixing, then, Napoleon's festivals can be viewed as an important success.

Another important node in the French imperial network that facilitated cultural mixing in Egypt's Islamic Republic was the Institut d'Égypte. Created by Napoleon on 22 August 1798, the Institut functioned as a colonial research university tasked officially with spreading knowledge in Egypt and supporting the work of the Islamic Republic's imperial administration. Napoleon served as president of the organization, and he

appointed mathematician Jean-Joseph Fournier of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts as secretary. The two organized the Institut into four sections – mathematics, physics, political economy, and literature and arts – and appointed several other savants to leadership positions, including chemist Claude-Louis Berthollet, author and archaeologist Vivant Denon, and engineer Nicolas-Jacques Conté, among others.⁷¹ Fournier described the Institut’s mission as a scientific quest “to abolish the tyranny of the Mamelukes, to promote cultivation through the construction of irrigation systems, to open communication between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf, to offer the Orient the useful example of European industry, and to procure for the inhabitants of Egypt all the advantages of a perfected civilization.”⁷² In short, the Institut was designed to function as an organizational hub for the scholarly and scientific work of the savants and as a scientific aide-de-camp to Egypt’s new Islamic Republic.

During their first meeting in Cairo on the evening of 23 August 1798, Napoleon and the savants posed several questions to guide the Institut’s work. From these questions we see that the Institut focused its energies on ameliorating the conditions of the French soldiers – who, after the Battle of Abukir Bay, were without a navy and thus consistent supply lines to France – and establishing a base understanding of Egypt’s indigenous culture and government. “Can the furnaces providing bread to the military be improved? Is there a replacement in Egypt for hops to make beer? How can Nile water be purified? Is it better to construct water mills or windmills in Cairo? Can gunpowder be manufactured in Egypt? What is the situation of jurisprudence, and civil and criminal law, in Egypt? And how can it be improved?”⁷³ To systematically answer these and other questions, the members of the Institut organized weekly conferences open to the public and established *La Décade égyptienne*, a peer-reviewed journal in which the savants published the results of their scientific ventures in Egypt.⁷⁴ Napoleon requisitioned two palaces in Cairo formerly owned by a Mameluke bey to house the Institut, and within a year the facility included lecture halls, a French and Arabic printing press, scientific laboratories, gardens and greenhouses, and a cabinet of natural history.⁷⁵

As they did with the Diwan, the army, and public commemorations, the French encouraged Egyptians to participate in the Institut’s scholarly activities. Numerous Egyptians and Syrians contributed to the organization’s work between 1798 and 1801, and the French formally

appointed several of these indigenous “men of talent” to key posts within the organization. Mikha’il Sabbagh, one such man from Palestine, offered his services to the French Army upon its arrival in Egypt in the summer of 1789. After serving as a guide and interpreter for a year, Sabbagh caught the attention of Jean-Joseph Fournier, who appointed him the head of the Institut’s Arabic language library in Cairo.⁷⁶ When the French Army lost Egypt to an Ottoman-British coalition in late August 1801, Sabbagh – along with several hundred other Egyptians, Turks, Copts, Greeks, and Abyssinians – followed the Army of the Orient back to France. As Ian Coller details in *Arab France: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 1798–1831*, several of these Egyptian refugees, such as Sabbagh and Egyptian-born scholar Rufa’il Zakhur, rose to prominent positions in Napoleon’s *Empire française* and helped establish transnational Franco-Arab communities in Paris and Marseilles. Sabbagh became the curator of Arabic manuscripts at the Bibliotheque Impériale, where he worked as a close associate of Orientalist Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy.⁷⁷ Zakhur, who served as the Diwan’s interpreter in Cairo and translated numerous works for the Institut, obtained an appointment at the École des Langues Orientales in 1803, where he taught Arabic and mentored the famed scholar and translator Jean-François Champollion.⁷⁸ Therefore, at the very genesis of modern French scholarship on the Orient, particularly Egypt, “Orientals” themselves played an important and influential role in shaping French representations of the region’s peoples, cultures, and histories.

In the final analysis, however, Napoleon’s peculiar project of empire in Egypt was half-hearted and short-lived. Cracks in the Islamic Republic’s imperial facade were already visible in October 1798, when Sufis in the city of Tanta (north of Cairo) started protests against the colony’s new tax codes.⁷⁹ Around the same time, French engineers working in Cairo made matters worse when they haphazardly demolished several tombs in the Ezbekiya Gardens considered sacred by the city’s Sufi masses. By the end of October, the French faced a full-blown insurgency in Tanta, Cairo, and the surrounding areas. Napoleon and his troops quickly defeated the largely self-created revolt and brutally restored order to the capital city, but the insurgency marked the death knell for collaboration between Napoleon and the Egyptians. Because several members of the Diwan supported the insurgency, Napoleon dissolved the Islamic Republic’s amalgamated administration and replaced it with a streamlined military commission controlled entirely by the French officer corps. The French also

constructed armed fortifications throughout the city of Cairo to solidify their control and to discourage another popular uprising. What started as a fluid space of empire quickly transformed into a colonial project more in line with traditional military conquest.

“ABDALLAH” MENOUE, COLONIAL MIMICRY, AND FRANCE’S FIRST ANTI-CANNABIS LAW

To understand the origins of the first drug prohibition in modern French history, one must first acknowledge the cross-cultural encounters and processes of cultural mixing let loose by Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign between the summers of 1798 and 1801, particularly the ways in which French soldiers and officers engaged in these processes of mixing and mimicry as they renegotiated identity and power in the short-lived Islamic Sister Republic of Egypt. Though many in the Army of the Orient believed Napoleon’s colonial policies in Egypt were farfetched and ill advised, a sizeable number of soldiers and several key officers fastidiously followed Napoleon’s orders to embrace Islam and respect Egypt’s indigenous people and cultures. One of Napoleon’s generals, Jacques-François Menou, even converted to Islam, adopted the name Abdallah (“servant of Allah”), and married into an elite Sunni family from Rosetta that claimed ancestral ties to the Prophet Muhammad.⁸⁰ General Jacques-Zacharie D’Estaing, a division commander in the Army of the Orient, also took an Egyptian bride called Anne Nazo in January 1800. Several other officers, including Alexis-Joseph Delzons, François Coulin, and Jacques Lantin, married Egyptian women and brought them back to France after the end of the expedition. Al-Jabarti noted in his chronicle: “Many of the French soldiers are asking to marry daughters of notables.”⁸¹ Many rank-and-file soldiers likewise took Egyptian brides and selectively appropriated aspects of indigenous cultures, such as the consumption of hashish prominent among Sufis and the labouring classes of the Nile Delta. While Menou personally and officially supported the French colonial tradition of *métissage*, or miscegenation, as a constructive colonial policy – and particularly the coupling of French generals and daughters of Egypt’s ruling Sunni families – he quickly viewed the spread of hashish consumption among his troops as a threat to both social order and to the colony’s efforts to solidify cooperation with the indigenous elite, who historically viewed hashish consumption as a marker of immorality and low status.⁸² Hashish consumption among French soldiers grew by October 1800 into such a widespread problem that Abdallah Menou, then the highest-ranking commander for the French in Egypt, declared the

substance illegal and threatened anyone caught selling, purchasing, or consuming hashish with two-months' imprisonment.⁸³ For Egyptians, Menou's ban on hashish represented the latest iteration in a long line of prohibition measures aimed at Egypt's Sufis and labouring masses by Sunni-aligned leaders.⁸⁴ Within the context of French history, however, Menou's ban marked the first official prohibition against the production, sale, and consumption of an intoxicant.⁸⁵

As discussed above, most historians who write on the history of drugs and prohibition in modern France and Europe fail to mention Abdallah Menou and mistakenly attribute this first anti-cannabis law in modern French history to Napoleon Bonaparte.⁸⁶ A majority of these publications cite the work of German medical doctor Louis Lewin, who published a survey history of mind-altering plants called *Phantastica* in the early 1920s. In this work Lewin provided a translated excerpt of the prohibition measure, originally passed on 8 October 1800, and incorrectly attributed the ban to Bonaparte, also arguing that the ban "manifested the spirit of Napoleon."⁸⁷ It is in part true that Menou's hashish ban manifested the spirit of Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign, but Lewin separated this spirit from Napoleon's Islamic policies in Egypt and therefore ignored the crucial fact that France's first anti-drug law emerged from the processes of mixing and mimicry engendered by those very policies.⁸⁸ To correct this historical oversight, which has been repeated uncritically by historians for the past century, and firmly reconnect the history of cannabis and prohibition in modern France to issues of empire, we must explore the life of Jacques-François "Abdallah" Menou and the circumstances that led him to order the prohibition of hashish in French-occupied Egypt in October 1800.

Jacques-François Menou lived during an incredibly transformative era in French history. Menou was born on 3 September 1750 into a noble family from the town of Boussay in the northwestern French province of Touraine. Not much is known of Menou's childhood or upbringing, but we know that Menou followed in the footsteps of his father and pursued a career in the French military, first volunteering to serve in the count of Provence's rifleman regiment in 1765 (at the age of fifteen).⁸⁹ By the time of the French Revolution, Menou had risen to the rank of Maréchal de camp, roughly the equivalent of a major general, and had fought for the Bourbon monarchy in numerous Continental campaigns during the 1760s and 1770s.⁹⁰ When Louis XVI convened the Estates General in May 1789,

Menou represented the nobility of Touraine at Versailles as a deputy of the Second Estate. A minority among the nobility, Menou embraced the ideas of the Enlightenment, particularly the positivist notion that men could use reason and science to perfect society.⁹¹ When the Third Estate made its revolutionary break from the Estates General in June 1789 to form what would become the National Constituent Assembly, Menou renounced his noble titles and privileges and threw his support behind the Revolutionaries.⁹²

After briefly serving as a deputy in the Constituent Assembly, Menou continued his military career and in 1793 achieved the rank of division general of the Army of the Coasts for his service in the Vendee fighting counter-revolutionaries.⁹³ Two years later Menou again received a promotion to the rank of general in chief of the Army of the Interior and served briefly as section commander of Paris, where he again led troops against a counter-revolutionary insurgency in the suburb of Saint-Antoine.⁹⁴ In October 1795, Menou negotiated a peace with the rebels of Saint-Antoine; however, the loyalists failed to live up to their end of the treaty, and the National Assembly relieved Menou of his post and transferred command of the Army of the Interior to General Bonaparte, who famously put down the rebellion with a “whiff of grapeshot” on 13 Vendémiaire (5 October 1795).⁹⁵ Menou was arrested and forced to stand trial for the whole affair. Paul-François-Jean-Nicolas, vicomte de Barras and one of the five directors of the Directoire exécutif that controlled Revolutionary France from November 1795 to November 1799, even denounced Menou as a royalist and an enemy of the Revolution. The War Council quickly acquitted Menou of all charges in late November 1795, but the affair severely damaged Menou’s reputation, and he struggled to immediately obtain another military appointment.⁹⁶ Napoleon himself refused Menou’s request to join the Army of Italy in 1796, forcing him to return to Touraine, where he intended to retire. When Napoleon assembled his team for the Egyptian Campaign two years later, he chose Menou to command five divisions of the Army of the Orient, believing him an expert in counter-insurgency tactics (a must for any colonial campaign) despite the incident at Saint-Antoine. When the Army of the Orient landed in Egypt in late June 1798, Menou led his five divisions in the initial siege of Alexandria, where he was wounded six times during the battle.⁹⁷ Napoleon then ordered the injured Menou and his troops to occupy Rosetta and appointed Menou to the position of provincial governor of the city.

It is during his time as provincial governor of Rosetta that Menou converted to Islam and married Zobaïdah al-Bahouab, the daughter of a prominent Sunni bathhouse owner, Muhammad al-Bahouab.⁹⁸ According to their marriage certificate, the couple wedded on the twenty-fifth day of Ramadan in the year 1213 (2 March 1799) in the presence of Rosetta's senior ulama and muftis and several French officers and savants.⁹⁹ During the ceremony Menou declared: "I confess that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is his prophet, knowing what this confession means and convinced and imbued with the spirit of this profession of faith. I abandon the Christian religion and all other false religions, and again declare, of my own will, this confession according to the legally prescribed conditions of Islam." The marriage certificate goes on to verify that Menou had taken the necessary steps to convert to Islam and to outline the marriage's precepts according to Muslim law.¹⁰⁰

Menou understood that political power in Egypt flowed through the mosques and the Sunni upper class, so he hoped his conversion and marriage would bolster his political authority as provincial governor in Rosetta. In a letter to Eugène Poussielgue, an army comptroller stationed in Cairo, Menou described his marriage as, in part, a strategic political manoeuvre. "I married a woman to whom I had never spoken and whom I had never seen before," he wrote. "To add to the uniqueness of facts, her mother and father are *sharif*. I am therefore Muhammad's cousin! My wife is good, neither ugly nor beautiful, tall, strong, well made, beautiful eyes. The family is very honest ... but my marriage is entirely based on political motives. I do not know if everyone will approve. I did it and thought it for the best."¹⁰¹ Although Menou describes his marriage as "entirely" political in nature, we must be careful not to do so well. As several historians have noted, Menou's French comrades often ridiculed him for his conversion and marriage, some even calling him "le renégat," or "the turncoat." And Menou's predecessor, General Kléber, famously wrote in a letter to him in early 1800: "You, general, have your head turned to the Orient, me towards the Occident. We will never hear one another."¹⁰² One could read Menou's proclaimed political pragmatism as a proactive defence against these charges of "going native." However, Menou's personal life also reveals a man committed to his Muslim family and to Egypt's Sunni community. Within a year of their wedding, Zobaïdah and Abdallah had a son, who they intriguingly called Soliman (the name of the assassin who killed Menou's predecessor, Kléber). When Menou returned to France

with the defeated Army of the Orient in September 1801, Zobaïdah and Soliman came with him and lived the rest of their lives by his side in France and Italy. Menou, Zobaïdah, and Soliman died within a year of each other in Venice, where Menou was serving. After returning from Egypt, Menou served as administrator general of Piedmont, governor general of territories from the Alps to Marengo, and then as Comte d'Empire in Italy, first in Florence and then in Venice. Menou died at the Villa Corneso in Mestre, Italy (just outside Venice), on 13 August 1810.¹⁰³ Thus, what started as an arranged marriage for political expediency clearly transformed into a lasting relationship that thrived on both poles of France's expanding imperial nation-state.

Much like Napoleon's veneration of Muhammad and proclamations that the French were "true Muslims," Abdallah Menou's conversion to Islam and marriage to Zobaïdah al-Bahouab offer a peculiar glimpse into the complex dynamics of "colonial mimicry" that often pervaded cross-cultural encounters in French colonial discourse and history.¹⁰⁴ As literary scholar Homi K. Bhabha highlights in his piece, "On Mimicry and Man," Europeans often authored and authorized their annexation of Africa, Asia, and Latin America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through strategies of cultural mimesis.¹⁰⁵ Whether by coercing the colonized to adopt metropolitan ways of life or by themselves expropriating and exhibiting elements of indigenous cultures, the operators of Europe's overseas colonies routinely articulated their authority through processes of cultural imitation that functioned to reify prevailing racial hierarchies in socio-cultural positions and practices inside colonial space. Most studies of colonial mimicry, especially those driven by questions of postcoloniality, zero in on the historical experiences of colonial "mimic men," or colonized persons of colour embroiled in the forces of coerced assimilation. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon describes the pressures to assimilate placed on people of colour in French Martinique as a process of cultural erasure and pathological "lactification," or the wholistic "francisation" and whitening of black and brown colonial subject-citizens through miscegenation and the adoption/indoctrination of French language, dress, history, customs, and ways of thinking. "The more the colonized has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis," Fanon writes, "the more he will have escaped the bush. The more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become."¹⁰⁶ Numerous historians, literary theorists, and novelists have probed the lived experiences and literary

constructions of “mimic men” (and women) in colonial and postcolonial contexts to capture the violent forces of colonial assimilation described by Fanon.¹⁰⁷ Scholars of postcolonial literature, especially and most notably Bhabha, have used Fanon’s theories on the sociopsychological construction of race in colonial space to make sense of figures in postcolonial fiction (e.g., Ralph Singh in Naipaul’s *The Mimic Men*) who, driven by the forces of assimilation to “escape the bush,” become tragically fixed as “partial presences” within a state of cultural and ontological ambivalence, a state of being “almost the same but not white.”¹⁰⁸ But whereas Fanon views the colonial mimic-man’s status as permanently fixed, “both present and mummified” in the “ambivalent world of the ‘not quite/not white,’” Bhabha argues that colonized peoples can exercise power through mimicry and, in so doing, construct an authentic indigeneity through hybridity that simultaneously reifies “authorized versions of otherness” and repeatedly undermines Europe’s claims on civility and authority. “The menace of mimicry,” Bhabha writes, “is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority.” In other words, where Fanon sees cultural assimilation under empire as an act of symbolic violence and cultural genocide escapable only through violent revolt, Bhabha envisions cross-cultural encounters in colonial space as potentially empowering for colonized peoples and ultimately disempowering for the overall project of colonialism. Using a Fanonian lens sharpened by the insights of Bhabha, historians James E. Genova, Gary Wilder, and Spencer D. Segalla, among others, have given greater clarity to the ways in which people under French colonial rule historically have worked against, for, through, and often outside the forces of colonial assimilation to forge identities and exercise power in the face of racialized imperial oppression.

In recent decades, scholars of colonial history have expanded their investigations of cultural mimicry to include discussion of Europeans’ historic tendency to appropriate and mimic the cultures of those they colonized, a process Shaden Tageldin describes as “the self-translation by colonizers into strategic semblances of those they wish to control.”¹⁰⁹ Sometimes termed “reverse mimicry” or “going native,” acts of imitation and appropriation by figures of colonial power relating to the cultures and peoples they control, as well as efforts by Westerners to assimilate into colonized indigenous communities, can readily be found throughout the histories and literatures of Europe’s most active empires from the

seventeenth century onward.¹¹⁰ The desire to embody the colonized manifests not only in literary characters, ranging from the vile Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness* to the compassionate Lieutenant John Dunbar in *Dances with Wolves*, but also and more often in the complicated, real-life examples on which those characters are based, such as frontiers-woman Mary Jemison in 1750s Pennsylvania, the British explorer Richard Francis Burton in India during the mid-1800s, and French captains Voulet and Chanoine in West Africa in the 1890s, to name only a few. Similar to the conventional dynamics of colonial mimesis, colonizers' reverse mimicry of the colonized historically took on multiple forms and meanings that paradoxically authorized the power of the colonizer (i.e., "I am you but also your ruler") and undermined the basis of that power by striking at historical assumptions of the West's cultural authenticity and superiority. As Barbara Fuchs argues in *Mimesis and Empire* (2001), "ideology pirated or ventriloquized becomes surprisingly vulnerable – instead of reproducing it, purposeful mimesis undermines imperial claims to originary authority."¹¹¹ Napoleon's Islamic policies and proclamations that the "French are true Muslims," and Menou's conversion, name-change, and marriage, should be understood within the context of cultural vulnerability and ambivalence engendered by their attempts to "self-translate into strategic semblances" of Egypt's Sunni elite.

Menou demonstrated commitment not only to his Muslim family but also to Egypt's indigenous Muslim community. Once in command of the Army of the Orient, Abdallah Menou quickly set about repairing the colony's relationship with Egypt's Muslim majority, particularly its Sunni elite. By refashioning himself as Abdallah, meaning "servant of Allah," and marrying into a local elite family, Menou believed he'd command more respect from Egypt's dominantly Muslim population and help bridge the cultural chasm between colonizers and colonized. Relations between Egyptians and the French Army had been strained since the fall of 1798, when, within a calendar month, Ottoman sultan Selim III formally declared war on France, and thousands of Cairenes (mostly students and labourers) revolted against the army.¹¹² The French quickly suppressed the insurgency and reestablished control in the capital city, but, in response to the rebellion, Napoleon dissolved the Diwan, revealing the vacuity of his promises to include native elites in the colony's governance. From the winter of 1798–99 on, and especially after the Ottoman Empire allied with England against France in January 1799, the French Army of the Orient

held precarious control over the colony's territories and did little to include native elites in the governance of occupied Egypt. Immediately upon taking command in the summer of 1800, Abdallah Menou worked to regain control of the colony by reviving the Diwan and appointing numerous members of Egypt's Sunni elite to its membership, including several prominent sheikhs and the Egyptian scholar al-Jabarti.¹¹³ The new Diwan functioned much as it had under Napoleon in 1798, that is, as an arbiter of Islamic law in Egypt and advisory council to the French Army. However, under Menou's command the Diwan exercised more power in colonial affairs than it had during its brief existence under Napoleon in 1798. As al-Jabarti noted in his chronicle, he and the other members of the new council "rejoiced at the creation of the new Diwan and believed it would ease tensions" between the French and their fellow Egyptian-born citizens.¹¹⁴ If the scholar and chronicler al-Jabarti – who, as you will remember, heavily criticized Napoleon's Islamic policies in 1798 – extolled the virtues of Menou's Diwan, we can confidently infer that the new colonial council did more to serve the interests of the Egyptian population (or at least the Sunni elite) than did its predecessor.

For Menou, the viability of the colony depended on the successful inclusion of Muslim Egyptians in the body politic of the French imperial nation-state. As historian Patrice Bret argues: "Out of Egypt Menou wanted to make a colony of a new type, no longer based on the exploitation of servile workers ... but on the universal values that allow a compromise between two cultures and two peoples united within the Republic."¹¹⁵ When one examines Menou's correspondence and official orders produced during his tenure as general in chief (June 1800 to August 1801), one sees that his colonial policies often straddled the fence between Occident and Orient or mixed elements from the two worlds to better fit political conditions in the Republic's newest colony. Much like his colonial identity, then, Menou's colonial politics mixed Islamic faith with an ardent belief in the political and scientific ideas that underpinned the French Revolution. As he explained in an open letter to the *Courier*: "Science is a light, faith also is a light. Science and faith shall provide mutual clarity; but all light comes from Allah, and Allah illuminates what he chooses to illuminate."¹¹⁶ During the first months of his command, Menou worked to rebuild the French colony in Egypt on these dual pillars of faith and science. Put another way, he hoped to optimize the colony's management by "establishing a wise and economic system of

administration” while simultaneously aligning colonial policies with native, and specifically Sunni Muslim, interests.¹¹⁷

To accomplish this goal, Menou streamlined the colony’s tax codes and created an oversight commission to supervise the activities of Coptic tax collectors, whom the sheikhs and ulama distrusted. When Napoleon established the first imperial administration in July 1798, he appointed members of Egypt’s Christian Coptic community to tax-collecting posts, believing fellow Christians to be more loyal to the French cause in Egypt than Muslims. This angered Egyptian Muslims throughout the country, especially because many of these tax collectors embezzled significant percentages of the tax revenues, helping push the colony’s finances into the red. Upon assuming command, Menou simplified tax codes by consolidating administrative departments within the colony (reducing intermediaries in the tax collection process) and by creating a committee of five that included men from prominent Sunni families to oversee Coptic tax collectors. This and other tax and administrative policies helped Menou bring the colony into financial solvency by the beginning of 1801.¹¹⁸ He then ordered the Imperial Printer in Cairo, operated by Jean-Joseph Marcel, to begin printing a journal in Arabic specifically for native Egyptians. This journal, called *Al-Tanbieh*, functioned as the Arabic counterpart to the *Courier* and featured articles written by Muslim members of the Diwan.¹¹⁹ Menou believed this journal would transform Egyptians into informed French citizens and “help maintain the trust and union that increasingly grows between these peoples [the Egyptians] and the French.”¹²⁰ Menou also focused his attention on issues of public health in the colony, particularly on the spread of plague in Cairo’s slums. At first, the Diwan resisted Menou’s efforts to contain the spread of the disease, believing the use of quarantines and the state registration of births, deaths, and marriages an unjust intrusion into private life and religious practices. As al-Jabarti wrote, “There was a difficulty for the indigenous [Egyptians] who were not accustomed to such measures.”¹²¹ But Menou successfully convinced the Diwan that his public health policies did not undermine the mosque’s social and religious position in Egypt, and the colony was able to significantly slow the spread of plague by early 1801. Menou also worked to establish codes of moral conduct in Egypt that satisfied both French and Egyptian sensibilities. At the urgings of the Diwan and the French officer corps, Menou outlawed the public, drug-induced rituals of the Sufi mystics, also called *santons*, ridiculed earlier by

the Egyptian scholar al-Jabarti and the French captain Bernoyer. During public deliberations on the *Affaires des santons*, the Diwan declared the practices of Sufi mystics “forbidden and contrary to our religion, to our Sharia, and to our traditions.”¹²² In the official *ordre du jour* from 30 December, Menou ordered the arrest of all “so-called saints, who run through the streets naked or nearly naked and perform crude acts condemned and punished with utmost care in all countries where public morals are respected.”¹²³ From the start of his tenure as general in chief, then, Abdallah Menou worked to better satisfy the social, economic, and religious interests of Egypt’s Sunni elite and thus to further integrate them as citizens within the nascent French imperial nation-state.

It was from these policies of cultural mixing and mimicry that the first drug prohibition measure in modern French history emerged in October 1800. As discussed earlier, for centuries hashish occupied a ubiquitous but contentious place in Egyptian culture as a medicine, intoxicant, and religious ritual. So when French soldiers found themselves indefinitely marooned in Egypt after the Battle of Abukir in August 1798 – and for nearly a year without consistent wine and liquor rations or sufficient means to produce fermented drinks – many in the Army of the Orient took to the local culture of smoking cannabis seeds and eating and drinking hashish-laced confections. During their tenures as generals in chief, Menou’s predecessors, Napoleon and Kléber, paid no attention to hashish use in Egypt or to its growing popularity among the rank and file.¹²⁴ But Menou, a converted Sunni Muslim, viewed intoxication of any kind as an offence against Islamic law and as a threat to the colony’s Franco-Arab unity. Throughout July and August 1800, Menou received correspondence from division generals in Rosetta and Alexandria expressing serious concerns over the behaviour of intoxicated troops, particularly their mistreatment of Egyptians.¹²⁵ These reports compelled Menou to issue a warning to the entire army in early September. “I am unhappy with many of you,” the general admonished.

I have received serious complaints about soldiers mistreating native inhabitants. What! You are republicans and you are not generous! You are French and you would be barbarians! Ah! I want to believe these insults and excesses delivered by many of you are the result of intoxication. The intoxicated man is nothing but a frantic, who succumbs to all impulses, and who can commit the most horrible crimes ... The Egyptians today are French; they are our brothers.

Please respect the elderly; please respect the women; please be moral. What glory can you acquire when you mistreat a man who trembles at the sight of you, when you ravage or insult his wife? Treat the Egyptians, therefore, as you would like to be treated, as if they were in your place and you in theirs.¹²⁶

In this message to the army, Menou argued that excessive intoxication led to the numbing of one's senses and thus to immoral and un-republican behaviour. In his eyes, good French republicans and Muslims refrained from such vices and thus avoided metamorphosing into impulsive, barbaric criminals who threatened the stability of France's Sister Republic in Egypt. Menou thus ordered his soldiers to embrace Egyptians as brothers, to empathize with them, and to treat them with the same respect afforded a fellow French citizen. As he explained in a letter to Poussielgue written the same month: "The French are the masters of Egypt and all the inhabitants of Egypt are French. Thus, it is not rational to establish a difference between the French Egyptians and the French born in France."¹²⁷ Menou's personal logic of colonization demanded the full integration of Egyptians (or at least of the Sunni elite of Egypt) into the body politic of the French imperial nation-state. For Menou, then, excessive intoxication among the troops threatened to undermine the spirit of his policies of mixing and mimicry.

Menou's warning must have fallen on deaf ears, though, because within a month he issued another decree against excessive intoxication, but this time in the form of an official colony-wide ban on hashish. On 17 Vendémiaire an 9 (8 October 1800) Abdallah Menou issued an *ordre du jour* banning the production, distribution, and consumption of hashish across Egypt.

The General in Chief, after receiving different reports from several parts of Egypt, and from what he has personally witnessed infinite times, orders as follows:

Article I: The use of strong liquor, made by certain Muslims with a certain grass called hashish, and smoking of the seed of cannabis, are prohibited throughout Egypt. Those who are accustomed to drinking this liquor and smoking this seed lose reason and fall into a violent delirium, which often leads them to commit excesses of all kinds.

II. Distillation of hashish liquor is prohibited throughout Egypt: the door of the cafes and of the public and private houses that dispense

hashish will be walled up, the owners arrested and held for three months in a house of correction.

III. All bales of hashish that arrive to customs will be confiscated and publicly burned in the presence of a Staff Officer of the place presence of any other officer named by the Director of Customs.

IV. Anyone convicted of having smuggled or distributed hashish will be stopped. We will pay a fine of fifteen talarys, which will go to the informant. And the convicted will be held for two months in a house of correction.

V. The commanding generals and all other commanders of the provinces and places, the Director General and Accountant of Public Revenues, the Director of Affirmed Rights, and all the Customs Directors are hereby charged, each in regards to the implementation of this order, which will be translated into Arabic, printed and published in the two languages [Arabic and French] at the behest of the Chief of the General Staff, and the Director General of Public Revenues.

Signed Abd. J. Menou¹²⁸

As he did in his initial warning from September, Menou again equated excessive intoxication with un-republican and irrational behaviour. This time, and for the first time, he explicitly pointed to cannabis and hashish as the principal intoxicants responsible for the soldiers' transgressions against France's newest citizens. Menou then accused "certain Muslims" of creating this drug epidemic by producing and encouraging the consumption of hashish. Though he failed to name these "certain Muslims" explicitly, it is safe to say that Menou was referring at least in part to the Sufi sects and santons who, as we know, the general soon after prohibited from practising hashish- and opium-induced religious rituals in public. When placed within the broader context of this and other colonial policies pursued by Menou during the first six months of his command, the hashish ban appears as yet another attempt by the general in chief to align the colony's moral and legal codes with those of Egypt's Muslim community and, particularly, its Sunni elite, who for centuries viewed hashish consumption and Sufi mysticism as sins against Islam and threats to social order.

Abdallah Menou's hashish ban, though short-lived and quickly misattributed in the historical record, was an attempt to satisfy the interests of Egypt's Sunni elite and to blend a faith in science and reason with

Arabo-Islamic law and political culture. For Menou, hashish consumption among soldiers and Egyptians broke both Islamic law and the modern standards of public health necessary for a sister republic to flourish in Egypt. In the postscript to the order, Menou warned soldiers and Egyptians that medical officers in the army were reporting that the plague spread most frequently among those who “abused hashish and other strong liquors” and “frequented brothels, cafes, and cabarets” where their “excesses cost them freedom, life, and honor.”¹²⁹ Menou claimed that statistics recently gathered by the medical officers indicated that one in four afflicted with the plague in Egypt were “known to be daily engaged in the excesses of hashish and eau-de-vie.”¹³⁰ The prohibition against hashish thus functioned as part public health initiative aimed at stemming the spread of plague with the latest science and part religious observance of traditional Sunni laws against the consumption of an intoxicant forbidden by the Koran.

CONCLUSION

In the end, General Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou only had a handful of months to implement his colonial policies in Egypt. Anglo-Ottoman forces recaptured Alexandria in March 1801, Ft Julien near Rosetta in April, and Cairo in June. It was during these final months of the campaign that Menou earned his poor reputation as a military commander – a reputation that is often remembered while his colonial policies, conscious creolization, and hashish ban remained ignored or misattributed. To some degree the critiques of Menou as a military strategist are deserved. After hearing news of the British landing near Alexandria in March, Menou hesitated to send troops from Cairo and thus allowed Ralph Abercromby and his men sufficient time to establish position to take Alexandria.¹³¹ Menou’s failure to act led many of his generals, including Belliard who controlled a force of twelve thousand men in Cairo, to pursue independent strategies; Belliard, for example, sent an envoy to the British on 22 June and negotiated his own surrender and peace. Menou, heeding Napoleon’s calls to hold out as long as possible, resisted capitulation until September, and by the end of the October the remaining troops of the Army of the Orient had evacuated Egypt. During this period of collapse and defeat, General Abdallah Menou failed to mention hashish or the ban again. From the *ordre du jour*’s passing in October 1800 through Menou’s final surrender in September 1801, the general in chief’s correspondence did not once mention the drug or his ban and instead focused on quelling resistance among his division generals and attempting to strike a deal with

the Mamelukes to add ten thousand troops to the French force.¹³²

The first official prohibition of a narcotic drug in modern French history emerged from colonial policies in Egypt that sought to include Muslim Egyptians in the body politic of the nation's newest Sister Republic. The man who authored those policies, Jacques-François "Abdallah" Menou, was a noble-born, Revolution-supporting French general who converted to Islam and married into an elite Sunni family descended from the Prophet Muhammad. When placed within the context of Menou's inclusive colonial policies, the hashish ban appears as yet another attempt by the general in chief to align the colony's legal codes with those of Egypt's Muslim community, particularly its Sunni elite, who for centuries viewed hashish consumption as a sin against Islam and as a threat to social order. Thus, far from being a story of Napoleon Bonaparte's working to civilize the barbarous Muslims of Egypt, the true history of France's first drug prohibition measure reveals a much more complicated plot involving the mixing and mimicry of Egyptian and French civilizational models in the person and colonial policies of Abdallah Menou.

Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy and the Myth of the Hachichins:
Orientalizing Hashish in France, 1800–40

I have no doubt that the mixture of hemp leaf with some other drugs can lead to violent mania ... I thus am inclined to believe that among the Ismailis, called Hachichins or Haschasch, there are people that are specifically raised to kill, that were delivered, through the use of hashish, to this absolute resignation to the will of their leader.¹

Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1809)

Not only does the young drug addict destroy himself, but he also becomes a social danger. The word assassin, moreover, does it not derive phonetically from the word for the sect of hashish smokers? The filiation between drugs and crime is not only assonance; it is a reality.²

René Chazelle (1969)

INTRODUCTION

On 19 May 1809, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy delivered a lecture entitled the “Dynasty of Assassins and the Etymology of Their Name” at the Institut de France in Paris, the country’s academic nucleus since its creation by the Directory in 1795.³ Many in his audience had probably read or heard of the infamous medieval cult of Islamic Assassins, first popularized in Europe by Marco Polo’s fourteenth-century travelogue, *Livre des merveilles du monde*.⁴ Sacy changed little from Polo’s original telling, citing five pages verbatim from Polo’s account of the sect’s leader, the Old Man of the Mountain, his fortress paradise at Alamut in Northern Persia, and his use of an “intoxicating potion” to inebriate his disciples and transform them into mindless assassins.⁵ Polo’s mythic account of the Islamic Assassins circulated widely throughout Europe during the early modern era. Throughout the eighteenth century numerous French scholars published monographs on the Assassins of Alamut and their affiliation with the Nizari Ismaili branch of Shia Islam, giving Polo’s myth added historical context and academic veracity.⁶ However, up to the time of Sacy’s lecture in 1809, no one could explain the origin of the term “assassin” or the contents of the mysterious potion used by the Old Man to drug and deceive his devotees.

In his speech to the Institut in May 1809, Silvestre de Sacy declared he had solved both mysteries and confidently argued that Arabic manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries referred to the assassin cult as

“al-Hashishiyya” in Arabic – translated as “Hachichins” or “Haschischins” in French, roughly “hashish-eaters” in English – because of the sect’s regular and ritualistic use of hashish. As the recent prohibition passed in October 1800 by the French Army in Egypt corroborated, hashish induced a “violent delirium” in users comparable to that described in Marco Polo’s famous travelogue.⁷ How else but through this evil intoxicant, Sacy thus reasoned, could the Old Man deceive so many young men into such “blind obedience” to his murderous designs? “I thus am inclined to believe,” he concluded, “that among the Ismailis, called *Hachichins* or *Haschasch*, there are people that are specifically raised to kill, that were delivered, through the use of hashish, to this absolute resignation to the will of their leader.”⁸

A professor of Arabic at the *École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes* and of Persian at the *Collège de France* – as well as the resident Orientalist in the French Foreign Ministry since 1805 – Sacy spoke that day as the country’s (and arguably Europe’s) leading expert on “the Orient,” its languages, and its history.⁹ By 1809 he had published several memoirs on the histories of Persia and Arabia and numerous textbooks on Persian and Arabic grammar, including *Chrestomathie arabe* (1806), considered one of the foundational texts of Oriental scholarship in nineteenth-century Europe.¹⁰ Therefore, Sacy’s lecture and subsequent publications on the medieval cult of Islamic Assassins and their etymological connection to and use of hashish to inspire violence offered France’s scholarly community certified “facts” about the Orient *and* hashish that French scholars, scientists, and policy-makers absorbed, echoed, and built upon for centuries.

However, as numerous historians, notably Bernard Lewis and Farhad Daftary, have pointed out, Sacy’s conclusions about the link between the Ismaili Assassins and hashish were, in the end, incorrect.¹¹ Interestingly, Sacy’s etymology faced criticism as early as September 1809 when “M. R., ancient citizen of the Levant” penned a letter to a newspaper in Marseilles offering an alternative derivation that (also incorrectly) connected the sect’s name not to hashish use but to the word “hassas” used widely by Syrians and Egyptians to describe a “thief in the night” or someone with evil intentions.¹² Despite these past and recent refutations, however, Sacy’s false linkage of the Ismaili Assassins and hashish use has time and again appeared in print as an established fact and, more dangerously, has been used by French and American politicians to justify

the creation of heavy-handed anti-drug legislation for decades. Perhaps most alarmingly, this false filiation of assassin and hashish has been used since the terror attacks of January and November 2015 in Paris as an explanation for ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) operations in France and Europe and as a justification for implementing emergency decrees and stricter prohibition measures. In an interview published in *L'Express* on 9 October 2015, French ethno-psychiatrist Tobie Nathan captured the staying power of the myth in French thinking. When asked, “What does the ethno-psychiatrist say about the resonance of Daech (ISIS) in our society?” he responded:

I am struck by a disturbing historical parallel with the Ismaili Shi'ite sect of Nizaris of the 11th century [sic], led by Hassan-i Sabbah, nicknamed the “Old Man of the Mountain.” Its followers are dubbed Hachichins, the controversial origin of the word “assassin.” They share two characteristics, that of engaging in the consumption of hashish to accomplish their actions and that of recruiting suicide bombers. In fact, this is much discussed; we all know Marco Polo, whose story was subsequent to the disappearance of the sect. But the fact remains, the Hachichins are the inventors of modern terrorism. If we now turn our gaze on our society, what do we see? Children who begin to consume hashish at a very young age, or who operate in an environment in which drugs and dealers swarm. And we find the most unbalanced among them engaged in kamikaze acts.¹³

Despite historical evidence to the contrary, the epistemic link between hashish use and Muslim violence remains relevant in French popular and scientific thinking.

This chapter examines the scientific process through which this mythic connection between murderous Islamic Assassins and hashish, first established by Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in an academic talk in 1809, became a *fait prouvé* in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Building on recent scholarship on drugs and nineteenth-century European empires and imperial culture, I show how early French conceptions of hashish use emerged from a popular imperial imaginary developing across Europe and the West that routinely envisaged drugs as stereotypical markers of Oriental barbarism and violence.¹⁴ The first section introduces Silvestre de Sacy and scrutinizes two of his works, *Chrestomathie arabe* (1806) and “Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins

et sur l'Étymologie de leur Nom" (1809), which feature lengthy discussions of hashish use in the Islamic world, particularly among the Nizari Ismailis. As my analysis shows, Sacy based his narrative of the Hachichins on Orientalized fantasies about Muslim violence rather than verifiable facts and, thus, inaccurately portrayed hashish as an evil intoxicant used by Islamic Assassins to transform recruits into blindly obedient and bloodthirsty murderers.

The second section examines how, despite immediate and public disputations, this myth of the Hachichins became, by the 1830s, firmly interwoven into French scientific discourse and popular literature as an established fact. Ignorant of or indifferent to the inaccuracies in Sacy's contentions, scholars and scientists working in a range of academic disciplines, including medicine, pharmacy, psychiatry, history, linguistics, geography, botany, and agricultural science, routinely referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins when discussing hashish, the Nizari Ismailis, and the Islamic world. With their repeated, mostly uncritical citations of Sacy's essay on the dynasty of assassins, French and European scholars steadily transformed the myth of the Hachichins into common knowledge requiring, by the mid-nineteenth century, no citation or reference to prove its veracity.

ANTOINE ISAAC SILVESTRE DE SACY AND THE MYTH OF THE HACHICHINS

In his illuminating work *Silencing the Past*, Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot investigates the production of historical facts and narratives in French history, from the moment of fact creation (i.e., making and archiving sources) to the moment of fact assembly and retrieval through narrative (i.e., researching and writing histories).¹⁵ Drawing from Foucault's notion of discourse as a "unifying instance of knowledge and power," Trouillot portrays the production of historical facts and narratives as a process largely determined by the power to define what is and what is not a source.¹⁶ Put simply, "In history, power begins at the source."¹⁷

At the turn of the nineteenth century in Western Europe, no scholar had more power over the selection and narration of historical sources from the Orient than Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1757–1838), widely considered the father of the academic discipline of Oriental studies in France and throughout the continent. For forty-two years and through four successive regime changes in France between 1795 and 1838, Sacy cemented his legacy as the field's "inaugural hero" with over 430 translations and publications, numerous professorships in France's top academic institutions, and hundreds of devoted advisees who went on to

occupy Europe's top academic posts, thus exporting his curriculum, textbooks, and pedagogy to universities across the continent. As Edward Said argued, "every major Arabist in Europe during the nineteenth century traced his intellectual authority back to him ... [He] was one of the builders of the field, creators of a tradition, progenitors of the Orientalist brotherhood."¹⁸ So, when Sacy spoke or wrote about the Islamic world, most took his words as corroborated facts.

Born on 21 September 1757 to a bourgeois family of Parisian Jansenists, Silvestre de Sacy grew up a devout Catholic and, much like his father, Jacques Abraham Silvestre, a steadfast monarchist and supporter of the Bourbon dynasty.¹⁹ This religious background nurtured in Sacy a life-long curiosity about the medieval Crusades to the Holy Lands between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Many biographers point to a fateful meeting in a Parisian garden near Saint-Germain-des-Près between the young Sacy and the Benedictine monk and crusades scholar Dom Georges-François Berthereau as the moment when Sacy's curiosity transformed into a disciplined obsession. Berthereau, who left over eleven hundred folio pages of Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic translations and exegeses at his death in 1794, convinced Sacy to learn the native languages of the Holy Lands and to continue his efforts to translate and catalogue Oriental sources on the Crusades.²⁰ With Berthereau's guidance, as well as that of famous dragoman Étienne La Grand, Sacy proceeded to learn Arabic, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Amharic, Persian, Turkish, Chaldean-Aramaic, and Mandaic, in addition to all the major languages of Europe, by his mid-twenties.²¹ Impressively, the majority of this education in foreign languages took place outside the formal setting of an academic institution. In fact, Sacy formally studied law and, in 1781, became an administrator at the Royal Mint in Paris, where he worked up to and through the first years of the French Revolution.

Sacy's formal academic career only began after the Revolution, when in December 1795 the Directory appointed the amateur scholar to a teaching position at the recently created *École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*. A Catholic and monarchist, Sacy had retired from the Royal Mint in 1792 and weathered the Terror in seclusion with his family in a small cottage in the commune of Nanteuil-le-Haudouin, about fifty kilometres northeast of Paris.²² He spent most of his time studying, translating, and writing, and in 1793 he published *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, a study of the Sassanide dynasty. By the end of

1795, the newly established and moderate Directory appointed Sacy professor of Arabic at the *École Spéciale* and the following January offered him a seat in the newly created Institut de France, a rebranded and reorganized version of the ancien régime academies dissolved by the National Assembly in 1793.²³ Sacy accepted the teaching post but refused the seat in the Institut, believing the new association haphazardly constructed and overly ideological.²⁴

It was during his forty-two-year tenure at the *École Spéciale*, where he became director in 1824, that Sacy helped create the academic field of Oriental studies in France and Europe. Building on the efforts of Dom Berthereau, Sacy amassed, archived, and translated sources from the medieval Islamic world for European study and consumption. Though he never set foot outside of Europe, only travelling as far as Genoa in his lifetime, Sacy devoted much of his professional life to the accumulation of manuscripts and the creation of an Oriental archive at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.²⁵ Sacy used these archived sources, such as the historical treatises of thirteenth-century Egyptian scholars al-Makrizi and Ebn Abd-Aldhafer, to teach Arabic to his pupils at the *École Spéciale*. In 1806, Sacy compiled these sources into a textbook and published them in three volumes as *Chrestomathie arabe*, described by the author as a “tableau historique,” or general survey, of the Arabic language and the medieval Arabo-Islamic world.²⁶ Using these textbooks, Sacy trained the continent’s brightest linguists, including Jean-François Champollion (translator of the Rosetta Stone), Étienne Marc Quatremère (scholar of Egypt), Johan David Åkerblad (Swedish diplomat and Orientalist), and Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer and John Martin Augustine Scholz (considered the fathers of German Orientalism).²⁷ Sacy also trained most of the interpreters who accompanied the French Army of the Orient to Egypt during the summer of 1798, including Pierre Amédée Jaubert, who served as Napoleon’s personal interpreter and advisor during his year in Egypt.²⁸ At nearly every stage in the production of knowledge about the Orient in early nineteenth-century Europe, from fact creation through narration to diffusion and application, Sacy played a vital role in shaping Europe’s first academic conclusions, popular perceptions, and even diplomatic impressions of the Orient, its people, and their histories.

One of the more lasting and influential of Sacy’s assertions about the Orient dealt with the culture of hashish consumption among medieval radical sects within Islam, particularly the Sufis and Ismailis. In

Chrestomathie arabe Sacy included a forty-page chapter on the “Herbe of the Fakirs” built around his translations of medieval works on hashish consumption among Sufi priests penned by notable Sunni scholars, including Muhammad al-Makrizi, Hassan bin-Ahmed, and Hassan bin-Ishak.²⁹ Sacy opens the chapter with a description of a valley just outside Cairo known as the Land of the Timpanist. In this valley, Sacy writes, one can find a garden called Djoneïna, where “all manner of abominations are committed by the hashish-eating dregs of society. The use of this cursed plant has become today very common; the libertines and people of weak mind become addicted and use hashish and without shame. In truth, there is nothing more dangerous to the temperament. As it is well known to everyone in Egypt, in Syria, in Iraq and in the lands of Rum, we believe we should speak with you about it in some detail.”³⁰ Sacy repeats this warning throughout the chapter, even as his sources reveal a more complex and nuanced history of the drug in the Islamic world. Case in point, Sacy continues his narrative with an anecdote about the “happy discovery” of cannabis’s intoxicating properties in the early thirteenth century by a Sufi fakir called Haydar of Khorasan, as recounted by Hassan bin-Ahmed in his fourteenth-century treatise *Praise of Cannabis*.³¹ According to bin-Ahmed, Haydar discovered the intoxicating properties of cannabis around the year 1200 AD while on a contemplative walk near his monastery in Khorasan, a region in modern-day northeastern Iran. Haydar shared this happy discovery with his Sufi followers and swore them to secrecy until his death, a duty he described as “an oath with the most high God, who has given you a special favour, the knowledge and the virtues of this leaf so that you can make use of it to dissipate the worries that cloud your souls, releasing from your minds anything that could tarnish the shine.”³² When Haydar died in 1221 AD, his pupil Djafar bin-Muhammad Schirazi planted cannabis around his grave and shared the “virtues of the plant” with the people of Khorasan. Schirazi reported that the people quickly adopted the use of cannabis and that it spread to “various departments of the province of Persia.” Sacy corroborates this anecdote by citing another Persian scholar from the thirteenth century, Ahmed bin-Muhammad bin-Resam Halebi, who likewise praised the virtues of hashish and credited Haydar with its discovery: “This is hashish, grass of joy,” Halebi wrote, “It is a holy institution, one that brightens the soul and makes it accessible to pleasure.”³³ Thus while Sacy framed his discussion of hashish with a warning to his readers about the dangers of the “cursed plant,” his first two

sources conflictingly praised the drug's holy virtues.

The author explains this paradox, or rather explains it away, by redirecting conversation into a haphazard *mélange* of anachronistic sources offering increasingly negative assessments of hashish. After citing the ambiguous descriptions of the drug in the ancient Greek texts of Galen and Hippocrates, Sacy recounts in detail a personal conversation he had in Paris with the Ottoman diplomat and Sunni jurist Tadj-eddin Ismuil, during which the jurist condemned hashish. "The use of this drug produces low inclinations and debases the soul," Ismuil informed Sacy. "We have always found those who had contracted the habit, and we consistently noticed that all their inclinations deteriorated and that their faculties diminished more and more; so that at the end there remained in them, so to say, none of the attributes of humanity."³⁴ Sacy couples this contemporary critique with the work of Syrian physician Ibn al-Baytar who wrote in the mid-thirteenth century that excessive hashish use caused a "sort of dementia" and could lead to "manic disorders or even death." Siding with the condemnations of Ibn al-Baytar and Tadj-eddin Ismuil over the praise of Schirazi and Halebi, Sacy implores his reader to again heed his warning against ever touching the vile substance. "See, I pray you, listen to this man [Ibn al-Baytar], who spoke with knowledge of cause, and keep yourselves from the evil consequences that occur in your constitution and your natural qualities, if you become addicted."³⁵ As several historians have pointed out, Sacy focused the majority of his professional energies on translating medieval texts written by Sunni scholars and jurists and thus adopted their prejudices against Sufis, Shias, and other heterodoxies within Islam.³⁶ According to Robert Irwin, Sacy was "obsessively interested in heterodox Islam [but] tended to view it as if from a Sunni perspective, perceiving Shi'ism as a breakaway from mainstream Sunni Islam and regularly judging Shi'ism in terms of the way it deviated from the alleged norms of Sunnism."³⁷ Thus it is not surprising to see Sacy uncritically siding with the condemnations of Ibn al-Baytar and Tadj-eddin Ismuil over the praise of the Sufi fakir, Djafar bin-Muhammad Schirazi, when drawing ultimate conclusions for his readers about the physical and moral dangers of hashish.

Sacy concludes his crescendo of criticism against hashish with a brief discussion of past and present prohibitions in Egypt to further convince his readers of the drug's dangers. He first recounts the anti-hashish laws passed by Egyptian emir Soudoun Scheikhouni in 1373 AD, which

notoriously punished hashish cultivation, sale, and use with de-teething. However, by the 1390s hashish again was tolerated in Egypt under the new emir, Ahmed bin-Awis, and the use of the “cursed drug” grew among the “dregs” of society. As a result of this mass return to the drug, Sacy warned his students, “the baseness of the sentiments and manners became general; shame and decency vanished from men; one was no longer ashamed to speak most shamefully; many boasted of their vices. All lost every sense of nobility and virtue and vices of all kinds and base inclinations were exposed.”³⁸ This widespread and liberal use of hashish among the dregs of Egyptian society continued into the nineteenth century, Sacy contended, and only again met resistance with the arrival of the French Army of the Orient in Alexandria in 1799. In a final footnote on the chapter’s last page, Sacy writes: “I must not forget to mention here an order made by a French general in Egypt, on 17 Vendémiaire year IX (8 October 1800), against hashish and intoxicating liquors made from this plant.”³⁹ News of the hashish ban passed in Egypt by French general Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou had reached Paris as early as January 1801, when the entire order, signed “Abd. Menou,” appeared in print in the popular *Magasin Encyclopédique*.⁴⁰ Sacy relayed what he had read or heard about the ban, but for whatever reason he omitted key historical details, chief among them the identity of the ban’s creator, Abdallah Menou. Sacy thus portrayed the first antidrug law in modern French history not as the product of Menou’s integrationist colonial policies in French-occupied Egypt but, rather, as confirmation of the West’s need to outlaw and even militarily interdict the production, sale, and consumption of the violence-inducing and quintessentially Oriental drug, hashish.

These historical revisions and reductions in Silvestre de Sacy’s chapter on hashish in the Orient speak to the ideas of critical theorist Edward Said, who accused Western scholarship of systematically reducing the histories, cultures, and peoples of the Arabo-Islamic world to textual stereotypes that misrepresent the “Orient” as a monolithically static, backward, and barbaric society in dire need of European assistance and civilization (i.e., colonization). Said called this system of thought “Orientalism” and argued that it first developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries around the work of European scholars, particularly Sacy, who helped “place Orientalism on a scientific and rational basis” by building an archive, writing a curriculum and textbooks, and thus creating “vocabulary and ideas that could be used impersonally by anyone who wished to

become an Orientalist.”⁴¹ Said points to Sacy’s *Chrestomathie arabe* as a primary example of how Western scholarship, in an attempt to generate scientific knowledge about the peoples and cultures of the Orient, effectively reduced the histories and cultures of the Islamic world to anecdotal fragments that typify anti-values that Europeans believed characterized *the* Oriental essence.⁴² While there is much to contest in Said’s theories – particularly his de-emphasis of the personal role of “Orientals” themselves in the construction and reproduction of their own values and identities⁴³ – his portrayal of Sacy as the “inaugural hero of Orientalism” rings true when one considers Sacy’s depiction of hashish in the medieval Islamic world in *Chrestomathie arabe*. In his chapter on the “herbe of the fakirs,” Sacy ignores the contradictions in his fragmentary sources and uses his academic authority to codify hashish consumption as both intrinsically evil and Oriental. With this short chapter Sacy thus initiated the processes of historical excision and revision that have shaped official French perceptions of hashish and Muslims from that moment through to the present day.

Three years after the publication of *Chrestomathie arabe*, Sacy deposited another factoid about the evils of hashish into his growing Oriental archive when, on 7 July 1809, he delivered a speech entitled “On the Dynasty of Assassins and on the Origin of Their Name” to the Institut de France in Paris. In his speech to the Institut’s Friday’s public séance, Sacy claimed to have solved the mysteries surrounding the name and practices of the infamous medieval cult of Islamic Assassins first popularized in Marco Polo’s *Livre des merveilles du monde*.⁴⁴ By the time of Sacy’s talk in 1809, the legend of the assassins and their leader, the “Old Man of the Mountain,” was well known throughout Europe, thanks in large part not only to the lasting popularity of Marco Polo’s travelogue but also to a spate of scholarly treatises on the Assassins that appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout the continent and, particularly, in France.⁴⁵ And the now-emperor Napoleon’s abortive but exalted Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801) only stoked the flames of curiosity in France for all things Oriental. Sacy took advantage of growing European interest in the Orient and delivered a paper connecting hashish – that inherently evil and Oriental substance recently encountered by the French army in Egypt – to the etymology and practices of the Crusades-era Ismaili Assassins. “I have no doubt,” Sacy confidently declared, “that the mixture of hemp leaf with some other drugs can lead to violent mania ... I

thus am inclined to believe that among the Ismailis, called *Hachichins* or *Haschasch*, there are people that are specifically raised to kill, that were delivered, through the use of hashish, to this absolute resignation to the will of their leader.”⁴⁶ With this hour-long presentation on the etymology and practices of the Assassins – which turned out to be both historically and linguistically inaccurate – Sacy concretized his initial condemnation of hashish as both evil and Oriental, as taken from *Chrestomathie arabe*, with philological science, at the time considered one of the primary engines of knowledge production in Western academia.⁴⁷

At the time of Sacy’s speech in 1809, most of what was known in France and throughout the West about the Nizari Ismailis came from the fantastic account in Marco Polo’s *Livre des merveilles du monde*. Uninterested in or unaware of the actual history of the radical sect,⁴⁸ Polo instead treated his readers to fictive tales about the Syrian branch’s last leader, “Aloadin,” known by the Crusaders as the “Old Man of the Mountain,” and his supposed use of a potion and an artificial fortress paradise to inculcate in devotees a fidelity so absolute they would leap to their deaths from the walls of the castle at his mere command.⁴⁹ As numerous scholars have shown, however, Marco Polo sourced this folkloric description of the Assassins from a variety of prominent “black” legends about the sect that circulated first in the Arabo-Islamic world and then in Crusades-era works penned by Europeans, including Benjamin of Tudela, Arnold of Lübeck, and William of Tyre.⁵⁰ In Marco Polo’s recounting we find a *mélange* of four of the most popular of these black legends about the Assassins, what Farhad Daftary labelled the “hashish legend,” the “paradise legend,” the “training legend,” and the “death-leap legend.” As Daftary argued, these fictions were “meant to provide satisfactory explanations for behaviour that would otherwise seem irrational or strange to the medieval European mind.”⁵¹ While hoping to offer new etymological insights into the infamous Assassins cult, Sacy relied on Polo’s mythic account of the sect as a satisfactory historical primer, thus lending academic legitimacy to the black legends about the Nizari Ismailis, including the invented idea that hashish use played a central role in transforming the sect’s devotees into mindless but deadly assassins.

In terms of etymology, Sacy transformed the “hashish legend” into a historical fact by arguing that contemporaries in Syria and Egypt called the Nizari “Hachichins” because of their leader’s use of the drug hashish to

deceive and indoctrinate devotees. He based this assertion on the thirteenth-century writings of Syrian scholar Abu Shama Shihab al-Din (1203–68 CE), who used the term “al-Hashishiyya” when describing an Ismaili attack in 1174 CE on the first Ayyubid sultan Saladin in the Syrian city of Azaz.⁵² From this one source Sacy confidently concluded: “There is hardly any need to prove that the Hashishiyya and the Ismailis are the same people, or if you like, the same sect ... There would be no use looking for other authorities to prove this identity.”⁵³ As it turns out, Sacy’s confidence was misplaced and his etymological conclusions incorrect. One can find no mention in known contemporary sources of hashish use among the Nizari. As Marshall Hodgson, Bernard Lewis, and Farhad Daftary have shown, when the term is used in surviving Arabic (and often Sunni) sources, it “is used only in its abusive, figurative sense of ‘low-class rabble’ and ‘irreligious social outcasts’” rather than as a practical designation of the sect’s actual practices.⁵⁴ Sacy arguably failed to comprehend the nuanced meaning of the term used disparagingly by Sunni scholar Abu Shama to describe the sect and thus propagated a flawed etymology and history of the Nizari Ismailis that falsely implicated hashish as both the philological and physical source of the violent Assassins of Alamut.

False etymology and fantastic narrative established, Sacy concluded his speech on the Nizari Ismailis with a crescendo of criticism against hashish supported by the biased judgments of medieval Sunni scholars and the reductive and racist accounts of hashish use in the eighteenth-century Islamic world by European explorers. Just as he did in *Chrestomathie arabe*, Sacy pulled heavily and uncritically from the thirteenth-century writings of the Sunni-Egyptian scholar al-Makrizi, who wrote of hashish, “only people of the lowest class dare eat it; and even they are loath to hear themselves called by a name derived from this drug.”⁵⁵ He also cited a brief passage in which al-Makrizi bemoans the presence of an Ismaili hashish dealer in Cairo around 1392.⁵⁶ With little reflection or regard for anachronism, Sacy coupled these anecdotal critiques with lengthy quotations from the eighteenth-century travel writings of Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini, Carsten Niebuhr, and Guillaume-Antoine Olivier, all of whom recounted critical stories about hashish consumption and its dangerous consequences in the modern Islamic world.⁵⁷ Sonnini’s stories of poor Egyptians using hashish to “charm away their misery,” Olivier’s testimony to the “delirium, stupor, and death” caused by excessive hashish

consumption in Persia, and Niebuhr's descriptions of Arab hashish users exhibiting violent outbursts of irrational courage together attested to the ubiquity of hashish consumption in the Orient and highlighted the drug's adverse effects. To further underline these dangers, Sacy cited the hashish prohibition passed in October 1800 during the French expedition to Egypt, which he also mentioned in *Chrestomathie arabe* three years earlier.⁵⁸ Though none of these sources provided a shred of direct evidence to support his philological assertions, they did provide Sacy with sensational descriptions of hashish use in the Orient that resembled those in Marco Polo's travel tales, thus lending added credibility to his ultimate contention concerning the etymological and material connection between hashish and the Ismaili Assassins.

With his chapter on the "herbe of the Fakirs" in *Chrestomathie arabe* and his speech to the Institut de France entitled "Dynasty of the Assassins and the Etymology of Their Name," Silvestre de Sacy transformed biased anecdotes and folktales about hashish and the Nizari Ismailis into verified facts of history. As the leading expert on Oriental languages in France and Europe, Sacy used his academic authority to frame hashish as a moral and physical threat to the West emanating from the Orient. He then promulgated an interpretation of the Nizari Ismailis built on biased Sunni sources and mythic legends penned in medieval Europe that portrayed hashish as a magic potion used by crazed imams to stupefy and transform devotees into cold-blooded assassins. Sacy's work on the Hachichins and corresponding portrayals of hashish as their drug of choice thus privileged fantasies over facts, reduced the Nizari Ismailis to caricatures of Oriental savagery, and codified hashish as an inherently evil, Oriental, and violence-inducing intoxicant that threatened the virtuous and rational Occident. This caricature of the Nizari Ismailis first introduced and academically authorized by Sacy in 1809 quickly became (and remains today) a readily employed shorthand that scholars, scientists, writers, and law makers in France and across the West have cited for centuries as evidence of the dangers of hashish.

FROM MYTH TO FACT: PRODUCING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HASHISH IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

There is a famous saying, often credited to Vladimir Lenin, that "a lie told often enough becomes the truth." Origin and historical baggage of this truism aside, it applies rather well to the story of how Sacy's myth of the Hachichins became an established fact in France and Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite numerous disputations in press

and print, Sacy's speech on the Assassins and the etymology of their name time and again appeared in the footnotes of French and European publications associated with an array of academic disciplines, including medicine, pharmacy, psychiatry, history, linguistics, geography, archeology, and agricultural science.⁵⁹ Unaware of or unconcerned by the errors in Sacy's contentions, scholars and scientists publishing in France during the first half of the nineteenth century routinely cited his work as a source of verified facts about hashish, the Nizari Ismailis, and the Islamic world in general. With each citation, Sacy's erroneous myth of the Hachichins gained increased veracity, as early as the 1830s becoming an established detail in the fabric of Western knowledge about the Orient and hashish.⁶⁰

This process of producing facts through academic citations and references is known among literary theorists and scholars of communications as intertextuality.⁶¹ Understood in a general sense as an interrelationship between texts, intertextuality in an academic sense, sometimes called "manifest intertextuality," implies the repeated reference by a community of scholars to previous publications considered relevant or vital to the creation of new knowledge. "The construction of academic facts is a social process," linguist Ken Hyland wrote, "with the cachet of acceptance only bestowed on a claim after negotiation with editors, expert reviewers and journal readers, the final ratification granted, of course, with the citation of the claim by others and, eventually, the disappearance of all acknowledgement as it is incorporated into the literature of the discipline."⁶² Scholars of communications, such as Karim H. Karim, have examined the ways in which modern news and entertainment media in the West "intertextually weaves" the Assassins myth into their content and, in so doing, "reinforces the ingrained image of the violent Muslim."⁶³ But, to date, no study on either side of the Atlantic has examined exactly how Sacy's claims first became part of the intertextuality woven into French and Western academic discourse and popular historical consciousness. French and European scholars, with their repeated, mostly uncritical citations of Sacy's essay on the dynasty of assassins, steadily transformed the myth of the Hachichins into common knowledge that, by the mid-nineteenth century, required no citation or reference to prove its veracity.

The first academic disciplines to accept and cite Silvestre de Sacy's contentions about hashish came from the field of medicine, particularly the specialties of pharmacy, psychiatry, and medical history. Within months of

Sacy's speech to the Institut in May 1809, several medical journals, including the *Bulletin des sciences médicales* and the *Journal de pharmacie et de chimie*, printed excerpts of the speech focused on "intoxicating preparations made with cannabis" for France's scientific and medical communities.⁶⁴ The extracts outlined key points from Sacy's speech, including the various intoxicants made from cannabis in the Orient, the range of symptoms induced by the drugs, the French prohibition in Egypt from October 1800 (*sans Menou*), and a brief recounting of Sacy's myth of the Hachichins and corresponding etymological connection between "assassin" and "hashish." As in Sacy's original speech, the excerpts emphatically warned their readers that hashish use "sometimes produces a state of frenzy or violent fury" in the user. However, the editors of the *Bulletin des sciences médicales*, who first published the excerpt in their September 1809 edition, urged its readers not to dismiss the substance outright as entirely dangerous or worthless medically. "Cannabis deserves the attention of chemists," the editors concluded at the end of the excerpt. "Could they not ensure, through analysis and different tests, some principles that we can extract and some preparations that it can furnish?"⁶⁵

This wary yet hopeful ambivalence shaped discussions about cannabis and hashish among French pharmacists through the first half of the nineteenth century. Many scholar-practitioners of pharmacy at this time, including Pierre Charles Rouyer, J.J. Virey, Edmund de Courtive, and Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, ambivalently viewed hashish as a dangerous, violence-inducing intoxicant that, once released by Western science from its primordial Oriental form, could provide the civilized world with potentially useful medications.⁶⁶ By the late 1840s, these and other pharmacists working both inside and outside of France had experimented widely with cannabis-based medications and published dozens of dissertations, journal and newspaper articles, and treatises on methods of extracting the plant's active properties, the various medicines prepared from those extracts, and the scientific results of using those medications to treat a variety of illnesses, including typhus, plague, cholera, and dysentery.⁶⁷ Though many of these pharmacologists often praised the medicinal virtues of hashish, the vast majority of them based their studies of all cannabis-based medications on the faulty premise (authorized by Sacy) that hashish, in raw form from the Orient, induced a violent delirium in users. French chemists and pharmacists thus treated this central mistruth

about hashish as a control variable in their experiments with cannabis-based medications, which potentially tainted their conclusions, whether laudatory or critical, and further ingrained Sacy's myth of the Hachichins into Europe's epistemic culture.

A similar ambivalence and uncritical acceptance of Sacy's contentions about the Hachichins can be found throughout debates about hashish among French physicians, particularly psychiatrists practising during the 1830s and 1840s. For some of these doctors, such as Louis Aubert-Roche, Apollinaire Bouchardat, Antoine Barthélémy Clot, and Jacques-Joseph Moreau, hashish offered numerous medicinal benefits and could be used effectively to treat both physical and mental illnesses.⁶⁸ Psychiatrist Jacques-Joseph Moreau, who later hosted the famous Club des Hachichins in Paris during the 1840s, believed hashish intoxication induced a temporary state of insanity that could be used by the seasoned psychiatrist to both study and treat mental illnesses.⁶⁹ "To comprehend the ravings of a madman, it is necessary to have raved oneself, but without having lost the awareness of one's madness," Moreau argued in his 1845 treatise *Du hachisch et de l'aliénation mentale*. "There is not a single, elementary manifestation of mental illness that cannot be found in the mental changes caused by hashish."⁷⁰ Many French physicians shared Moreau's optimism concerning the medical usefulness of hashish, including Louis Aubert-Roche and Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey, both of whom lived and practised in Egypt and served as medical consultants to Muhammad Ali Pasha during the 1820s and 1830s. Both doctors regularly used hashish to treat patients suffering from the plague, cholera, and typhus and often published their results in metropolitan journals in France.⁷¹ But other physicians, and most vocally psychiatrist Alexandre Brière de Boismont, believed the dangers outweighed the benefits of hashish. In several publications from the late 1830s, Boismont referenced the infamous "prince of the assassins, well known as the Old Man of the Mountain," to support his conclusions that prolonged hashish consumption caused insanity and, "as is well known among Orientals, gives rise to serious troubles."⁷² Whether proponents or opponents of the drug, then, French psychiatrists based their medical conclusions on the idea that hashish induced a psychosis in users and, on all sides of the debate, referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins as substantiated evidence for their diagnostic link between hashish and insanity.

Authors of medical reference books and medical histories in France

likewise referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins in numerous publications appearing throughout the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, further solidifying this mythic association between hashish and violent delirium as a historical fact. In his 1826 publication, *Histoire médicale des Marais et traité des fièvres intermittentes causées par les émanations des eaux stagnantes*, historian and physician Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon of Lyon cited Sacy's essay on the Assassins when discussing the toxic influence of hemp cultivation, particularly the retting process, on soil and surrounding water sources in swampy areas where the water table is near even with ground level. After outlining the dangers of hemp retting water, Monfalcon offered his readers a final warning on hashish. "The poisonous smell that emanates from cannabis is very strong," he wrote. "Those who are seized with tiredness from fields covered with this plant, sometimes experience waking dreams, dizziness and a sort of intoxication. They prepare in the Orient, since time immemorial, a very strong drink called hashish. Its use throws one into a kind of ecstasy like that produced by opium, and even causes a kind of passing dementia. (See the Memoir of the scholar M. Silvestre de Sacy for more on hashish liquor)."⁷³ While it is true that during the retting process hemp releases toxins into surrounding water supplies that can cause or contribute to illness in animals and humans, this toxicity results from bacteria produced through fermentation rather than from the plant's psychoactive property, tetrahydrocannabinol (commonly known as THC). Unaware of this fact,⁷⁴ Monfalcon assumed a correlation between the toxicity of retting water and the psychoactive properties of cannabis itself and used Sacy's myth of the Hachichins to further evidence this association. In the 1833 pharmacopeia *Flore médicale*, François-Pierre Chaumeton and his co-editors argue that hashish, "which is sought with a sort of fury by the Orientals," cripples those who use it with "torpor, feelings of powerlessness, and stupidity."⁷⁵ Like Monfalcon, the editors of this volume – a mixture of botanists and physicians – supported their classifications of hashish with references to excerpts of Sacy's speech published in the September 1809 edition of the *Bulletin des sciences médicales*.⁷⁶ Much as their contemporaries in pharmacy and psychiatry, these and other French scholars of medicine helped transform Silvestre de Sacy's myth of the Hachichins into a fact and, as a result, produced and spread "verifiable" knowledge about cannabis based on mistruths.

Scholars working in the softer sciences of history and linguistics also readily referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins when discussing hashish

or the peoples, cultures, and histories of the Islamic world in their works. As it did for pharmacists and physicians, Sacy's Assassins legend functioned for French historians and linguists as certified shorthand for the supposed irrational and violent nature of both hashish and "Orientals." As one can imagine, historians of the Crusades were especially interested in Sacy's work and often cited his essay on the Assassins when discussing encounters between Crusaders and the Syrian branch of the Nizari Ismailis during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁷⁷ In the second volume of his internationally bestselling work *Histoire des croisades* (1812–22), for example, royalist historian Joseph-François Michaud discussed the Nizari Ismailis and included as a source in the volume's "pièces justificatives" a letter he received from an avid reader about the sect's origins and ties to hashish.⁷⁸ The author of this letter, a retired naval officer and count from Marseilles, M. Am. Jourdain, outlined the "marvelous powers" of hashish and a rudimentary history of the Hachichins based faithfully on Sacy's "Mémoire sur les Assassins" because, as any reader knew, "it [was] impossible to raise doubt about the truth of the etymology proposed by Sacy."⁷⁹ By including Jourdain's letter as supporting documentation, Michaud embedded Sacy's myth of the Hachichins into a historical narrative that stood for decades in France and across Europe as *the* comprehensive account of the Crusades.⁸⁰ One can even find histories of the Crusades published in France during the 1820s and 1830s that referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins through a citation of Michaud's *Histoire des croisades*.⁸¹ Citation by citation, then, historians in France helped weave Sacy's mythic depictions of the Nizari Ismailis and corresponding condemnations of hashish into the fabric of French historical knowledge about the famed Crusades.

It was not only in France that Orientalists and historians of the Crusades routinely cited Sacy's mythic portrayals of the Nizari Ismailis and their supposed drug of choice, hashish, as facts. In 1818, Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall published a full-length history of the Assassins based on a combination of primary and secondary sources, including Persian and Arabic manuscripts at Vienna's Imperial Library and, principally, Sacy's paper from 1809.⁸² Hammer-Purgstall, who served as a translator and diplomat in Istanbul for the Habsburg Empire during the early 1800s, shared Sacy's disdain for the Nizari Ismailis and, similarly, culled his history from an array of Sunni and Western sources all highly critical of the Shi'ite sect.⁸³ A committed royalist and staunch anti-

revolutionary, Hammer-Purgstall saw in the Nizari the origins of secret societies, such as the Templars, the Illuminati, and the Freemasons, and the beginning of their “pernicious influence” on social order and good government.⁸⁴ He thus described the Nizari as a “union of imposters and dupes,” an “order of murderers,” and an “empire of conspirators,” and correspondingly portrayed hashish as a “pernicious substance” that inspires “violent mania” and thus “threatens public order.”⁸⁵ To substantiate these claims, Hammer-Purgstall included in his endnotes translations of Sacy’s paper from 1809 as well as a letter he wrote to the newspaper, *Moniteur*, defending his etymology against the contentions of “M.R. from Marseilles.” Thus, with his publication of *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*, which became the most widely read history of the Nizari Ismailis in Europe throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hammer-Purgstall internationally verified Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins and thus spread his mistruths about hashish and the Nizari Ismailis across Europe and, by the 1830s, into the English-speaking world.

Philologically proven and internationally verified by the mid-1820s, Sacy’s erroneous etymology connecting hashish and assassin appeared with increasing frequency in French dictionaries and encyclopaedias, evincing a gradual acceptance of Sacy’s contentions as common knowledge. In the 1822 edition of the *Dictionnaire chronologique et raisonné*, which its editors described as “a truthful survey of the progress of the human mind in France from 1789 to 1820,” the entry for “assassin” simply contained an abridged version of Sacy’s 1809 essay on the Nizari Ismailis and excerpts from his letter to the *Moniteur* from the same year defending his etymology against public criticism.⁸⁶ The editors of this work, a collection of unnamed scholars employed by Parisian publisher Louis Colas, clearly believed that Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins offered the best definition of the term “assassin” and its heady origins for French readers. In *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (1829), Jean Roquefort-Flaméricourt offered a more concise definition of “assassin” but similarly connected the term to hashish via Sacy’s myth of the Nizari Ismailis. The entry reads: “ASSASSIN: someone who kills through treachery and ambush; derived from *Hachichins*, people of Syria, also called Ismailis, or the Haschischa, and who would assassinate the enemies of their master, the Old Man of the Mountain, while on hashish.”⁸⁷ Roquefort here repeated the well-established facts of the Assassins but interestingly failed to cite Sacy as the source of the information. In the 1833 publication

Encyclopédie des gens du monde, we again find uncited reference to Sacy's myth of the Hachichins in the entry for "assassin." After defining the term "assassin" as "murder committed with premeditation, that is to say with designs formed in advance of the attack on the life of the individual, or with ambush, that is to say after having waited more or less time for an individual with the plan of killing them or exercising on them an act of violence," the author, Prosper-Alexis Gaubert de La Nourais, who that same year published the French translation of Hammer-Purgstall's *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*, provided the reader with a historical précis on the mythic Hachichins and a footnote on the origins of their name. "This name," he wrote, "was given to the Ismailis on account of their use of an intoxicating preparation yet known in the Orient by the name of *hashish*. This hashish ... is taken either in pellets or smoked, and the intoxication that it causes usually throws the user into ecstasy or delirium, and we easily see why the use of hashish was general among the Assassins, so they received the name Hachichins (eaters of hashish)."⁸⁸ Though de la Nourais ended his entry with a plug for and thus citation of his recently published translation of Hammer-Purgstall, he failed to explicitly mention Sacy as the architect of this epistemic link between assassin and hashish. This lack of citations in these and other French reference texts demonstrates that, by the 1830s, Sacy's false association of hashish and assassin built on a fabricated myth of the Nizari Ismailis had become so well known and accepted across the academic disciplines in France, so tightly interwoven into scientific discourse, that mention of the affiliation required no reference to the original source.⁸⁹

CONCLUSION

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, scientists and scholars across the French academy accepted Sacy's specious conclusions about the Nizari Ismailis and the origins of their name and routinely cited his work when discussing the sect, hashish, or the Islamic world in general. Taking their cues from Sacy, French pharmacists viewed hashish as a dangerous, violence-inducing intoxicant that, once released by Western science from its raw Oriental form, might provide the civilized world with beneficial medicines. Their contemporaries in psychiatry similarly drew from Sacy's caricature of the Hachichins to fabricate a diagnostic link between hashish and insanity that codified both as intrinsically Oriental. French historians and linguists concretized Sacy's contentions about the sect's origins and hashish use in the history and language of France, the former as a primary source in nationalist histories of the Crusades and the latter as the official

etymology of the French word “assassin.” Through their repeated and uncritical references to Sacy’s work on the Nizari Ismailis, these scholars steadily transformed the myth of the Hachichins into a verified historical fact that linked hashish to the violent act of assassination and codified both as essentially Muslims and “Oriental.”

Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins endured as a persuasive and pervasive *fait prouvé* throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first not only in France but also in the United States. Harry J. Anslinger, the first commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (a forerunner of today’s Drug Enforcement Administration) and key proponent of the Marijuana Tax Act, 1937, supported his anti-cannabis campaign in the late 1930s with Sacy’s myth and etymological linkage of hashish and assassin. During a congressional hearing in late April 1937, Anslinger relayed a brief and humorously inaccurate account of the “Assassins of Persia” and their supposed use of hashish: “In Persia, a thousand years before Christ, there was a religious and military order founded which was called the Assassins and they derived their name from the drug called hashish which is now known in this country as marihuana. They were noted for their acts of cruelty, and the word ‘assassin’ very aptly describes the drug.”⁹⁰ Anslinger and his associates used nineteenth-century French stereotypes of Oriental barbarity in tandem with anti-immigrant and racist rhetoric against Latinos and African Americans to stereotype marijuana as an “assassin of youth” and danger to white America.⁹¹ The latent and manifest racism at the heart of the United States’s first federal drug regulation arguably opened the door for the creation of the nation’s current drug laws, which, as legal historian Michelle Alexander so aptly demonstrates in her tremendous study *The New Jim Crow*, disproportionately target and systematically oppress ethnic minorities, especially the African American community.⁹²

Thirty years later French politicians similarly drew from Sacy’s myth when debating the need for more severe drug laws in the wake of the Algerian War and May 1968 student protests. During open debates in the National Assembly, socialist deputy René Chazelle declared: “Not only does the young drug addict destroy himself, but he also becomes a social danger. The word assassin, moreover, does it not phonetically derive from the word for the sect of hashish smokers? The filiation between drugs and crime is not only assonance; it is a reality.”⁹³ Politicians across the political spectrum echoed Chazelle’s concern over this growing “Arab plague” on

French society.⁹⁴ The resulting law , which continues to structure French drug laws today, hardened penalties and lengthened jail time for drug trafficking while giving police forces unprecedented power to suspend basic civil liberties in the pursuit of suspected traffickers and distributors.⁹⁵ And, as a 2009 study conducted by the Open Society Justice Initiative and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique revealed, France’s current war on drugs disproportionately targets the nation’s ethnic minorities, believed by legislators and police to be the primary traffickers and distributors of illegal substances in France.⁹⁶ The joint study concluded that “black” and “Arab” Parisians were, respectively, six and eight times more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession than their white counterparts.⁹⁷ From its humble origins as a factoid in a conference paper given in 1809, then, Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins has been transformed citation by citation into a generally accepted set of Orientalized “facts” about hashish and the peoples and cultures of the Middle East that have been used on both sides of the Atlantic to underpin ineffective and draconian drug laws that disproportionately target ethnic minorities.

“A Drug Not to Be Neglected”: Medicalizing Hashish in France, 1810–50

The intoxication produced by hashish throws the user into a sort of ecstasy similar to that achieved by Orientals through the use of opium; it even happens that users, fallen prey to its effects, engage in brutal actions that arise from dementia and delirium. But cannabis deserves the attention of pharmacists and chemists. Could they not, through analysis and diverse tests, discover some principles that we can extract and some preparations that it can furnish?

Bulletin de pharmacie (1809)

I thus must point out that this substance, hashish, may well become very useful in medicine. I believe it is a drug not to be neglected. Those who experience it will recognize the therapeutic value against the plague and other diseases.

Louis Rémy Aubert-Roche (1840)

*Dr. Willemin has particularly drawn the attention of the Academy to a medicine which he has experienced, and from which he has obtained good results against cholera. This remedy is the extract of *Cannabis indica* but not raw hashish, produced more or less concentrated and impure, but the active ingredient of the plant, isolated by a French pharmacist from Cairo, Joseph-Bernard Gastinel.*

L’Abeille médicale (1848)

INTRODUCTION

On 17 October 1848, Dr Alexandre Willemin delivered a paper to the Académie de Médecine in Paris on the cholera epidemic in Egypt that summer and the “salutary effects of the active ingredient of *Cannabis indica* in the treatment of this disease.”¹ The first cases of Asiatic cholera appeared in Cairo in early July, and by the end of the month nearly 240 people had succumbed to the disease. In late August physicians in Alexandria, Damietta, and Rosetta were also reporting a marked rise in the number of cases of the “blue death,” so termed because of the severe desiccation and resulting bluing of the skin caused by the disease. Willemin, a French physician then working under fellow countryman Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey at Muhammad Ali’s hospital at Abu Za’abal near Cairo, estimated that nearly twenty thousand people contracted cholera in Egypt during these two months, resulting in the deaths of just under one thousand. As many epidemiologists and physicians thought at

that time, Willemin believed that cholera was a disorder of the central nervous system transmitted to humans via miasmas released in unhygienic and poorly aerated areas. Though we now know that cholera is a disease caused by the spread of the waterborne bacteria *Vibrio cholerae*, physicians practising in the mid-nineteenth century were unaware of the germ theory of disease and many, like Willemin, believed in the theories of anticontagionism rooted in the idea that epidemic diseases were caused by, as Willemin put it, “certain morbid elements transmitted by the atmosphere.”²

Even after he contracted the disease while treating patients at Abu Za’abal, Willemin continued to believe in the anticontagionist and neurological nature of cholera. As did his colleagues Antoine Clot-Bey and Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, a French pharmacist who had set up a substantial pharmaceutical practice in Cairo earlier in the decade. Based on their diagnosis of the disease as neurological and noncontagious, Clot-Bey and Gastinel believed that an effective course of treatment involved tincture of hashish, “an energetic stimulant of the nervous system,” that could “successfully reverse” the damage cholera did to the brain and body. After receiving a five-day course of treatment consisting of “15 drops of tincture of *Cannabis indica*” administered three times per day, Willemin reported a marked decrease in pain and cramping, a revitalization of his circulation and reflexes, and an overall decline in choleric symptoms. “I thus believe,” Willemin concluded, “that of all the remedies proposed against cholera there are none more effective than the active principle of *Cannabis indica*.”³

During the first half of the nineteenth century, dozens of French pharmacists and physicians embraced Willemin’s theories and believed that hashish, though a dangerous and exotic intoxicant from the Orient, could be tamed by Western pharmaceutical sciences and, once refined, used by physicians to treat a variety of deadly and much-feared diseases. Rather than stymying the attention of scientists and physicians, Orientalized perceptions of cannabis produced during the early nineteenth century – chief among them the idea that hashish transformed one into a mindless, violent assassin à la Sacy – engendered serious research into the pharmaceutical properties of hashish made from what they classified as *Cannabis indica*. Especially during the 1840s, the prime decade of medical cannabis during the century, medical practitioners working in France and North Africa used cannabis-based medicines, generally in the form of

hashish tinctures, to treat the plague, cholera, dysentery, and insanity. These pharmacists and physicians published dozens of dissertations and articles on their uses and studies of hashish-based medicines in peer-reviewed medical journals in France and throughout Europe. A close examination of these publications reveals that discussions and debates about cannabis-based medicines figured prominently in the early professional development of French pharmacy as well as in prominent medical debates of the mid-nineteenth century, most notably those concerning the nature and spread of epidemic diseases and the efficacy of homeopathy. Thus, far from just a taboo, cannabis and its byproduct hashish occupied positions of great import in nineteenth-century medical discourse and played a major role in helping French pharmacists and physicians solidify their professional status and advance some the centuries' most heated medical debates.

HASHISH AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF FRENCH PHARMACY, 1800–30

In the early 1800s, French doctors wrote about hashish as an Oriental intoxicant and routinely emplotted the drug within a fictionalized narrative of Muslim and Arab savagery. These pharmacists and physicians were almost always pulled from Silvestre de Sacy's Assassin's myth as a key thread in this tapestry. With each citation they further reified Sacy's argument concerning the etymological and physical connection between assassination and hashish as a baseline for understanding the medicinal potential of the "Oriental" drug. Hashish thus played a noteworthy role in the early professional development of French medicine and pharmacy as French pharmacists and physicians believed the ever-advancing Western sciences – namely, pharmacy based in Lavoisier's "new chemistry" – capable of taming and refining the Oriental intoxicant for Western consumption as a medicine.

The first mention of hashish in nineteenth-century French medical literature appeared in *Histoire médicale de l'Armée d'Orient* (1802), a collection of first-hand accounts of the medical challenges faced by the French Army of the Orient during their Egyptian Campaign between the summers of 1789 and 1801.⁴ Edited by René-Nicolas Dufriche Desgenettes, a physician from Montpellier and chief medical officer throughout the course of France's brief colonial venture in Egypt, *Histoire médicale* includes treatises penned by numerous physicians and pharmacists attached to the army's medical staff and the Commission des Sciences et des Arts, a group of 167 French scientists and scholars who accompanied the army to North Africa.⁵ In *Histoire médicale* Desgenettes

and his fellow military physicians give their readers a decidedly reductive and racialized depiction of Egyptians and their native medical practices. Throughout the book the authors pepper anecdotes of Arab savagery into detailed reports of troop movements, medical ordonnances, and treatments employed by the medical staff to fight plague, dysentery, ophthalmia, diarrhoea, and many other ailments crippling the French army. In his description of troop movements across the desert after the Battle of the Pyramids in July 1798, for example, Desgenettes complains of the “swarm of Arabs which fluttered around the army as if a wake of vultures.”⁶ While discussing a physician in Jaffa, whom later in his chronical he refers to as Mustapha, Desgenettes severely criticized “the Turk” as “ridiculous” and judged his medical opinions as “vague” and “distorted.” The French medical chief also took issues with Mustapha’s medical implements and “archaic” methods: “His instruments and plasters, of which he was very satisfied, belonged, in order to classify them in the history of art, more to the end of the 16th century.”⁷ Though impossible to verify the veracity of this assessment, it is clear from a close reading of Desgenettes’s report that he viewed Egypt as a disease-ridden, stunted society and Egyptians as, at their worst, vicious scavengers and, at their best, medical hacks with antiquated tools and techniques. One could argue that Desgenettes included these reductive anecdotes about Egypt and Egyptians in his report to further highlight, by way of contradistinction, the superiority of French and Western medical practices.

Desgenettes further emphasizes this contradistinction between the civilized French and the barbaric Egyptians in the annex of his report, where he includes an abridged copy of the hashish ban passed by General Abdallah Menou in October of 1800 as evidence of the insidious influence of native hashish culture on French soldiers and its medical threat to the Army of the Orient.⁸ Desgenettes reports to his reader that, on 17 October 1800, “the general-in-chief [Menou] prohibited by his order of the day, under severe penalties, the importation, preparation, and sale of hashish, the plant used for the distillation of an intoxicating liquor; He also wisely forbade smoking the seed of cannabis.”⁹ Desgenettes goes on to quote Menou’s ban, which stated that the plague most commonly afflicted those who “abused hashish and other strong liquors” and “frequented brothels, cafes, and cabarets,” where their “excesses cost them freedom, life, and honour.”¹⁰ Menou also claimed in the official ban that statistics gathered by the medical officers, headed by Desgenettes, indicated that one in four

afflicted with the plague in Egypt “are known to be daily engaged in the excesses of hashish.”¹¹ As we know, hashish for centuries occupied a complex position in Egyptian culture as a medical panacea, a religious ritual (e.g., Sufism), and an intoxicant used by people from all classes.¹² Desgenettes and Menou, however, saw in indigenous hashish consumption a threat to the moral compass and public health of the French colony in Egypt as it, in their minds, contributed to the squalor and filth that often accompanied the spread of diseases such as the plague and cholera. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, French physicians and colonial administrators viewed hashish consumption in Egypt as a threat to public health and as a marker of Oriental incivility.

Later in *Histoire médicale* a physician called Ceresole provides a similarly reductive and racialized portrayal of hashish use among Egyptians. “The inhabitant of the Saïd,” he wrote, “has a bronzed complexion with well-pronounced features in his face, his eyes black, small and sunken, his eyes narrowed and proud. His muscles are quite pronounced and formidable ... their eyes, however, are expressive and their teeth very white. And as one moved toward South, one discovers, in the form of the nose and lips, the traces of the ties contracted with the inhabitants of the interior of Africa.”¹³ Ceresole goes on to describe Egyptian children as “feeble” and “commonly naked” and the boys as “very lascivious” and prone to unrestrained public masturbation. And the men, he says, “overindulge in their sorbets, licorice water, and hashish pills and confections that would not find the same welcome in us.”¹⁴ Hashish use, sexual deviancy, exaggerated physical features associated with “black Africa” all combine in *Histoire médicale* to form a thick tapestry of Oriental barbarism for readers in France and Europe interested in the history of the infamous Egyptian Campaign.

Military pharmacist Pierre-Charles Rouyer, who served with Desgenettes and Ceresole in the Army of the Orient’s medical staff during the ill-fated Egyptian Campaign, similarly emplotted his depictions of hashish consumption in Egypt into a narrative replete with references to the violence and savagery of the Orient. In his assessment of Egyptian medical practices published in 1809 in the second volume of the famous *Description de l’Égypte* – the formal lab report of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts released in twenty-six volumes between 1809 and 1828 – Rouyer described native medicine as “simple,” centred on “crude remedies” rather than chemical science, and in an overall state of decay.¹⁵

He also argued that numerous medicines, such as acacia juice and numerous opiate mixtures well known to ancient Egyptians, were not in use at all by Muslim Egyptians during the early nineteenth century. The Egyptians, he concluded, “having become apathetic and indolent, insensibly lost a great number of their medicines.”¹⁶ Rouyer blamed the spread of Islam to Egypt for this backslide into barbarity: “Many of these proselytes of Islam argue that everything is predestined, believing little in the effectiveness of medicines and other curative means ... if an illness occurred, they took it as sent from God.”¹⁷ Much like Desgenettes in his critique of the Turkish physician Mustapha, Rouyer clearly defined medicine in the Islamic world, and specifically Egypt, as archaic and uncivilized. And, as in Desgenettes’s critique, hashish operated in Rouyer’s assessment as a marker of Egyptian barbarism. One “crude remedy” used by the Egyptians, Rouyer reported, involved cannabis-based liquors and confections that they used as an intoxicant and medical panacea. “The mixture of the hellebore and the leaves of cannabis,” he wrote, “causes a more or less long intoxication, sometimes dangerous, but ordinarily cheerful and delightful. All these preparations, used heavily by inhabitants of the cities and the countryside, are not found among druggists like medicines; they are sold in special shops that are very numerous in all the cities of Egypt.”¹⁸ From Rouyer’s vantage Islam crippled the Egyptian masses, forcing them to abandon common cures, reject modern medicines, and overindulge in homemade and “dangerous” intoxicants, particularly hashish.

Starting around 1809, French pharmacists and physicians increasingly viewed this presumed barbarism associated with hashish as an opportunity to demonstrate the civilizing power of Europe’s developing pharmaceutical sciences. By the late 1830s and 1840s, dozens of French pharmacists and physicians practising in both France and abroad wrote in praise of hashish-based tinctures, pills, and confections, believing the ever-advancing Western sciences (namely, pharmacy based in the “new chemistry”) capable of taming and refining the drug for Western consumption. Many of these pharmacists and doctors formed this ambivalent and racialized perception of hashish around Silvestre de Sacy’s Assassins Myth. In a speech at the Institut de France in July 1809, Sacy argued that the word “assassin” derived etymologically from the term “Hachichin,” or “hashish-eater,” which, Sacy contended, referenced a mythical Islamic cult of hash-crazed assassins that operated in Persia and

Syria during the thirteenth century.¹⁹ Four months after Sacy's speech to the Institut, the newly created *Bulletin de pharmacie* published a synopsis of the linguist's contentions concerning hashish and the Assassins and issued the following call to French chemists and pharmacists. "The intoxication produced by hashish," the article reported, "throws the user into a sort of ecstasy similar to that achieved by Orientals through the use of opium; it even happens that users, fallen prey to its effects, engage in brutal actions that arise from dementia and delirium ... But cannabis deserves the attention of pharmacists and chemists. Could they not extract, through analysis and diverse tests, some principles that we can extract and some preparations that it can furnish?"²⁰ Thus, despite its inaccuracies – chief among them the fact that the Ismailis did not use hashish – Sacy's Assassins Myth formed the foundation upon which French pharmacists and physicians working in the early 1800s built their understanding of hashish *and* its potential medicinal uses.

These discussions about and resulting experimentations with medicinal hashish in the early nineteenth century took place during a formative period in the development of French pharmacy as practitioners reorganized their profession around the ideals and principles of two interconnected revolutions: the French Revolution and the Chemical Revolution. As Jonathan Simon details in *Chemistry, Pharmacy and Revolution in France, 1777–1809*, French pharmacists constructed their new professional identity and institutions around the ideas generated from these two revolutions in political and scientific thought.²¹ Like many scientists in France during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, French pharmacists embraced the principles of scientific and rational inquiry emanating from the age of the Enlightenment and worked to dismantle the privilege-based guild system of the ancien régime and replace it with a rationalized and, by 1803, nationalized professional infrastructure built on meritocracy.²² On 11 April 1803, the National Assembly created uniform standards and regulations for the developing pharmaceutical profession as well as three state-regulated Écoles de Pharmacie to monopolize the education and training of future practitioners. Pharmacists simultaneously organized professional associations, such as the Société de Pharmacie de Paris in 1803, which sponsored regular lectures at the three Écoles and later established a peer-review journal, the aforementioned *Bulletin de pharmacie*, in 1809.²³ These new state-backed institutions, professional associations, and peer-reviewed journals provided French pharmacists a

sturdy platform from which to promote their growing academic discipline in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

To further legitimize their venture, French pharmacists also promoted their field's philosophical and methodological connections to Antoine-Laurent de Lavoisier's "new chemistry," which was sweeping across the Western academy around the turn of the eighteenth century.²⁴ Before Lavoisier developed his oxygen theory of combustion in the 1770s, scientists in France and Europe understood the chemical world according to Greek philosopher Empedocles's ancient theory of four pure elements – fire, water, air, and earth. Popularized by Aristotle and then applied to medicine by Galen to create humorism, the idea that four basic substances form the building blocks of all matter underpinned scientific and medical thinking from the fifth century BCE to mid- to late eighteenth-century CE.²⁵ Even the prevailing chemical theory in Europe on the eve of Lavoisier's discovery, the phlogiston theory, sat firmly upon philosophical foundations established in the humoral theories of ancient Greece. However, during the 1770s Lavoisier abandoned a career in law and devoted himself to the quantitative study of combustion, which ultimately led him to the discovery of oxygen and a sweeping rejection of classical chemistry based on ideas from ancient Greece.²⁶ As historian Jonathan Simon argues, French pharmacists practising around the turn of the nineteenth century embraced Lavoisier's new chemistry – its guiding ideas, growing acceptance and esteem, nomenclature, and experimental logic and methods – as a means for their profession to dispel its "artisanal identity" from the ancien régime and reimagine itself anew as the cutting-edge scientific field of "chemical pharmacy."²⁷ As these "new pharmacists," including such notables as Antoine François Foucroy, Julien-Joseph Virey, and Louis-Nicolas Vauquelin, worked to nationalize, modernize, and legitimize themselves according to the principles of their revolutionary age, they often used their new-found authority and scientific methods to add further veracity to centuries-old stereotypes about drugs and the Arabo-Islamic world. The aforementioned article in the November 1809 issue of the *Bulletin de pharmacie* containing the call for "new pharmacists" to study and refine hashish provides a clear example of French pharmacists' building new medical and pharmaceutical knowledge on a foundation of Orientalized stereotypes about Muslims and hashish.

In an article published in the *Bulletin de pharmacie* in 1813, military pharmacist and, at that time, medical student Julien-Joseph Virey (1775–

1846) built on this racialized depiction of the Orient and hashish, writing sensationalized stories about a hash-crazed Muslim assassin attacking a French general during the Egyptian Campaign. The article itself focused on the pharmaceutical properties of the famous potion, nepenthe, consumed by Helen in the fourth book of Homer's *Odyssey*.²⁸ Virey mused about whether or not this famous potion was made from hashish, which was all the craze in Paris since Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801) and Sacy's well-publicized paper on the Hachichins. In the end, though, he concluded that Helen's potion was made from the root of Jusquiamé, or *Hyoscyamus niger*, and not from hashish. In his discussion of hashish, mostly relegated to the footnotes, Virey even challenged Sacy's assertions about the Hachichins, arguing that hashish alone could not have produced the intoxication described in the Assassins legend.

Despite this critique of hashish's potency, Virey in the same breath reinforced the idea first confirmed by Sacy that hashish transformed its users into violent murderers. Near the end of the article, after Virey concluded that nepenthe was not made from hashish and that the Assassins must have cut their potion with something stronger, he nonetheless verified and brought to life the false etymological and physiological connection between hashish and assassins proffered by Sacy. Virey opened this side discussion of hashish with an unsourced anecdote about criminal proceedings in central France against a band of thieves who supposedly used a mixture of powdered cannabis seed and tobacco to poison and rob travellers. Giving no citation to corroborate this vignette, he then jumped abruptly into a discussion of the Old Man of the Mountain, leader of the Islamic Assassins, and his supposed use of a hashish-laced potion to deceive his devotees and transform them into mindless murderers.²⁹ Though, again, he argued hashish alone could not produce the intoxicating effect described by Sacy, Virey accepted Sacy's etymological argument concerning the origins of the cult's moniker, Hachichins. Heaping insult on injury, Virey then took this myth of the Hachichins and wove it into a retelling of the Egyptian Campaign and hashish ban passed by Abdallah Menou in October 1800. In his portrayal of events, Virey invented a new twist to the story of the hashish ban that brought to life for nineteenth-century French readers the fabled Hachichins of the era of the Crusades. "The fanatic who killed General Kléber in Egypt," Virey wrote, "seems to have been excited by hashish."³⁰ In the footnote attached to this uncorroborated and, as far as my research indicates, false statement, the

author wrote: “There is a decree taken by General Menou, on the seventeenth Vendémiaire, year IX, to prohibit the smoking of hemp seed and the distillation of hashish into an incipient liquor; The Muslims who take this were exciting disorder. This plant is called the ‘grass of the fakirs,’ or of the Turkish monks, for they first discovered the property. See Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, tom. II.”³¹ With a sentence and a footnote, to make sense of Abdallah Menou’s hashish ban passed during the last year of the Egyptian Campaign, Virey verified Sacy’s specious conclusions and used them to fabricate a story about a hash-crazed assassin killing General Jean-Baptiste Kléber.

This story, of course, is in large portions fantastic fabrication. Kléber, one of the most decorated generals in the French military at that time, took over command of the Army of the Orient after Napoleon departed North Africa for France in August 1799. He held command in Egypt until he was assassinated in June 1800 by a Syrian literature student from Aleppo named Soliman al-Halabi. Upon Kléber’s death Abdallah Menou assumed control of the Army of the Orient. Nothing in the official records of al-Halabi’s interrogations and trial in Egypt discusses hashish as a cause or even as part of the assassination plot.³² During his interrogations, al-Halabi, often referred to in the interview transcripts as the “Arab writer,” confessed that an Ottoman agha in Jerusalem named Ahmed promised him money, protection for his father against an oppressive pasha in Aleppo, and an officer’s rank in the Ottoman military if he successfully assassinated General Kléber.³³ In short, there is no evidence of al-Halabi using hashish in the act of assassinating Kléber. Virey’s interpretation of Menou’s ban as a direct consequence of al-Halabi’s hashish use was an outright fabrication, arguably used as a literary device to bring to life the fabled Hachichins for nineteenth-century French readers. By affixing this fabricated stereotype of the hash-crazed Muslim assassin to the popular history of the Egyptian Campaign, Virey further solidified the association between hashish and Oriental irrationality and violence as a fact in nineteenth-century medical and pharmaceutical discourse.

This fictionalized depiction of hashish as a dangerous Oriental intoxicant that could medicinally prove beneficial once tamed by Western pharmaceutical sciences shaped professional and popular perceptions of the drug in France from the end of the Napoleonic era throughout the nineteenth century. Though the frequency of discussions about hashish in French medical journals decreased markedly in the immediate decades

after the fall of Napoleon's empire in 1815, the stereotype of the hashish-crazed Muslim assassin appeared in dozens of French publications throughout the Restoration period, including in medical references, dictionaries, fiction, literary magazines, histories, and encyclopaedias.³⁴ A fitting example is the entry for "chanvre" in the 1833 pharmacopeia *Flore médicale*, a popular pharmaceutical reference edited by French physician François-Pierre Chaumeton. In this entry on "chanvre" the editors provided a biological snapshot of the cannabis plant and its various byproducts, hemp and hashish. In the opening pages of the entry, the editors discussed the biological differences between *Cannabis indica* and *Cannabis sativa*, believed at that time (and generally, though erroneously, still believed) to be distinct species. As discussed in chapter 3, during the eighteenth century scientists in Europe officially classified two distinct species of the cannabis plant: *Cannabis sativa* and *Cannabis indica*. Dutch biologist Carl Linnaeus classified *Cannabis sativa* in 1753 after studying samples from Europe, and French botanist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck classified *Cannabis indica* after examining samples from India. Though they were looking at the same plant grown in drastically different *terroir*, they accounted for the differences in appearance and properties by classifying them as two distinct species. Even though most people continue to believe in this polygenetic bifurcation, according to recent research into the genetics of cannabis, this dual classification is erroneous. In fact, when you look at their genetics, the marijuana classified as "sativa" and "indica" today are no different. This division of cannabis into two distinct species is thus a reflection of the racial and civilizational divisions between Europe and the Orient held in many nineteenth-century French minds rather than a biological or botanical fact.³⁵

Unaware of the errors in these classifications, Chaumeton and his fellow editors built their entry on cannabis in *Flore médicale* on the idea that two distinct species of cannabis existed and reflected the unique properties of their particular homelands and peoples. "Although the Orient is the true homeland of cannabis," they wrote, "this useful plant abundantly and spontaneously grows on the icy shores of the Neva, Dnieper and Volga [Rivers in Russia]."³⁶ After devoting several pages to the "careful" and "utilitarian" processes by which Russians and Poles harvested and retted *Cannabis sativa* to produce hemp for cloth and cordage, the editors presented the antithesis in *Cannabis indica*, "a species well distinguished from ordinary hemp." Cannabis in the Orient, they

argued, was shorter, with thin bark covering the stem that was “unable to be spun and woven like that of European hemp.” And “the Oriental species also exhales a more nauseating odor, and its intoxicating qualities are much more pronounced.” Far from viewing the futility and toxicity of the plant as a reason not to make use of it, “the Orientals attach great importance to it ... and use it to prepare exhilarating and aphrodisiac powders and pellets, whose abuse inevitably produced torpor, impotence, and idiocy.” Among these preparations, Chaumeton argued, “the hashish of the Ismailis” is sought after “with a kind of fury by the Orientals.”³⁷ With this passage Chaumeton reaffirmed the eighteenth-century scientific classification of cannabis as two distinct species and then argued that these biological distinctions were reflective of the inherent qualities of the civilized Occident and essential flaws of the barbaric Orient. According to this often consulted and cited pharmaceutical reference, *Cannabis sativa L.* provided a useful source of hemp textiles and cordage for the utilitarian Europeans, while *Cannabis indica Lam.*, with its nauseous odour, toxic and aphrodisiacal properties, and ties to the hashish of the infamous Ismaili Assassins, mirrored the “idiocy” and “fury” of the Oriental temperament. Much like the works of Desgenettes, Ceresole, Rouyer, and Virey, Chaumeton’s entry on chanvre in *Flore médicale* reinforced the notion that the intoxicating properties of hashish embodied the supposed violence, irrationality, and savagery of the Orient. At the same time, though, Chaumeton’s inclusion of cannabis in a reference book on plants with known medicinal properties speaks to the idea first championed by the editors of the *Bulletin de pharmacie* in 1809 that hashish might prove useful medicinally if tamed by Western pharmaceutical sciences. In the “Preliminary Discourse” of the text’s first volume, the editors describe *Flore médicale* as a “great work in the art of healing and of the principles of pharmacology” and mention several notable pharmacists, including Julien-Joseph Virey, who contributed to the volumes during the drafting stages.³⁸ Thus, during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, French pharmacists and medical practitioners moved towards an ambiguous assessment of hashish as a dangerous but tamable exotic intoxicant that, once released from its biologically determined Oriental barbarism by Western science, could contribute to the “healing arts” of French pharmacy.

By the late 1830s and into the 1840s, French pharmacists were making good on Virey's call to action and producing dozens of hashish-based medicines, predominantly in the form of hashish-laced edibles called dawamesk and tinctures. Even more, French physicians were using those medicines to treat a range of illnesses, including plague, cholera, dysentery, chorea, epilepsy, tetanus, typhus, hydrophobia, migraines, and insanity. Though some practitioners had their doubts, a notable number of pharmacists and physicians, working both in France and abroad, staked their professional reputations on the drug, claiming hashish to be beneficial to both medical practices and to the advancement of Western science. Hashish-based medicines and treatments figured prominently in the most important medical debates of the era, namely, those over the nature and spread of epidemic diseases and the efficacy of Samuel Hahnemann's theories of homeopathy. For many medical practitioners working during these decades and publishing in French medical journals, including such notables as Julien-Joseph Virey (1775–1846), Louis Aubert-Roche (1818–74), Jacques-Joseph Moreau (1804–84), Edmond de Courtive, François Dorvault (1815–79), and Joseph-Bernard Gastinel (1811–99), hashish offered both useful evidence in these scientific debates and an effective medical treatment for a variety of ailments. Two notable pharmacists, Gastinel and de Courtive, even waged a war of words in the pages of peer-reviewed medical journals and in the salons of the Institut de Paris in the fall of 1848 over who first developed a particularly potent hashish tincture. The "Gastinel Affair" marked the drug's zenith of popularity within French medicine because, after the misguided and ineffective use of hashish tincture to treat Parisians affected by the cholera outbreak in the winter of 1848–49, many pharmacists and doctors began to publish articles condemning the drug. By the 1860s and 1870s, doctors, especially psychiatrists working in French Algeria, increasingly wrote of "hashish poisoning" and "hashish-induced insanity," further adding to the negative swing in perceptions of the cannabis-based medicines in French medical circles.

A decade or so before its decline in popularity in the 1850s, however, hashish-based medications enjoyed a period of marked acceptance in French medicine, particularly during the late 1830s and 1840s. Throughout this period hashish, extracts, edibles, and dried stalks and flowers of "Chanvre indien," or *Cannabis indica*, could be purchased at most pharmacies in France's major cities, including in the famous pharmacies of

de Courtive and Personne in Paris and Gay in Draguignan.³⁹ As Jacques Arveiller revealed in his 2013 article, “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle: Une histoire médicale,” the majority of the cannabis and hashish that appeared on the French market in the 1830s and 1840s was sent to these pharmacies in metropolitan France by the pharmacist Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, also known as Gastinel Pacha, a French expatriate who lived and worked in Cairo as the chief pharmacist in Muhammad Ali’s new Egypt, and by Louis Aubert-Roche, a fellow expatriate and physician who ran Muhammad Ali’s hospitals in Alexandria.⁴⁰ Though difficult if not impossible to ascertain the amounts of hashish and cannabis imported to France during the 1830s and 1840s via the Gastinel connection, numerous peer-reviewed articles in medical journals and pharmaceutical pricing references from that time give us some indication of the vibrancy of this market. In a prominent pricing guide and pharmacy reference published at the pinnacle of these halcyon days for marijuana in French medicine, pharmacist François Dorvault detailed the going prices for hashish-based medicines sold in French pharmacies during the late 1840s.⁴¹ According to Dorvault’s *L’Officine, ou Répertoire général de pharmacie pratique*, “haschisch plante extrait gras,” or cannabis resin formed into hashish, sold for 5 francs per 10 grams, and an “électuaire (Dawamesc),” or an edible made from the a hashish butter mixed with ground nuts and honey, sold for 10 francs per 100 grams and 2 francs per 20 grams. The raw material itself, described as cut and dried *Cannabis indica* plants, sold for 90 francs per 100 grams.⁴²

After giving the going rates and explaining hashish’s intoxicating effects with a now routine narrative built around Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins, Dorvault delved into the pharmaceutical preparations made from *Cannabis indica*, focusing particular attention on dawamesk and hashish tincture. Dawamesk, an edible made from activated hashish butter or oil mixed with ground nuts and honey, was a popular mode of hashish consumption in North Africa stretching back centuries.⁴³ Often this hashish-infused morsel was plunged into a cup of coffee or tea, semi-dissolved, and consumed together. Interestingly, the French soldiers, pharmacists, physicians, and (later) students, authors, and artists who experimented with hashish in the first half of the nineteenth century largely adopted this mode of consumption. For example, up until the early 1840s, dawamesk figured prominently in most cannabis-based treatments described in French medical journals, dissertations, and published records;

it is only in 1842 that hashish tinctures emerge in France as the sanitized and more effective mode of cannabis consumption. Perhaps most infamously, dawamesk was the preferred mode of consumption for the Club des Hachichins, the semi-monthly hashish-fuelled gatherings of France's brightest literary and artistic figures organized by Jacques-Joseph Moreau in Paris between 1844 and 1849, which have come to define the history of cannabis in nineteenth-century France.⁴⁴ Sensing the continued interest in dawamesk as a pharmaceutical, Dorvault recommended his practitioner readers prescribe twenty to thirty grams, preferably dissolved in and drunk with coffee or tea, for one to feel the effects in roughly thirty minutes to an hour.⁴⁵

Starting in the early 1840s, pharmacists working in Egypt, France, British India, and the United States (and all publishing in French medical journals) began to work towards the production of a standardized hashish tincture, which came to displace dawamesk by the end of the decade as the primary mode of medicalized hashish in metropolitan France and Europe. As James Mills detailed in *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade, and Prohibition 1800–1928*, hashish tincture was first developed in the late 1830s by the Irish physician and engineer William Brooke O'Shaughnessy.⁴⁶ Starting sometime after his appointment in the summer of 1835 to a professorship at the medical college in Calcutta, O'Shaughnessy conducted experiments with cannabis, first on a variety of animals and then on himself, colleagues, and (eventually) patients. Early on in these experiments O'Shaughnessy used "churrus," the term for cannabis resin and hashish in India and a substance quite similar to dawamesk. By 1839, the Irish polymath was reporting in local medical journals in Calcutta on the efficacy of a crude hashish tincture – "ten grains of Nepalese *churrus* dissolved in spirit" – in the treatment of cholera, hydrophobia, rheumatism, tetanus, and most convulsive disorders.⁴⁷ Several years later the Scottish pharmacists and brothers Thomas and Henry Smith were inspired by O'Shaughnessy's work with churrus tincture in Calcutta and began experimenting with cannabis-based medicine, refining a cannabis tincture of their own for their patients in Edinburgh before the end of the 1830s.⁴⁸ The Smith brothers, whose pharmaceutical practices in Edinburgh went on to become the Smith of McFarland Smith, the largest producer of opiate alkaloids in the world today, published their formula for their hashish tincture, which they called "cannabine," in English medical journals as early as 1839 (then in

translation in French medical journals as early as 1846).⁴⁹

In the aforementioned 1850 edition of *L'Officine*, François Dorvault discussed this recent English-led development of hashish tinctures in the late 1830s and 1840s and argued that, while a Scot and Irishman broke new ground, it was truly the French pharmacists who perfected and simplified the process.⁵⁰ By 1846, the formula for the Smith brothers' hashish tincture, cannabine, had been published in French translation.⁵¹ After soaking pulverized *Cannabis indica* plants in warm water for two or three days, they simmered the saturated plant matter in a solution of sodium carbonate (1:2 ratio of salt to plant matter) for two additional days to remove the colour, chlorophyll, and "inert concrete oils." They then filtered the resulting solution through ethyl alcohol to obtain a resin that was then treated with a combination of milk of lime, sulphuric acid, and charcoal. After a few more rounds of distillation and water filtration, the remaining resin was rolled and dried, often producing roughly three kilograms of yield from forty-five kilograms of plant matter. According to the Smiths, one grain, or roughly sixty-five milligrams, of cannabine when ingested could produce "narcosis" and "decided intoxication."⁵² However, according to Dorvault, "M. Gastinel, pharmacist of Cairo, and M. de Courtive, both authors of works seriously interested in hashish, have popularized a mode of production much simpler" than that of the Smiths. "The dry plant matter," Dorvault reported, "is treated with alcohol several times, then distilled to retrieve three quarts of alcohol. The solution is then evaporated to produce an extract of cannabis. This extract is then treated with water, which dissolves the plant matter, and leaves the resin, which is dried by steam."⁵³ Dorvault argued that this French recipe resulted in a "softer" more malleable product with the colour and odour of the source material, *Cannabis indica*; whereas products produced via the Smiths' recipe were "firmer and less coloured," which spoke to their lack of potency. Dorvault also contended that the French mode of production was more efficacious, delivering on average a 7 to 10 per cent yield on forty-five kilograms of raw material compared to the 6 per cent of the Smiths. As we shall see, Dorvault's French exceptionalism in this instance was largely misplaced and, moreover, hides from today's audience a much more complicated and contentious story about the production and use of hashish tincture in French medical circles during the mid- to late 1840s.

Though many French pharmacists and physicians prescribed both dawamesk and tincture over the course of their medical careers, it is useful

and interesting to examine the lives of these two preparations of medical marijuana and the practitioners who championed them in semi-isolated contexts. This analytical bifurcation starkly reveals the historical shift away from dawamesk and towards tincture that took place in French medicine in the mid-1840s. This shift, I argue, flowed from historical forces both internal and external to French pharmacy. Not only was hashish becoming more firmly embedded in French popular culture as a marker of Oriental otherness – a process further concretized by the Club des Hachichins and the subsequent writings of Théophile Gautier and Charles Baudelaire as well as the kingdom’s recent expansion into Algeria – but hashish simultaneously became a central locus of academic concern in French medicine as dozens of newly graduated pharmacists and physicians, some even writing dissertations on the subject of medicinal hashish, increasingly staked their professional reputations on the efficacy of the drug in the treatment of epidemic disease and insanity. These interconnected medical, colonial, and cultural discourses concerning hashish in 1840s France arguably produced an opportunity for the drug to establish itself among the accepted narcotics in French medicine. The shift away from dawamesk reflects this attempt by French pharmacists and physicians in the mid- to late 1840s to legitimize hashish as an accepted narcotic in the modern pharmacist’s tool kit. The process of producing a tincture was explicitly framed by French pharmacists, including Gastinel and de Courtive, as an effort to isolate the active ingredients of *Cannabis indica* and standardize pharmaceutical modes of production and administration to patients. Though almost all of these practitioners understood the drug and its effects to some degree within a scientific paradigm shaped by Sacy’s Assassins myth and imperialism, they nonetheless adamantly argued that hashish tincture, much like laudanum, could provide French medicine with a beneficial tool for healing and scientific discovery. However, when the tinctures failed to reverse the spread of cholera in Paris during the global epidemic of 1848–49 – a failure precipitated by that supposedly “superior” French tincture recipe and problems with the consistency of raw materials, not to mention the fact that cannabis does not cure cholera – the moment for medicalized hashish came to a swift end, leaving the rather unscientific and myth-driven cultural and colonial discourses on hashish to form the foundation of French ideas about the drug for the coming centuries.

One of the first French physicians to write in support of medicalized

hashish, specifically dawamesk, was Louis Aubert-Roche (1818–74), a French-born and -trained physician who spent much of his life living and working in Egypt for Muhammad Ali Pasha between 1830 and 1838 and then as chief medical officer for the Suez Canal Company during the late 1850s.⁵⁴ Aubert-Roche was considered one of the world’s leading epidemiologists at that time and held considerable influence in the interconnected medical circles of Egypt and France, having served as head physician in hospitals in Alexandria and Cairo in the 1830s and twice as chair of the French Medical Congress in Paris in 1845 and 1848, respectively. His specific area of expertise involved the treatment of plague, with which Aubert-Roche had considerable experience after his work during the 1834–35 plague epidemic in Egypt. At this time the true origin and nature of the bubonic plague – which in the 1890s was proven to be an infectious disease caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* spread via the flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, and its preferred host the black rat, *Rattus rattus* – was unknown in this pre-germ theory era and thus formed the centre of arguably the most important medical debates of the time.⁵⁵ For Aubert-Roche and for many practising physicians in the 1840s, the plague was a disease of the ganglionic nervous system caused by “bad air,” or miasma, released from a toxic and unhygienic environment. An antecedent of the medieval “filth theory,” this idea was known as “anticontagionism,” and those who championed it, such as Aubert-Roche, used it to determine their course of medical treatment when dealing with epidemic diseases such as the plague.⁵⁶

As he wrote in his 1840 work *De la peste ou typhus d’Orient*, Aubert-Roche was quite convinced, after treating plague epidemics in Egypt throughout the 1830s, that those who believed the plague and other epidemic diseases to be the result of a contagion – that is, a self-perpetuating agent that transmitted the disease from a sick person to a healthy person – were utterly deluded and gripped by medieval superstitions.⁵⁷ These contagionists, Aubert-Roche contended, refused to accept the reality that plague was caused by a lethal combination of poor hygiene (for Aubert-Roche more associated with Egypt’s “Arabs” and “blacks”) and local environmental and geological factors, and, instead, believed in a “demon” that could only be exorcised via quarantines and witchcraft.⁵⁸ Throughout *De la peste ou le typhus d’Orient*, Aubert-Roche railed against the members of the health commissions in Alexandria and Cairo, who, in his mind, fell victim to the superstitions of contagionism

during the plague outbreak of 1834–35 and thus took ineffective measures to arrest its spread and treat its victims.⁵⁹ Key among their blunders, he argued, was their construction of a lazaretto near the stagnant, brackish waters of Lake Mariout in the south of Alexandria. Not only was the quarantine built near a source of miasma, Aubert-Roche argued, but, by trapping hundreds of sailors and working-class rabble within a small, poorly ventilated, and unhygienic space, the authorities only added fuel to the fire. Aubert-Roche was thus unsurprised by sporadic cases of plague emerging in the lazaretto in November 1834 and seemingly delighted that the chief physician of the facility, an Italian contagionist called Paolini, succumbed to the disease while his closest aids did not. “These cases, which include doctors and directors of the Lazaretto, that is to say, men knowing all the means of securing themselves, did not result in any new ones. It may therefore be argued that the precautions taken by these special men were superfluous. These facts prove not only the uselessness of quarantine, but also the non-contagion of the plague.”⁶⁰ Thus convinced of the environmental and racial causes of the plague – and his corresponding duty as a doctor to “civilize the Muslim countries whose barbarism is the cause of this plague” – Aubert-Roche set about treating the diseased central nervous systems of those afflicted.⁶¹

“The plague,” Aubert-Roche wrote, “is primarily a disease of the nerves that originates in the thoracic and cervical ganglia. Hashish, a substance that acts upon the nervous system, has given me the best results.”⁶² In a forty-page annex to *De la peste ou le typhus d’Orient* entitled “Du hachisch et de son emploi dans le traitement de la peste,” Aubert-Roche detailed and defended his use of hashish to treat plague victims during the epidemic of 1834–35 in Egypt. His primary medical reasoning for prescribing hashish against the plague was steeped in the Orientalized myths about the drug authorized by the work of Silvestre de Sacy. “I had learned from M. de Sacy and other authors,” he wrote, “that there existed in the Orient a plant resembling hemp (*chanvre*) the effects of which were intoxicating. And I heard of the quite general use of this drug among Arabs. M de. Sacy gave it the name hashish. I therefore sought it out, profoundly convinced that if this plant had intoxicating properties, it must have some medical power over the nervous system.”⁶³ Though Aubert-Roche was correct in arguing that hashish intoxicates via a chemical stimulation of the nervous system, it was the mythical association between hashish and the fabled Assassins reified by the work

of Sacy that pushed him to seek out the drug and test its efficacy as medicine. After finding and using dawamesk with some colleagues, Aubert-Roche was further convinced that the resulting “fantasia,” “bizarre ideas,” “canine hunger,” and “extravagant laughter” provided evidence of the peculiar effect of hashish on the central nervous system. He further reported that dawamesk “does not cause headache, does not interfere with respiration, does not increase circulation, and leaves no fatigue after it.”⁶⁴ Because he believed the plague and its signature lesions, or buboes, originated from the miasma’s attack on the thoracic and cervical ganglia of the nervous system,⁶⁵ Aubert-Roche concluded that hashish, taken in the form of dawamesk dissolved in coffee, offered a safe, effective, and logical treatment to combat the disease. At first Aubert-Roche attempted to create an alcohol tincture of hashish to standardize and make more controllable and practical the delivery of the drug to plague patients, but the “effects have been little in comparison with those obtained by the Arab means.”⁶⁶ Dawamesk, the preferred mode of hashish consumption in Egypt, provided Aubert-Roche with a more consistently potent and readily available medication with which to treat his patients. A morsel of dawamesk the size of a hazelnut chased with a cup of good coffee, Aubert-Roche argued, produced the desired effect within one hour, and the resulting “extravagance” lasted some four to five hours thereafter.

For much of the annex Aubert-Roche marshalled evidence to prove that this “extravagance” caused by dawamesk and coffee “stimulated the nervous system of organic life” and in seven out of eleven cases proved effective in curing the plague. After treating eleven patients in Alexandria and Cairo – all male “Arab” soldiers and orderlies ranging in age from twenty to forty-five and all presenting with buboes and “considered lost” – with rounds of dawamesk and coffee, and in some cases at a rate of three hazelnut size doses chased with four cups of coffee per hour, Aubert-Roche found that seven of these patients felt immediate pain relief and ultimately recovered. Three particular cases stood out to Aubert-Roche as clear evidence of hashish’s efficacy as treatment against the plague. The first of the three involved Ali-Aoui, who was brought to the Ras-El-Tin hospital in the south of Alexandria by relatives in early May after feeling ill for two days. Within twenty-four hours of arriving Ali-Aoui presented with buboes and kidney pain, and Aubert-Roche gave him a dose and a half of dawamesk with three cups of coffee every fifteen minutes for an hour. This sent Ali-Aoui into forty-eight hours of “extravagances,”

including hallucinations, laughing, and relief of stomach and kidney pain. “All night long the extravagances continued,” Aubert-Roche wrote of Ali-Aoui’s second night. “He believed at one point he was the Nazir of the hospital, giving orders and trying to baton his fellow patients into submission, and we were forced to restrain him to a bed. But in the morning, he was calm and very content and did not present with any pain excepting a bubo.”⁶⁷ Aubert-Roche reported that Ali-Aoui received hashish treatments for three days beginning in the evening of 1 May, and for most of these three days the patient’s symptoms and pain improved. However, starting on 6 May, Aubert-Roche reported, Ali-Aoui’s condition worsened as the plague spread into his lungs. For the next two weeks Aubert-Roche administered round after round of bloodletting, barley water mixed with a grain of belladonna, and bubo draining (but no dawamesk), and by 20 May he reported the patient “healed.”⁶⁸ In the other two cases highlighted by Aubert-Roche – those of Abdallah Ali, a twenty-four-year-old soldier in Egypt’s 5th regiment, and his comrade Asen Achmet – a similar course of treatments involving dawamesk and bleedings resulted in the patients’ recovery after a two-week period. “These last three observations of well-advanced plague,” Aubert-Roche concluded, “when read carefully, prove the effects of Hashish, more than all that I can say on the use of this substance.”⁶⁹ He readily admitted that hashish could not cure everyone afflicted with the plague, but, based on the evidence provided by these eleven cases, seven of them successes, Aubert-Roche believed that, when administered before the fourth day of symptom onset, hashish proved capable of arresting the disease’s progression. Moreover, he used the “success” of these hashish treatments as further support for his anticontagionist position that the plague was a disease of the central nervous system caused by local miasmas. Satisfied with this epidemiological diagnosis of plague as a disease of the nervous system, Aubert-Roche concluded that hashish, that Oriental intoxicant first introduced to him by the writings of Sacy, could end this scourge on humanity: “I end by appealing to physicians to heed my advice on hashish, so that they might make continue this research and further prove the efficacy of this substance. In the name of Science and Humanity I publish what I did and what I saw. Time and experience will prove whether I am wrong.”⁷⁰

In the end, of course, time and experience did prove wrong Aubert-Roche’s anticontagionist ideas about the plague and his corresponding

belief that hashish could cure the disease. At the time of the publication of *De la peste ou le typhus d'Orient* in 1840, the definitive fall of anticontagionism and shift in Western medicine to the germ theory paradigm was decades away, and many physicians and pharmacists working in metropolitan France shared Aubert-Roche's understanding of the plague and thus seriously considered medicalized hashish as a treatment against it and other epidemic diseases.⁷¹ In the August 1840 edition of the *Journal de chimie médicale*, published by the Société de Chimie Médicale and the Library of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, there appeared a review of Aubert-Roche's study that did not even question his stance on the plague and instead focused its attention on aspects of his work "devoted to a particular substance which M. de Sacy has given the name of hashish, the use of which is quite general among the Arabs."⁷² The rest of the roughly two hundred-word review came verbatim from Aubert-Roche's description of the "extravagances" he experienced when personally experimenting with the drug. After which, the unnamed reviewer abruptly concluded: "It is to be hoped that new trials made in France confirm the curious details given by Dr. Aubert."⁷³ Favourable assessments in the Parisian journals *Revue de l'Orient* and *Revue médicale* likewise called on French pharmacists and physicians to embrace Aubert-Roche's findings and employ hashish in the fight against diseases of the central nervous system.⁷⁴ Several physicians who spoke out against the efficacy of hashish as a treatment for the plague, such as Aubert-Roche's fellow French expatriate and colleague in Egypt, Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey, still held a dominantly anticontagionist position concerning epidemic diseases and mostly criticized the use of medicalized hashish because it "too violently and uncontrollably affects the central nervous system."⁷⁵ In short, most physicians and pharmacists who concerned themselves with this new Oriental intoxicant as a treatment for epidemic diseases in the early 1840s approached the subject from a decidedly anticontagionist position. This strong association between medicalized hashish and anticontagionism can be found throughout 1840s French medical discourse, particularly in discussions concerning the treatment of plague (and later cholera), which at that time was similarly misunderstood by anticontagionists as a miasmatic disease of the ganglionic and sympathetic nerves. We will soon see how this strong association between medicalized hashish and the incorrect ideas of anticontagionists contributed to the precipitous fall of medical marijuana in France after the

unsuccessful use of hashish tincture to treat cholera patients during the epidemic in Paris in the winter of 1848 and 1849.

Aubert-Roche was right about one thing, however: hashish is a psychotropic drug and it does affect the central nervous system.⁷⁶ While it was unable to cure the plague, as Aubert-Roche contended, hashish probably did ameliorate some of the symptoms of the eleven patients to whom he administered the drug, especially those dealing with loss of appetite, dehydration, migraines, and general pain. Hashish likewise probably contributed to his patient Ali-Aoui's delusions of being transformed into the nazir of the hospital at Ras-El-Tin during his treatments there in May 1834. Much like his predecessors in French medicine stretching back through Virey to Desgenettes, Aubert-Roche encoded this range of psychotropic effects produced by hashish as essentially Oriental, that is, as a state of intoxication both reflective of and born from a barbaric Orient desperately thirsting for the civilizing benevolence of Western medicine and French imperialism. As Richard Keller argues in *Colonial Madness: Psychiatry in French North Africa*, physicians, pharmacists, travel writers, and novelists in mid-nineteenth-century France "conjured" an image of North Africa and the Middle East as "a space of savage violence and lurid sexuality, but also a space of insanity. For many authors who passed through the region during a period of European contact and influence, it was the madness of the Muslim world that constituted its fundamental difference from the West."⁷⁷ Hashish functioned in nineteenth-century France as an important component of this reductive conception of the Islamic world as a space of barbarism and mass lunacy, and, as we have seen in the works of Desgenettes, Virey, Chaumeton, Dorvault, and Aubert-Roche, ideas about the biological classification and pharmaceutical properties of *Cannabis indica* and its byproduct hashish likewise functioned as lines of demarcation between the civilized Occident and the barbaric Orient. Aubert-Roche used this Orientalized reading of hashish to justify his anticontagionist position on the plague and his corresponding use of hashish as a treatment against it. Here we see clear evidence that medicalized hashish played a major role in mid-nineteenth-century medical debates about, and treatments of, epidemic diseases, and much of the logic driving this inclusion was built on an Orientalized understanding of hashish's psychotropic effects on the central nervous system.

Dawamesk's journey through French medicine in the 1840s did not

begin and end with Aubert-Roche as numerous pharmacists and physicians quickly expanded on his idea that hashish, this “innately Oriental drug which causes one to lose reason and experience all sorts of extravagances,” could successfully treat numerous diseases of the central nervous system. The popularity of anticontagionism in French medicine at this time certainly accounts for some of this continued interest in hashish, particularly as a treatment against the plague and cholera. However, the contemporaneous rise of Christian Friedrich Samuel Hahnemann’s (1755–1843) theories of homeopathy helps explain why French psychiatrists, most notably Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, started viewing the “extravagances” caused by dawamesk as a state of temporary insanity that provided physicians a personal glimpse into the mind of the insane and maybe even a pharmaceutical cure for insanity itself.⁷⁸

In the 1790s and early 1800s, Samuel Hahnemann, who hailed from the German town of Meissen in the Kingdom of Saxony, published several influential treatises on what he called “simile-based therapy,” which involved the “permanent replacement” of one disease by another with similar presenting symptoms. He was first convinced of the principle in the 1790s when he observed that measles often cured chronic skin rashes. This led him to hypothesize that certain chemical agents might prove beneficial as medical treatments for naturally occurring diseases that shared similar symptom profiles. For example, Hahnemann believed that the intoxication caused by belladonna resembled the symptoms of scarlet fever and thus that a medicine made from diluted belladonna could combat the symptoms of the disease. He saw similar links between quinine and malaria and arsenic and cholera. As French historians Maurice Bariety and Jacques Poulet detailed in their 1969 study, Hahnemann’s ideas gained considerable traction in French medical circles during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1832 there were only five practising homeopaths in France, but this number rose to twenty-three the following year, to fifty-two in 1835, and to more than one hundred in Paris and 350 in the rest of France by 1860.⁷⁹ Though Moreau does not cite Hahnemann in his seminal work *Du hachisch et de l’aliénation mentale: Études psychologiques* (1845), it is clear that the ideas of homeopathy permeated Moreau’s understanding of how to treat mental illness. “To comprehend the ravings of a madman, it is necessary to have raved oneself, but without having lost the awareness of one’s madness,” Moreau argued, and “there is not a single, elementary manifestation of mental illness that cannot be found in the mental changes

caused by hashish.”⁸⁰ Much as his personal friend and colleague Aubert-Roche did with hashish vis-à-vis his anticontagionist diagnosis of the plague, Moreau used an Orientalized understanding of hashish’s psychotropic effects to underpin his medical theories, in this case that the intoxication produced by hashish produced a temporary state of insanity that could be experienced and studied by the psychologist and that, based on the logic of simile-based therapy, this intoxicant could also be used to treat naturally occurring mental illness in patients. After his return from his tour of the Levant in 1840, Moreau set about testing his psychotomimetic theories by using dawamesk, often supplied by Aubert-Roche or made from *Cannabis indica* grown at Hôpital La Bicêtre in the south of Paris, in the treatment of the mentally ill under his care.

Of all the physicians who experimented with and wrote about dawamesk at this time, both inside and outside France, Jacques Joseph Moreau de Tours is by far the most well known today.⁸¹ Historians of French pharmacy and psychology remember Moreau as one of the first physicians to seriously consider mental illness in terms of psychopathology, that is, as a disease with interconnected psychological, biological, environmental, and social causes and dynamics.⁸² And his work with hashish and other intoxicants in the treatment of mental disorders understood in this psychopathological context is considered by historians of medicine on both sides of the Atlantic to be an originator in the field psychopharmacology.⁸³ As the next chapter discusses in detail, it was Moreau’s connections to the 1840s art and literary scene in Paris via Théophile Gautier (1811–72) and the infamous Club des Hachichins that forever affixed his name to the mythologized history of hashish in nineteenth-century France.⁸⁴ Between 1843 and 1849, Moreau and several of his colleagues, including on occasion Aubert-Roche, whose connections in Egypt supplied the evenings’ intoxicants, organized semi-monthly gatherings at the Hôtel de Lauzun on the Île Saint-Louis in the middle of Paris, where an invited group of medical students, doctors, artists, authors, musicians, and select members of high society took dawamesk while Moreau managed and observed the unfolding spectacle.⁸⁵ Gautier wrote several pieces in the French press between 1843 and 1846 that poetically captured the tenor of these evenings and immortalized Moreau in French popular culture as the “radiant” and “enthusiastic” doctor who handed Gautier a morsel of dawamesk and said, “This will be deducted from your portion of paradise.”⁸⁶ Much like Moreau, Aubert-Roche, Dorvault,

Chaumeton, and Virey, Gautier framed the consumption of hashish in decidedly romanticized terms as a temporary journey, a “voyage en chambre,” into the primordial Oriental mentality and “artificial paradise” of the Orient, all while sitting in the genteel comforts of a Parisian apartment along the Seine. “The green paste which the doctor had just distributed to us,” Gautier wrote,

was precisely the same as the old man of the Mountain forced upon his fanatics, making them believe he was invincible and had at his disposition the paradise of Muhammad and virgins of all types.

This [green paste] is called hashish, from which comes Hachichin, “eater of hashish” and root of the word “assassin,” whose ferocious meaning is perfectly explained by the sanguinary habits of the fanatics that served the Old Man of the Mountain. Surely, the people who saw me leave my house at the hour when simple mortals eat their breakfast did not suspect that I was going to Île Saint-Louis, a virtuous and patriarchal place, to consume a strange dish that several centuries ago was used as a means of excitation by an imposter Sheik to push his devotees to murder. Nothing in my perfectly bourgeois outfit could have outed me as a suspect of this excess Orientalism; I rather looked like a nephew going to dinner at his auntie’s house than a believer in the paradise of Muhammad.⁸⁷

Gautier framed his experiences with dawamesk and the activities of Moreau’s Club des Hachichins as a romantic act of escaping the demands of modern Paris and Western, bourgeois gentility and stepping into the untamed mental landscape of the Orient and the fabled Islamic Assassins.⁸⁸

The intoxication produced by dawamesk served as the “means of excitation” that drove this metamorphosis in users, allowing them to “play Oriental” and consequently gain a greater understanding of their, as Moreau put it, “primordial fact and fundamental source of all delirium.” In Gautier’s romanticized telling of the Club des Hachichins, which has served since the 1840s as a key blaze in the circuitous history of cannabis in nineteenth-century France, Moreau reductively appears as the Old Man of Île Saint-Louis, an updated and Francofied version of the leader of the Assassins who grants select Parisians willing to risk a descent into insanity access to an artificial paradise right along the Seine. As I show in the following chapter, this “Dr X” and “Old Man of Île Saint-Louis” persona, first crafted by Gautier and later concretized by Baudelaire, came to

overshadow Moreau's quite scientific, concerted, and sometimes successful efforts to understand and cure insanity with hashish. This Orientalized imagery of hashish, which appeared in dozens of works authored by the biggest names of mid-century French Romanticism, fed into the movement to de-medicalize and criminalize hashish in the French Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁹

COMPETING CLAIMS: THE GASTINEL AFFAIR AND THE PARIS CHOLERA OUTBREAK
OF 1849

Before this push to de-medicalize and criminalize hashish emerged and gained momentum in France in the 1850s, and before Moreau was mythologized as Dr X, viceroy of the Orient-sur-Seine, hashish experienced a roughly five-year period of considerable credibility in French science and medicine, a popularity stimulated by Moreau's publication of *Du hachisch et de l'aliénation mentale* in 1845.⁹⁰ Over the course of the next five years, nearly one hundred publications on hashish appeared in French medical and scientific journals, and numerous pharmacists and physicians, such as François Antoine Lallemand, Antoine Liautaud, and Edmond de Courtive, even focused their doctoral theses on the subject of hashish and its chemical and psychotropic properties.⁹¹ This surge in interest in large part reflected the French medical community's general acceptance of hashish as a legitimate medication and a further attempt, particularly by pharmacists, to refine and standardize hashish-based medicines to ensure consistent dosage and effects. Medical practitioners who worked with dawamesk during the 1830s and early 1840s, including both Moreau and Aubert-Roche, routinely complained about the inability to standardize doses due to the extreme variety in potencies of cannabis plants and to the fact that dawamesk exported from North Africa was commonly adulterated with other intoxicants, including opium, *Datura*, and powder of cantharides, better known as Spanish Fly.⁹² During the second half of the 1840s, French pharmacists practising in North Africa and in Paris simultaneously worked to isolate the active ingredient in hashish and, from it, to create a tincture guaranteed in both dosage and effect.

As previously discussed, this push to improve and standardize hashish tincture first emerged in the British Empire in the works of the Smith brothers in Edinburgh and William O'Shaughnessy in Calcutta. By 1847, French pharmacists caught up to their colleagues across the Channel, and soon after the appearance of a series of translations of the works of Smith and Smith and O'Shaughnessy in French medical journals in the summer

of 1847, the *Bulletin de l'Académie nationale de médecine* reported the following February that Joseph-Bernard Gastinel sent a letter in October 1847 to the French consulate in Cairo in which he claimed to have discovered the active alkaloid in cannabis and, from it, invented a new hashish tincture.⁹³ The consulate in Cairo forwarded the letter to the Académie Nationale de Médecine in Paris to verify Gastinel's claims, and the Académie held a hearing on the matter in January 1848 and published its findings the following February. In the letter Gastinel claimed that he had isolated the active principle in hashish in a vegetable alkali and that his tincture made from this alkali was so strong that only one to two decigrams (one hundred to two hundred milligrams) were needed to produce the desired effects. However, the Académie Nationale de Médecine, citing insufficient evidence and lack of originality, rejected Gastinel's claim to be the first to invent hashish tincture. "In England," it argued, "churrus, hashish, alcohol extracts, pure resin, volatile oil, all have already undergone numerous experiments. Has M. Gastinel advanced this state of research? We do not see it." Moreover, Gastinel did not provide a single sample of the isolated alkaloid or his tincture to the French consulate in Cairo or to the Académie, giving them only his word on which to base their approval of his supposed discovery: "M. Gastinel, having confined himself to only words and giving no evidence, cannot secure the right to priority in this case."⁹⁴

As we see will see, Gastinel did not let the matter drop with this initial rejection by the Académie in February 1848. Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, also known as Gastinel Pacha, was a proud and accomplished pharmacist. He apprenticed at the famous Gay Pharmacy in Draguignan, and after moving on and achieving acclaim as an intern at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris, the French government selected Gastinel to serve as chief pharmacist on an official military envoy to Muhammad Ali's Egypt in 1835.⁹⁵ During his first years in Cairo, Gastinel worked closely with fellow expatriate Clot-Bey, who quickly appointed him to the official posts of chief pharmacist and lecturer at the Cairo Military Instruction Hospital. In 1837, Gastinel fell seriously ill when his envoy accompanied Pacha's troops on an expedition against the Ottomans in Syria, and this led him to resign his positions and open a private pharmacy practice in Cairo in 1841, which he operated until selling it in 1858. "Taking advantage of the rare leisure that the service of his pharmacy left him," Gastinel's obituary from the *Revue d'Égypte* reads, "he began to study the drug called 'hashish' whose

physiological properties are so remarkable. By isolating the active ingredient intended to provide new resources for therapeutics, his research can be deemed successful.”⁹⁶ Thus, by the early 1840s, Gastinel had begun his experimentations with hashish and likely had offered hashish tinctures at his pharmacy in Cairo throughout the decade. So, after reading in the June 1848 issue of the *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques et de pharmacologie* that an upstart pharmacist working with Moreau’s at Bicêtre had just published a much acclaimed medical dissertation on hashish and in it claimed to be the “first in France” to isolate the active ingredient and distill an effective tincture, Gastinel sent two colleagues to Paris armed with samples of his tincture, which he called *haschischine*, to argue his case in front of the Académie.⁹⁷

Two years before the outbreak of this conflict, what the French medical journals labelled the “L’affaire Gastinel,” Edmond de Courtive was just a lowly pharmacy student studying at the École Spéciale de Pharmacie in Paris and working part-time at its central pharmacy, which supplied the area’s hospitals, including Bicêtre, where, since 1841, Moreau had been using hashish to experiment on his mentally ill patients. As de Courtive reported in the opening pages of his thesis, it was Moreau’s work at Bicêtre and his 1845 publication of *Du hachisch et l’aliénation mentale* that first convinced him of the “truly extraordinary nature of hashish.” It was also Moreau who personally asked de Courtive in the spring of 1847 to make a preparation of hashish “much easier and safer to administer” than the “often adulterated” dawamesk shipped from North Africa.⁹⁸ So through the summer and fall of 1847 de Courtive set about the task of concocting various tinctures and testing them on animals, friends and fellow colleagues, and himself. He reported that he also experimented with dawamesk procured from Constantinople and with madjoun (essentially the same as dawamesk) from Algeria so that he could better compare the effects of adulterated exotic hashish with those of his purer tincture. During one such “auto-experience” with dawamesk, de Courtive reported having a “waking-dream” in which he attended his soutenance, or thesis defence, intoxicated on hashish as a means, of course, of demonstrating the drug’s “marvels.” Before morphing into lizards (and one into a glass orb), his committee members expressed outrage at his assertions but were soon bowled over by the rush of students and international scholars who entered the hall to express their congratulations on his findings and his “great contribution to humanity.” After the European admirers rushed the hall a

group Chinese entered to “acknowledge that opium has produced nothing so marvelous as hashish. The Turks that follow are at bay, robbed of their belief, their life, their blood. And one of them, Koran in hand, reads a few verses that make the most unbridled admirers shrink from terror!”⁹⁹

In the end, de Courtive returned to reality and successfully (and one assumes soberly and with much less fanfare) defended his thesis at the *École Spéciale de Pharmacie de Paris* on 11 April 1848, and the Parisian printer Edouard Bautreche published the work by early May.¹⁰⁰ The fifty-six-page study, entitled *Haschisch: Étude historique, chimique et physiologique* and dedicated in part to Moreau, is steeped in the Orientalist rhetoric and imagery common to medical discourse on hashish in 1840s France and the West in general. From the cover image featuring a smoking Genie lamp to the above-mentioned passage involving the shrieking Turk to a chapter on the “History of the Hachichins” sourced entirely from the works of Marco Polo and Silvestre de Sacy, it is clear throughout the study that de Courtive understands hashish as a dangerous and exotic intoxicant whose provenance is the darkest elements of the Muslim world. In fact, de Courtive explicitly framed his experiments with hashish as a concerted attempt to de-Orientalize the drug and to fully “naturalize” cannabis in France as a legitimate source of medicine. This demanded that de Courtive walk a fine line and simultaneously concede to his readers the accepted association between hashish and savage Muslim assassins *and* convince them that this powerful substance, once refined and tamed by pharmaceutical chemistry, could prove useful in the fight against disease. Put another way, de Courtive had to rebrand and repackage, dare I say sanitize and civilize, hashish to better fit the French pharmaceutical market. “Whatever may be of the Hachichins,” de Courtive wrote,

of which the Europeans have borrowed the word to express treachery, the Orient, cherishing liberty as much as liberality, has always sympathized with heroes. None equals its love for great poets. If the era of the Hachichins is a stain to the memory of the peoples of these countries, they will always have the glory of having been the cradle of humanity. They have nothing to envy in their neighbours, who also have their ugliness and their beauty. If the Koran is the mirror of Islamism, the Gospel is that of Catholicism, and the power and jealousy of both religions ensures that they can neither fear nor destroy each other. I now pass to the general effects of exotic hashish on the animal economy. They

differ from those caused by either the fat extract prepared in France or the dawamesk in any form, which almost always gives rise to tetanic accidents produced by the nux vomica mixed with it. It is easy to conceive how important it is not to introduce into therapeutics suspicious preparations, as I have said, which are not well known, and which still include cantharides, opium, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, ginger, etc. Let us leave the abuse of these pernicious stimulants to the Oriental appetites. But medicine must willingly accept with passion pure hashish. I thus seek to naturalize *Cannabis indica* among us, without prejudice to the less psychoactive but still precious *Cannabis sativa*, as these substances can render great services to humanity.¹⁰¹

With this passage de Courtive attempted to establish in his French and European readers a willingness to accept and incorporate a particular element of Oriental culture – namely, hashish – into their own. To facilitate the acceptance, de Courtive reminded his readers that many great human achievements originated in the ancient Orient and that, much like Christendom, the Muslim world historically possessed both splendour and squalor, heroes and villains. De Courtive assured his readers that pharmaceutical science (under his careful hand, of course) could transform the dangerous, exotic properties of hashish into a safe medication, thus allowing for its easy adoption by French and Western medical practitioners. For de Courtive, hashish had yet to be fully accepted in France because dawamesk, the most potent and used form of hashish at that time, was often “adulterated” with other intoxicants (“cantharides, opium, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, etc.”) by the “Orientals” who sold it to French expatriates such as Aubert-Roche in North Africa, who then exported the drug to pharmacies in Paris. This adulteration, de Courtive argued, at best made it impossible to standardize doses or to predict effects in patients and at worst produced violent bouts of hallucination and mania reflective of the more savage aspects of hashish’s Oriental lineage. “But chemistry,” he argued, “has freed us from this poor inheritance of Arab medicine.”¹⁰²

In his thesis de Courtive claimed to have employed the tools of pharmaceutical chemistry to isolate the active chemical agent in cannabis and from it produce a safe and effective tincture so concentrated that only fifty to one hundred milligrams were needed to produce psychotropic effects. In his chapter on his “Laboratory Experiments,” de Courtive

outlined how his research into the chemistry of hashish attempted to improve tinctures first developed in the British Empire during the 1830s and early 1840s, namely, those of the Smith brothers in Edinburgh and O'Shaughnessy and Robertson in Calcutta. He even claimed to have asked M. Pelletier to translate the Smith brothers' tincture formula for the *Journal de pharmacie et de chimie* in the spring of 1847, paragraph-long excerpts of which de Courtive included in his own work. Instead of using sulphuric acid to unlock the active ingredient in cannabis as the Smiths had done, de Courtive preferred to take a mixture of one hundred grams of pulverized cannabis leaves and five hundred grams of alcohol solution (type and per cent unspecified, but likely ethanol) and distill that mixture four times, a process he called "successive digestions."¹⁰³ By successively heating the solution in a sand bath at eighty degrees Centigrade (176 degrees Fahrenheit) for three hours and condensing the resulting vapour, de Courtive (correctly, it turns out) isolated and activated the psychotropic agent in cannabis in an alcohol tincture he called "cannabine" after that of the Smiths.¹⁰⁴ Though he did not know the specific chemistry of his tincture's psychoactive agent, what we know today as THC, de Courtive correctly deduced that it resided in the resinous material covering the female cannabis plants, particularly those grown in hotter climates, and could be released and dissolved into alcohol via distillation. What is so fascinating about these competing methods of the Smith brothers (isomerization via sulphuric acid) and de Courtive (decarboxylation via distillation) is that both successfully activated and isolated the psychoactive agent of cannabis in an alcohol solution and both methods are still used today in the manufacture of cannabis-based medications and recreational products.¹⁰⁵ In the end, de Courtive preferred his method and product, which he described as a "golden pill" compared to the "rancid and repulsive" tincture produced by the Smiths' sulphuric method. He claimed that his process of distillation was more efficacious, producing on average between nine grams of final product from one hundred grams of raw material compared to the six grams of the Smiths. He even asserted that his process of "successive digestion" was so effective that it could produce a psychoactive cannabine, though much less potent, from *C. sativa* grown traditionally in France for hemp.¹⁰⁶

On this last point, de Courtive went against the grain of established botany and argued that *C. sativa* and *C. indica* were in reality the same plant species and that both produced psychoactive resin, just in varying

degrees because of their varying *terroirs*. “*C. indica* seems to me to be only a variety of our common hemp, despite what M. de Lamarck says, who sees the plants’ different organizations and tissues and refuses the idea that intoxication can be produced from hashish from *C. sativa*. I have carefully observed these two cannabis types,” de Courtive continued, “and in all their development I have only noticed the *C. indica* is shorter, of a darker green, more glaucous, its leaflets narrower and serrated a greater number of times, and if its activity is more pronounced, it must be attributed to its climate, because I affirm a similar activity but of a much lower degree in *C. sativa*.”¹⁰⁷ To prove this point, he used five different varieties of cannabis during his experiments, including (1) *C. indica* from Algeria (supplied by a Dr Foley), (2) *C. indica* grown at La Bicêtre (presumably by Moreau) from seeds provided by M. Germelle, chief gardener of the École Spéciale de Pharmacie de Paris, (3) *C. indica* grown in the gardens of the central pharmacy with seeds from Algeria (supplied by Foley), (4) *C. sativa* grown in Bourgogne, and (5) *C. sativa* grown by Moreau at his private residence in Ivry-sur-Seine from seeds sent from Italy. After preparing tinctures from each of the samples and testing them on himself and others, de Courtive concluded that cannabis grown in arid southern climates produced a more potent resin than cannabis grown in the more temperate climates of Europe. He found that his tinctures made from the Algerian plants were most potent, followed by those made from the Italian-grown strains in Moreau’s garden at Ivry, while solutions derived from plants native to France and grown in and around Paris and Bourgogne came in a distant but notable third. In order to naturalize cannabis as a legitimate medicine in France, de Courtive believed it necessary to dispel the biological bifurcation of cannabis into two distinct species. This biological distinction presented a challenge to de Courtive’s efforts to “naturalize” cannabis in French medicine because it fashioned an epistemological rift in the minds of French doctors and patients that firmly posited cannabis as medicine on the wrong side of the Occident/Orient civilizational divide. By demonstrating with his process of distillation that *C. sativa* also contained psychotropic properties, de Courtive hoped to convince his Western readers that the botanical building blocks of this wonder drug had been present in France all along. From this perspective *C. indica* was simply a more potent form of the same plant grown in the warmer climates of the Orient that could be safely and successively excised from the gangrenous limbs of Oriental culture and used to create a viable

subculture via Western pharmaceutical science that could produce effective medications for French and Western markets.

Though de Courtive would ultimately fail in his efforts to naturalize hashish as medicine in nineteenth-century France, his ideas about hashish resonated loudly in 1848 for many French pharmacists and physicians as nearly two dozen mostly favourable reviews of de Courtive's thesis appeared in French medical journals by the end of the year.¹⁰⁸ Many reviewers praised de Courtive for being the "first in France" to tame the exotic properties of hashish and, through pharmaceutical science, render them useful to Western medicine. The Académie de Médecine, Académie des Sciences, and the Société de Pharmacie, all of Paris, even invited de Courtive to give lectures on his research in late April and May of 1848, all of which were heavily attended and discussed in subsequent publications and meeting minutes.¹⁰⁹ M. Al. Henrot, pharmacist and member of the Academy of Reims, captured this mostly favourable response to de Courtive's work in his review from January 1849: "All of you, gentlemen, have heard of the remarkable properties of hashish; I ask you, however, to familiarize yourself with the thesis of M. de Courtive, first because it is an innovative and conscientious work, and secondly because the truly marvelous effects of hashish excite the curiosity of learned peoples across the world, and deserve the serious attention of the physiologist."¹¹⁰

Not all reviews of de Courtive's work were as optimistic or congratulatory. Chief pharmacist at Hôpital Saint-Louis in Paris, François Foy, for example, presented a paper at the 12 April 1848 meeting of the Société de Pharmacie de Paris arguing against de Courtive's claim that the *C. sativa* native to France contained psychotropic properties.¹¹¹ Psychologist H. Rech and pharmacist Apollinaire Bouchardat both published responses that questioned the scientific rigour of de Courtive's (as well as Moreau's) research and warned of cases of "hashish poisoning" and "accidents in France occasioned by hashish" that had been plaguing the country since the drug's recent rise in popularity during the 1840s.¹¹² Starting in the late 1840s, these often sensationalized warnings about hashish poisoning reflected a minor but steadily growing opinion among French physicians, particularly among psychologists working in French Algeria, that hashish posed a serious threat to the health and social cohesion of the French imperial nation-state.

The most vociferous and resonant critique of de Courtive's study came from the French pharmacist from Cairo, Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, who did

not question the safety or efficacy of medicalized hashish but did challenge de Courtive's claims to be the first in France to study, isolate, and properly medicalize the intoxicant. As previously discussed, Gastinel had been working with hashish in Cairo since the early 1840s and had unsuccessfully applied in the fall of 1847 to the Académie de Médecine for the legal right of priority over a hashish tincture he produced via distillation in his pharmacy in Cairo. Within months of having his claim refused by the Académie, Gastinel read the mostly favourable reviews of de Courtive's research in the May and June editions of the Parisian medical journals, which he had sent to him monthly from Marseilles, and could not stand idly by as someone else took credit for his discovery. So, in July 1848 Gastinel sent a letter directly to the Académie in Paris arguing his case. "I have just read in the June issue of the *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques et de pharmacologie* an extract of a thesis presented by M. de Courtive at the School of Pharmacy. As the author employs roughly the same procedure as I do to obtain the active property," he continued,

I think it necessary to demand from the Academy a priority which I think was sufficiently established, for it has been about a year since my discovery was registered here at the Consulate of France and transmitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where it could be found if necessary ... Knowing for a long time the powerful action which hashish exercises over the nervous system, I foresaw the whole course which medicine might derive from it in the treatment of severe neuroses; But as I had no facts to indicate in my original brief, I did not insist on its application, but merely pointed out a few cases of healing of tetanus obtained in India. The observation which I am sending you today gives me the conviction that hashish, or rather its active principle, can be administered successfully in all cases of serious nervous affections. I have a new fact to report. You know, no doubt, that cholera is wreaking havoc here in Cairo and in many other cities of Egypt. Knowing, according to certain journals, that in India hashish was sometimes given successfully against cholera, I have communicated it, from the invasion of the epidemic, to several physicians who hastened to make use of the active principle of hashish. I can report several cases of healing ascertained through this new agent. But the most remarkable case I know of is that of Dr. Willemin, a medical physician, who was

nearly lost to cholera. He was torn from death by the beneficent reaction of the active principle of hashish, a reaction which probably would not have occurred without this precious excitant. As Dr. Willemin now travels to Paris to restore his health, I think he will communicate to the Academy the facts of his illness and treatment.¹¹³

When Alexandre Willemin (1818–90) arrived in Paris in mid-October to argue Gastinel’s case and personally testify that hashish tincture cured cholera, he brought numerous hashish resins, pills, lozenges, and tinctures (what Gastinel branded *haschischine*) for the Académie to test and, Gastinel hoped, to use to revise its ruling concerning his claim over the upstart de Courtive.¹¹⁴ In April 1847, France’s Orleanist government paid Willemin ten thousand francs to go to Cairo and study the recent plague outbreaks there.¹¹⁵ During this well-attended and much-discussed testimony at the Académie de Médecine on 17 October 1848, Willemin detailed the cholera outbreak he witnessed in Egypt and recounted how he became afflicted with the disease during his ten-month stay in Cairo but then was “cured” after receiving hashish tincture from Gastinel.¹¹⁶ Willemin shared Gastinel’s anticontagionist position on the plague, believing it to be a nervous system disease transmitted to humans via miasmas released in unhygienic and poorly aerated areas. And Willemin likewise was convinced that Gastinel’s hashish tincture, *haschischine*, successfully reversed the damage cholera had done to his central nervous system, ultimately saving his life. “I thus believe,” Willemin concluded, “that of all the remedies proposed against cholera there are none more effective than the active principle of *Cannabis indica*.”¹¹⁷

Convinced by Willemin’s testimony to hashish’s efficacy against cholera, the Académie de Médecine recommended the drug to the Commission du cholera, first created by the Orleanist government during the outbreak of 1832, which resulted in the death of nearly eighteen thousand Parisians.¹¹⁸ Their recommendation, recorded in the *Bulletin* from October 1848, did not mention Gastinel’s renewed claims against de Courtive, indicating that the Académie stood by its ruling from February. The *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques et de pharmacologie* even published an *erratum* that same month, officially voiding Gastinel’s claim and upholding de Courtive’s right to priority to the “perfecting of cannabine in France.”¹¹⁹ The Gastinel Affair and the resulting testimony of Willemin did convince the Académie and, consequently, numerous public

health practitioners and policy-makers in Paris to adopt hashish tincture as a treatment against cholera in metropolitan France. And the timing of this adoption of medicalized hashish by French practitioners must have seemed extraordinarily prescient when the first cases of cholera were reported in the outskirts of Paris only a month later, in December.

Unlike the plague, which was a disease from antiquity that first emerged in the Mediterranean basin during the sixth century AD, cholera was a modern disease engendered by the imperial and industrial dynamics of the nineteenth century.¹²⁰ Though arguably present before the nineteenth century, the disease only emerged in epidemic proportions in the 1800s, first in British India near Calcutta in 1817 and from there spreading to Asia and Africa by 1823, to Europe by 1829, to the Atlantic World by 1832, and finally to the Pacific coast by 1834. This rapid global diffusion, especially during the 1840s, is explained by the contemporaneous spread of European, particularly British and French, empires in Asia and North Africa and the simultaneous growth of railways and new developments in steam-powered vessels, both of which allowed the relatively fragile bacterium that causes the disease to more quickly spread from continent to continent.¹²¹ Paris, at that time the undisputed epicentre of medicine and public health in Western Europe, managed to avoid an outbreak of this new imperial disease until the spring of 1832. However, within six months of this first case's appearing in late March, nearly eighteen thousand Parisians and 100,000 people throughout France succumbed to "cholera morbus," often called the "blue fear" by the French because of the disease's tendency to produce a bluing of the skin, called cyanosis, due to dehydration and the stagnation of blood in the venous vessels.¹²²

During the 1830s and 1840s, a majority of physicians in France and Europe believed that cholera was not contagious, mostly because doctors treating those afflicted with the disease rarely became ill themselves.¹²³ Instead, most subscribed to a range of anticontagionist or "transmissionist" theories, all of which fundamentally viewed cholera as a disease of the central nervous system and gastro-intestinal system generated by miasmas produced naturally and exacerbated by ways of living deemed unhygienic and uncivilized. Though they were unaware at that time that cholera was an infection caused by the water-borne bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*, which was not discovered by German physician and bacteriologist Robert Koch until 1883, they correctly observed that the disease routinely surfaced in overcrowded urban areas with poor sewage and sanitation and often spread

near water. Without knowledge of bacteriology, French physicians often explained higher rates of cholera outbreak among the urban impoverished with social and racial stereotypes and thus as the natural byproduct of inborn incivility and poor hygiene among certain ethnic groups and social classes.¹²⁴ French physician Auguste Ambroise Tardieu captured this in his 1849 study of the cholera epidemic in Paris: “The way of life, and especially a poorly directed diet, should be counted among the most predisposing causes of epidemic cholera.” Tardieu pointed specifically to Muslims and the common poor as prime examples. “The example of Muslims makes clear this decided influence of malnutrition, and this year again in Constantinople there has been an upsurge in the epidemic of cholera in the time of Ramadan, where religion commands an absolute and prolonged fast.” And “nothing predisposes one more to the sufferings of cholera than the habit of drunkenness often engendered by idleness.”¹²⁵ Parisian physician Alexandre-Auguste Millet shared this sentiment in his 1851 study *Du choléra-morbus épidémique*. “The unhappiest population is almost always the most abused by cholera,” he wrote. “In fact, the quarters inhabited by the poorer classes are generally low, damp, and unclean; The streets are narrow, often tortuous; The dwellings dark and almost always poorly ventilated. The miasmas, once suspended in the atmosphere of these quarters, will necessarily stay much longer than in the quarters pierced with broad streets, and their prolonged stay will necessarily increase the chances of absorption.”¹²⁶

When cholera re-emerged in France in late December of 1848, physicians and pharmacists in Paris followed Willemin’s recommendation and used hashish tincture to treat the nearly thirteen thousand French men, women, and children (most of them from the city’s southeast slums) who had contracted the disease by April.¹²⁷ The monthly coverage of the outbreak in the April edition of *L’Abeille médicale* captured this general push to prescribe hashish, which was engendered by Willemin’s testimony: “We do not have to speak about the use of hashish and cannabine tincture in the treatment of cholera. The presentation of Mr. Willemin is still present in all of our minds. We all shared the hope to which this speech gave rise. The active principle of *Cannabis indica* is a special energetic stimulant of the brain, which is understood to serve its purpose in remedying this general prostration which results from the grave conditions of cholera morbus ... Therefore, the use of cannabine should be tried, and soon will we have no doubt as to its fixed value.”¹²⁸ Convinced

that hashish could excite the nervous system into action against the damaging effects of cholera, numerous doctors in Paris, including Legroux at Hôpital Beaujon, François Foy at Hôpital Saint-Louis, Barth at Hôpital Salpêtrière, and Moreau at Hôpital La Bicêtre, prescribed hashish tincture to combat the disease during the early stages of the epidemic in January and February 1849.¹²⁹ By March the “blue death” had killed nearly sixty-five hundred people in Paris, roughly 50 per cent of those who became infected, and Parisian medical journals reported that hashish tincture – referred to interchangeably as “haschischine” and “cannabine” – produced inconclusive results at best.¹³⁰ Well-known pharmacist François Dorvault wrote in March 1849 that, “during the invasion of this terrible scourge in Paris, four months ago, some doctors of the hospitals tried to use this substance according to the indications of Willemin. As the results obtained were inconclusive, haschischine was almost entirely put aside.”¹³¹ At the end of May, Gastinel published a response to Dorvault’s claims that tinctures prepared according to his recipe were ineffective, and Gastinel blamed their unsatisfying results on the weakness of their doses. Gastinel argued that Dorvault and other Parisian pharmacists prepared a tincture with one grain (64.8 milligrams) of concentrated hashish resin per ten gouttes (drops) of alcohol, when they should have prepared the tincture with twice the amount of concentrated resin.¹³² Dorvault countered in an article published in June that he and other Parisian pharmacists had simply followed the recipe given them by Gastinel’s associate and key witness, Willemin, during his testimony to the Académie de Médecine the previous October.¹³³ Not missing a beat, Willemin penned a letter from Cairo in late June to *L’Union médicale* that ignored the debate over dosages and instead stressed his personal conviction that hashish tincture had cured him of cholera. “Excuse my insistence, but know this, Monsieur le rédacteur. I believe myself indebted for life to this energetic substance; And in addition to my experience, I observed numerous cases, which also seemed destined for death at the beginning of the epidemic, cured after taking doses of this drug. Forgetfulness would therefore be ingratitude on my part: perhaps for my colleagues in Paris, this is not sufficient justification.”¹³⁴

Despite his sincere conviction, Willemin was wrong. At any concentration hashish tincture did little to combat the bacterial infection responsible for the blue death, which, by the time the epidemic subsided in late October, had killed twenty thousand in Paris, or about 2 per cent of the

city's population.¹³⁵ The cannabinoids in the tinctures certainly helped alleviate the symptoms of cholera, particularly the severe cramping brought on by rapid dehydration. However, hashish was just as ineffective against the disease itself as were the many other treatments used by medical practitioners at that time, such as sea salt solutions, ammonia, chloroform, electricity, silver nitrate, mercury, and carbon trichloride. Thus, any correlation made between hashish tinctures and recovered cholera patients (as well as recovered plague patients) was illusory and based on two faulty premises – the false association of hashish and Oriental madness and the flawed medical theories of anticontagionism peppered with homeopathy. Put another way, numerous French doctors practising in the 1840s believed that the intoxication produced by hashish stimulated the central nervous system to such a degree that it could, on the one hand, produce a state of temporary insanity (understood by many as a state of temporarily *being* a violent Muslim) that could be studied and medicalized against mental illness, and, on the other, form the basis of a medication capable of successfully combatting the plague and cholera, which many physicians at that time believed were nervous system diseases produced by deadly miasmas.

CONCLUSION: THE FALL OF THE “HEROIC REMEDY”

As historians Catherine Kudlick and E.A. Heaman have detailed, the cholera epidemic of 1849 marked the definitive beginning of the end for anti-contagionism in French medicine as physicians and public health officials in the short-lived Second Republic, and then throughout the reign of Louis Napoleon III, increasingly shifted their position on cholera towards, and gradually realigned their treatments and policies with, contagionist ideas.¹³⁶ Even before the groundbreaking research of John Snow, Louis Pasteur, and Robert Koch solidified this shift to the germ theory of medicine in subsequent decades, physicians working in France during the immediate aftermath of the cholera epidemic of 1849 expressed frustration that their anticontagionist diagnoses and corresponding simile-based therapies did nothing in the face of this new “Indian scourge.” Parisian physician Hector Chomet captured this frustration in his 1849 work *Le choléra-morbus: Ses causes, sa marche, ses symptômes et son traitement, d'après les faits observés en 1832 et 1849*. “What does this morbid principle consist of?” he wrote. “As was advanced in 1832, was it a swarm of microscopic animals fluttering in tight battalions and attacking individuals? Or does it reside in a miasma travelling in space, like clouds “carrying” deadly hail? Is the disease only a neurosis, or rather a general

disorder of the nervous system? This is what we do not know precisely, what we will probably never know! We are reduced to conjectures, forced to make hypotheses!”¹³⁷

This confusion over the origin and spread of cholera fed into a growing ambivalence in the 1850s concerning the efficacy of hashish tincture in the treatment of epidemic diseases. An article from the August 1851 edition of the *Bulletin général de thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale* captured this swift vacillation on medicalized hashish in France engendered by the inconclusive results of its use against cholera. “*Cannabis indica* has been tried in the treatment of several painful afflictions and a few nervous diseases. But the substance has yet to be applied with great precision or efficacy.”¹³⁸ Added confusion over competing brand names (Gastinel’s “haschischine” and de Courtive’s “cannabine”), debates over the biological classifications of cannabis, and the resulting inability to guarantee standardized doses and strengths all fed into this growing sense of ineffectiveness and imprecision concerning hashish as medicine. Some French pharmacists and physicians did continue to extol the virtues of the drug. For example, a physician named Liataud wrote in 1850 that hashish “offered a heroic remedy against illnesses for which there are no known cures.”¹³⁹ But the unsatisfying results of hashish tincture treatments against cholera in the epidemic of 1849, coupled with the shift in coming decades away from the anti-contagionist theories that underpinned the use of hashish against plague and cholera in the first place, soon left this “heroic remedy” in a tragic situation – that is, without real power or a real villain. Medicalized hashish was proven powerless against cholera and plague, and these villainous diseases, understood as products of toxic miasmas, themselves would soon be proven illusory. Therefore, the medical and pharmaceutical epistemologies that drove and justified the medicalization of hashish in the 1830s and 1840s gradually gave way in succeeding decades to new philosophies of medicine that significantly revised opinions on the medicinal value of cannabis and hashish. And, as the next chapter details, a new generation of physicians, particularly psychologists practising in France and French Algeria during the 1860s and 1870s, significantly contributed to the fall of medicalized hashish in France not only by arguing against the efficacy of the drug but also by developing medical diagnoses of “hashish poisoning” and “hashish-induced insanity” to explain mental illness among newly colonized subjects in North Africa.

Despite this eventual and lasting de-medicalization of hashish during

the second half of the nineteenth century, the brief but vibrant heyday of medicalized cannabis in 1840s France sheds light on the important intersections of intoxicants, imperialism, and the production of pharmaceutical and medical knowledge in modern French history. As we have seen, though, Orientalized ideas about hashish fashioned from the imperial experiences and imaginaries of French soldiers, scholars, pharmacists, and physicians underpinned the logic behind medicalizing the intoxicant and employing it in the fight against epidemic and mental diseases in the 1840s. Drawing from the work of Silvestre de Sacy, which etymologically linked hashish to the word “assassin” and thus to an acute and potent lunacy supposedly intrinsic to being an “Oriental,” French pharmacists and physicians believed the drug offered a valuable homeopathic remedy for diseases of the central nervous system. Though hashish tinctures proved ineffective against the plague and cholera, and the primary medical ideas that posited the use of hashish as medicine against these diseases were ultimately proven wrong, one should not dismiss as misadventure the fifteen plus years of research into and development of medicalized hashish by dozens of prominent French medical practitioners working in France and North Africa. Compared to current limitations on the availability of medicalized cannabis in France, the ubiquity and legitimacy of the drug in the mid-nineteenth century shows that Paris once occupied the centre of a trans-imperial network of medical practitioners, stretching from the United Kingdom and British India (Smith brothers and O’Shaughnessy) to Egypt (Aubert-Roche and Gastinel) to France (Moreau and de Courtive), that promoted hashish-based medications as an effective treatment against the era’s most feared and confounding diseases. So convinced was the French medical community of the efficacy of hashish that two French pharmacists, Gastinel and de Courtive, even argued over who first isolated the intoxicant’s psychoactive alkaloid and from it produced a pharmaceutical-grade tincture. And these debates, which produced Willemin’s testimony in October 1848, influenced practitioners in most of Paris’s major hospitals to prepare and use hashish tinctures to treat the cholera outbreak the following December. This general acceptance of hashish as medicine in 1840s France illuminates the central role of cannabis in prominent medical debates and treatments of the day and likewise reveals the important influence of pharmacists and physicians practising outside of metropolitan France, particularly in Egypt, on developments in medicine in France and throughout Europe.

“Empire of Hallucinations and Illusions”: De-medicalizing Hashish in
France, 1840–60

Madness is often the result of the prolonged use of this substance. The English traveller Madden, during his visits to Cairo’s hospitals, found fourteen lunatics, three of which had become so by the abuse of hashitt [hashish]. In addition to its intoxicating action on the brain, hashitt has a special property, well known to Orientals, which gives rise to serious accidents.

Alexandre Brière de Boismont (1837)

Men wish to create paradise through chemistry and fermented drinks, similar to how a maniac replaces solid furniture and real gardens by painting decorations on canvas and mounted to chassis ... Among the drugs most efficient in creating what I call the artificial ideal, leaving on one side liquors, which rapidly excite gross frenzy and lay flat all spiritual force, and the perfumes, whose excessive use, while rendering subtler man’s imagination, gradually wears out his senses; the two most energetic substances, the most convenient and handiest, are hashish and opium.

Charles Baudelaire (1861)

INTRODUCTION

On 9 November 1837, Marseilles’s popular daily newspaper, *La Sémaphore*, published a short piece about an incident earlier in the week involving four men who experimented with the drug “hatchy,” more often called hashish. According to the article, “four young men of our city, at their own risk and peril, experimented with hatchy (pronounced rhatchy), but their curiosity nearly failed them.”¹ After procuring dawamesk from a merchant from Alexandria cryptically called “M.R.,” the four men absconded to one of their country homes outside of the city and together ingested the drug with a cup of coffee, as was “Oriental custom.” Within a half hour they suffered “real symptoms of cerebral disorganization” and were gripped by “strange hallucinations.” One of the men, called “M.B.,” a “young man known for his expansive and sincere gaiety and strong constitution,” began to weep uncontrollably, while his colleague, “M.V.,” believed he had died and was a ghost at his own funeral. Overcome with grief, M.V. proceeded to shatter several crystal glasses and bottles of wine, forcing one of his fellow hashish-eaters, the aforementioned Alexandrian merchant who had procured the drug, to run to the nearest neighbour in

search of someone who could “master their fury” After several more hours the “bizarre fantasies” and “foolish extravagances” subsided, but “the young merchant from Alexandria, who had the thinnest layer of perception in the midst of the general disorder, bemoaned from the depths of his soul that he feared that they might have poisoned themselves for good.” In the end, it took “five or six” days for the men to recover from their hash-induced episode of lunacy, and M.V. “only escaped due to the eager care of Dr. Cauviere, who immediately bled him.”

This sensationalized account from *Le Sémaphore*, which was reprinted less than a week later in the Parisian *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, expressed a critical but minority opinion on hashish in France during the late 1830s and 1840s.² As the previous chapter details, these fifteen years or so marked a high point for hashish in French medicine as dozens of pharmacists and physicians practising in France and abroad increasingly extolled the virtues of the drug as a remedy for some of the era’s most frightening and deadly diseases, including insanity, plague, and cholera. As hashish rose to a position of pharmaceutical prominence during this time, a handful of physicians, scientists, journalists, and writers expressed the contrary opinion – that is, that the Oriental intoxicant offered no proven medicinal value and, in fact, only led to abuse, insanity, and antisocial and criminal behaviour. Sporadic reports of “accidents occasioned by hashish” and “cases of hashish poisoning” continued to appear throughout the peak hashish period in 1840s and 1850s France and only increased in number in subsequent decades.³

Medically speaking, this critical and minority opinion of hashish as a poison largely congealed around the writings of Alexandre Brière de Boismont (1797–1881), a prominent *aliéniste* from Montmartre who published an immediate response to the report of hashish poisoning in Marseilles in the 17 November edition of the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*. In his letter to the editor Boismont confirmed that “hashish has a special property, well known to the Orientals, that gives rise to serious accidents” and that “madness is often the consequence of prolonged use of this substance.”⁴ A close examination of the writings of Brière de Boismont reveals how his critiques of hashish flowed from his belief that mental illness was not solely a physiological phenomenon but also, and more often, a disorder of one’s moral and spiritual constitution, which existed, as Boismont put it, “denuded of the organs.”⁵ Boismont’s conception of insanity ran directly counter to that of Jacques-Joseph

Moreau de Tours, who understood mental illness as a physiological phenomenon rooted in the organic process of the brain understood as an organ, not as a scientifically repackaged soul, or what Boismont and fellow spiritualists called the *sens intime*, or “visceral sense.” This nineteenth-century medical debate between “physiologists” (Moreau and others who believed in the physical nature of insanity) and “psychologists” (Boismont and those who believed in the metaphysical nature of insanity) over the source of mental illness produced contrasting positions on the utility of hashish as a treatment in the fight against it.⁶ Moreau and his fellow physiologists believed insanity flowed from a “fundamental lesion” in the brain and that “simile-based therapies” such as hashish offered an effective research tool and potential remedy for disorders of the central nervous system. For their part, Boismont and his fellow psychologists believed in the spiritual and moral nature of insanity and understood mental illness as a disorder of thinking best conceptualized and treated with philosophical rather than physiological inquiry. Boismont thus believed that hashish provided no medicinal benefit, that it only caused users to act irrationally and violently, and that it should be legally prohibited throughout the French Empire. Much as in the contagionism/anticontagionism debate over the nature and spread of epidemic diseases, then, hashish played a prominent role in mid-nineteenth-century disputes in France over the nature and treatment of mental illness, and one’s personal medical philosophies often determined whether or not one supported the medicalization of hashish.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, hashish gradually lost the medicinal legitimacy it had enjoyed during its prime in 1840s France, appearing to French physicians by the 1880s, much as it had to Boismont, as a poison and threat to social order rather than as a remedy and tool for medical research. Though physiological interpretations of mental illness, as well as of disease more generally, came to dominate French medicine during the second half of the nineteenth century, earlier physiology-based justifications for hashish as a treatment for mental and physical diseases did not accompany physiology’s rise to prominence.⁷ French historian Jacques Arveiller has argued that the de-medicalization of hashish in France during the second half of the nineteenth century was linked to the scientific and medical discoveries of Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch, which marked the triumph of contagionism over the miasmatic theories of epidemic disease.⁸ With the discoveries of the bacteria that produced the

plague and cholera came the obsolescence of the anticontagionist logic that underpinned the use of hashish in earlier treatments during the first half of the century. Dutch historians Stephen Snelders, Charles Kaplan, and Toine Pieters expressed a similar view, writing that interest in cannabis in France declined “because the drug did not belong to the new ‘scientific’ era of modern psychopharmacology” and thus “did not look forward to the hopes of final conquest of physiological and mental diseases by modern medicine.”⁹ Snelders et al. also point to the inability of chemists and pharmacists to isolate and standardize the psychoactive properties of cannabis and the contemporaneous rise of Romantic art and literature (which Orientalized hashish consumption) as contributing factors to this decline in the “career cycle” of medicinal cannabis in Western Europe during the nineteenth century.

These previous explanations for the de-medicalization and criminalization of hashish in France during the second half of the nineteenth century are incomplete because they fail to consider the important influence of French colonial expansion in North Africa on popular, medical, and legal perceptions of hashish back in metropolitan France. The inability to standardize tincture doses and transformations in medical philosophies and practices certainly fuelled the de-medicalization of hashish in France in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the end of hashish’s career cycle as medicine in France cannot be fully understood when examined outside the contexts of French imperial expansion. With the extension of French territorial control in Algeria during the second half of the nineteenth century, a colonial project reinvigorated by the 1847 French victory over El-Kader’s resistance forces and subsequent partitioning of the colony into three administrative *départements* (Alger, Oran, and Constantine) the following year, came a renewed effort by French writers, artists, scholars, and physicians to embed depictions of the Orient and corresponding portrayals of hashish in what Edward Said called an “imaginative geography” of empire that sought to discursively exile the Arabo-Islamic culture from the conceptual topography of Western civilization.¹⁰ In this imagined imperial landscape – rendered in the writings of Théophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire, and Alexandre Dumas, the paintings of Eugène Delacroix, the scholarship of Ernest Renan, and in dozens of medical and legal texts penned by imperial bureaucrats and physicians in French Algeria throughout the second half of the nineteenth century – hashish, which for centuries had been an accepted

if contentious medical panacea and intoxicant in the Arabo-Islamic world, transformed into a clear marker of Oriental savagery and a key basis of distinction between the civilized culture of France and the barbarism of Muslim Algerians. Proven incapable by the 1850s of being tamed by Western medical sciences, hashish thus took on a renewed wickedness in France. Whereas the Orientalized psychotropic profile of hashish fuelled cannabis-based medical research and treatments in the late 1830s and 1840s, by the late 1850s the same profile increasingly was (re)emplotted into an imperial discourse about Oriental barbarism that, by the 1880s, justified official appeals for hashish prohibition across the French Empire.

ALEXANDRE BRIÈRE DE BOISMONT AND THE DE-MEDICALIZATION OF HASHISH IN FRANCE

On 6 January 1845, poet and journalist Théophile Gautier famously wrote in a literature review in *La Presse*, a popular conservative daily in Paris, that “hashish has replaced champagne” as the intoxicant of choice among the city’s bourgeoisie, artists, and literati. “Strange thing,” he continued, “we believe to have conquered Algeria, and it is Algeria that has conquered us!”¹¹ Gautier, of course, was describing the growing subculture of hashish consumption in 1840s Paris, exemplified by Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours’s infamous Club des Hachichins, of which Gautier was a regular member. The club – a semi-regular monthly gathering at the Hôtel de Lauzun on Île Saint-Louis in central Paris, where an ever-changing collection of French literati, artists, physicians, and bourgeois notables ate dawamesk while being observed by Moreau – gained notoriety in 1846 after Gautier published an article on its activities in a February edition of the *Revue des deux mondes*.¹² In his article Gautier immortalized the club’s activities in French popular culture, framing its members’ consumption of hashish in a Romantic Orientalism that resonated widely in a French Empire increasingly involved in territorial acquisition in Algeria. In Gautier’s telling, Moreau, a respected physician who viewed these meetings as an opportunity to study mental illness, was transformed into a reincarnated “Old Man of the Mountain,” who offered the same hashish-laden “green paste” to the bourgeois assemblage at the Hôtel de Lauzun as the twelfth-century Muslim original supposedly served to his disciples as a means of deceiving them into believing he possessed control over Muhammad’s promised Paradise and thus of convincing them to become his assassins in exchange for entry. “Surely,” he wrote, “the people who had seen me leave home, at a time when simple mortals take their meals, did not know that I was going to Île Saint-Louis, a virtuous and patriarchal

place, to consume a strange dish served centuries ago by an imposter sheik to push his disciples toward assassination; nothing in my perfectly bourgeois outfit could have outed me for this excess Orientalism. I rather looked like a nephew who was going to dine with his old aunt than a believer about to taste the joys of the paradise of Muhammad.”¹³ Gautier’s description of an evening with the Club de Hachichins revealed the significant extent to which hashish had established itself as a popular intoxicant and marker of imperial consumption among the metropolitan elite in 1840s France.

As we have seen, hashish’s popularity as a recreational drug and symbol of imperial consumption in mid-nineteenth-century France was matched if not superseded by the intoxicant’s wide-ranging acceptance among French physicians and pharmacists as a legitimate and “heroic remedy” against the era’s most feared and deadliest diseases. Starting in the late 1830s, French physicians practising in North Africa, notably Louis Aubert-Roche and Joseph-Bernard “Pacha” Gastinel, used hashish to treat the victims of plague and cholera outbreaks in Egypt. Based on their recommendations and testimonies to the drug’s efficacy, physicians in Paris throughout the 1840s proffered hashish as a treatment for similar outbreaks of epidemic diseases in metropolitan France. Two French pharmacists, Gastinel from Cairo and Edmond de Courtive of Paris, even argued in the pages of medical peer-reviewed journals and at hearings of the Académie des Sciences over the right to claim ownership of a particularly potent hashish tincture recipe. Thus, not only had hashish reverse colonized the culture of intoxicants in 1840s France, but the Oriental intoxicant had also come to occupy a key position in French pharmaceutical and medical practices.

Nevertheless, not everyone in Paris during the hashish heyday of the 1840s believed the intoxicant offered French society such sweeping recreational, medicinal, and scientific benefits. One physician and alienist, Alexandre Brière de Boismont of Paris, went against the grain in being very outspoken in his opposition to the use of hashish as either a recreational drug or a medical treatment. Starting as early as 1837, Boismont, a Catholic physician born in Rouen and ardent proponent of a “spiritualistic” understanding of mental illness, publicly decried the dangers of hashish for French society and likewise argued against the physiological interpretations of mental illness proffered by Moreau de Tours and the “physiologists,” whose ideas supported the medicalization

of hashish in the fight against mental illness in the first place.¹⁴ This debate over the nature of mental illness between “physiologists” and “psychologists,” as the two camps were called in France at that time, heavily influenced the ways in which French alienists viewed hashish and assessed its medicinal efficacy in the fight against insanity. Though both camps shared an Orientalist perception of hashish that equated its psychotropic effects with an irrational violence supposedly at the core of the Arabo-Muslim soul, their opposing medical philosophies assigned contrasting medicinal possibilities to the drug. During the 1830s and 1840s, while hashish enjoyed its cultural and medicinal rise to prominence in France, Brière de Boismont’s psychology-based critiques of the drug remained in the minority; his numerous public warnings against the “social poison” of hashish would become, by the 1860s, the majority opinion of the intoxicant among French physicians and later lawmakers.

Trained by the Faculty of Medicine in Paris (graduating in 1825), Brière de Boismont enjoyed a long and successful career (in and around Paris) as an alienist for over half a century, publishing over a dozen memoirs and monographs and over one hundred articles in French and European medical journals throughout that time. Boismont is best described as a Christian rationalist and conservative who believed that physicians should understand disorders of the brain as moral rather than as physical maladies, that is, as a function of spiritual weakness and a corresponding inability to cope with the pressures of civilization.¹⁵ “There exists on the surface of societies,” Boismont wrote in 1839, “a considerable floating mass of individuals whose moral constitution has devolved to madness. They are feeble-minded and come from alienated, extravagant, impetuous, and strange parents; they receive, like a wax, exterior impressions, and their reason, distorted by a vicious education and a defective organization, cannot resist the shock or shake and losses.”¹⁶ Because Brière de Boismont viewed insanity as a “maladie morale” exacerbated by the constant advance of civilization, and not as a physical disorder of the brain (as did Moreau and the physiologists), he believed treatment should focus on restoring one’s moral and social constitution via a “traitement morale” rather than on pharmaceuticals aimed at homeopathically stimulating the central nervous system into normal functioning.

Brière de Boismont’s first public critique of hashish appeared in November 1837 in a letter to the editor he penned in response to a story in

the *Journal des débats* about three Frenchmen in Marseilles who suffered “hashish poisoning” as a result of their self-experiments. In his letter the alienist warned the journal’s readers that the use of hashish, “well known in the Orient and Europe as the intoxicant used by the Old Man of the Mountain during the time of the Crusades,” only led to madness.¹⁷ He also cited the work of Irish physician Richard Robert Madden who reported in a famous 1833 travelogue that three of fourteen patients suffering from insanity in a hospital in Cairo “had become afflicted with madness as a result of their abuse of hashish.”¹⁸ Two years later, in his aforementioned piece on the relationship between civilization and insanity, Boismont reiterated this critique, again emplotting the drug’s psychotropic profile within a decidedly Orientalized narrative of Muslim savagery. After outlining his belief in the metaphysical nature of mental illness and the role civilization plays in exacerbating insanity among the morally deficient, Boismont devoted roughly a quarter of his article to a discussion of moments in world history when certain elements of society were unable to spiritually cope with the advance of civilization. One such example marshalled by Boismont, interestingly enough, was the infamous Assassins of Alamut from the era of the Crusades. “We cannot abandon a discussion of the crusades,” he wrote,

without saying a few words about the sect of political fanatics known as the *Assassins*. All the works of that time are filled with accounts of their incredible devotion, and with the terror inspired by the murders of the sovereigns who fell under their blade. At the slightest signal of their leader, whom history calls the Old Man of the Mountain, they leapt from the towers to the rocks below, or slipped a dagger into their chests. Their fanaticism was so great that [when unsuccessful in their task] they expired in the midst of the cruelest tortures without sighing; their only regret was that they had not succeeded. It would appear that it was by means of an intoxicating drink, hashish obtained by the distillation of the pistils of cannabis, that their chief achieved control over their brain ...

Fools are those who start from a false, exaggerated, fantastic, imaginary principle and who reason as if it were true.¹⁹

For Boismont, hashish use among the thirteenth-century Assassins of Alamut represented a psychological “error of reason” rooted in the religious fanaticism of Islam and the inherent barbarism of the Arab world. Hashish, then, represented for Boismont a misguided attempt to

chemically resist the inevitable spread of Western civilization, further exacerbating the mental instability of those unable to cope with Western progress.

Boismont's depiction of hashish as a marker of irrational resistance to Western civilization ran counter to the mainstream view of the drug as a "heroic remedy," which developed during the subsequent decade among French medical practitioners. While Boismont continued in the 1840s to publish articles denouncing the widespread use of hashish as a medicine and recreational intoxicant in France, dozens of French physicians and pharmacists working in France and North Africa published articles, dissertations, and monographs in support of the drug as an effective treatment against a range of epidemic diseases and psychological disorders. As we have seen, French physician Louis Aubert-Roche published a much discussed study in 1840 on the spread and treatment of the plague in Egypt during the 1830s in which he argued that medicalized hashish stimulated the central nervous system, which he believed to be the seat of the disease, back into healthy functioning.²⁰ "The plague," Aubert-Roche wrote, "is primarily a disease of the nerves that originates in the thoracic and cervical ganglia. And hashish, a substance that acts upon the nervous system, has given me the best results."²¹ Though Aubert-Roche viewed the drug through an Orientalized lens crafted from Sacy's Assassins myth, he still viewed the Oriental intoxicant as a beneficial homeopathic remedy for combating the progression of plague in afflicted patients.

The same year that Aubert-Roche published his findings on hashish as a treatment in the fight against plague epidemics in Egypt, Brière de Boismont wrote a piece for the *Gazette médicale de Paris* entitled "Toxicological Experiments with an Unknown Substance," in which he continued his anti-hashish campaign.²² In his article Boismont recounted an evening he spent with over thirty physicians (including the likes of Esquirol, Ferrus, and Cottureau), men of letters, scholars, and other notables who gathered to consume hashish and observe the effects of a "substance that produced, it was said, all the phenomena observed among disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain."²³ Boismont focused his attention on three men – a novelist, a lawyer, and a painter-musician – all of whom consumed dawamesk with coffee and afterwards experienced several hours of "extravagances." The doctor reported that the first two experimenters felt little effect from the drug, but the painter, simply called

“M.B.” (perhaps Monsieur Louis Boulanger, a close associate of Gautier and Baudelaire and member of the later gathered Club des Hachichins) had a very strong but measured reaction. Boismont described the intoxication experienced by M.B. as ultimately harmless and far from a form of temporary psychosis, as other physicians such as Moreau were arguing at that time. To Boismont’s eye, the intoxicated subjects never lost their sense of self and answered most questions posed to them more or less rationally. These rather tame examples did little to sway Boismont’s opinion about the drug, and his closing to the article reiterated the Oriental dangers of hashish. “But after observing their excited state,” he wrote, everyone has been of the opinion that these experiments cannot be repeated on the same subject without inconvenience, and that such symptoms must necessarily produce a morbid over-excitation or a collapse of the nervous system . . . If, as the phenomena observed seem to indicate, this substance, which we wish was not known, has the greatest analogy with that which the Old Man of the Mountain gave to his fanatics, ought it not be feared that it produces unfortunate results? It is known, moreover, the wretched condition to which unhappy Orientals who smoke opium are reduced. The use of hashish, an intoxicant obtained by the distillation of cannabis, seems to produce effects that are no less serious. Is not the momentary loss of reason, though freely consented, a painful spectacle? In any event, the substance should be submitted to the Academy of Medicine, and no experiment should be allowed on patients before the active element of this drug is perfectly known. Let us not forget that Madden and Desgenettes transferred to the hospital of Cairo several insane persons who had lost their reason by the use of hashish.²⁴

Much as in his letter to the editor at the *Journal des débats* from two years earlier, Brière de Boismont again judged hashish as a dangerous intoxicant that should be prohibited because of the threat it posed to the mental health of civil society. At first glance this ardent critique of hashish appears to contradict Boismont’s own observations from his evening with the self-experimenters. Throughout the piece, Boismont repeats his assessment that the subjects at no point during their intoxication appeared to completely lose their cognitive abilities. Describing the most severely afflicted, the painter-musician M.B., Boismont wrote that “he neither lost his sense of self or his surroundings; he responded to all the questions that we posed to

him.”²⁵ Boismont returned time and again to the fact that all three, though acting bizarrely, were sound of mind, could “talk science,” and could chronologically list all the countries they’d visited in their life. Why, then, did Boismont denounce the drug as a threat to medicine and French society?

The reasoning behind Brière de Boismont’s criticism of hashish, despite the seemingly benign observable effects of its intoxication, lay in the Christian rationalism and spiritualism at the heart of his medical philosophies. As historian Jan Goldstein outlines in her seminal study of the professionalization of psychiatry in nineteenth-century France, *Console and Classify* (1987), French physicians who focused on insanity in the 1840s, then called *médecins-philosophes* and *aliénistes*, often supported one of two schools of thought concerning the origin and nature of mental illness – spiritualism or physiology.²⁶ The spiritualists, also called “psychologists” and “metaphysicians,” tended, much as Boismont, towards a conservative brand of politics (meaning monarchy) and often practised an enlightened Catholicism that made room for scientific inquiry.²⁷ They believed the mind and consciousness existed discretely from the physiological matter of the body (i.e., organs) and, therefore, that mental illness must be viewed as a disorder of the *sens intime*, roughly understood as a rational or thinking soul. Viewed through this lens, insanity appeared to call for the “moral treatment,” first devised by Philippe Pinel in the late eighteenth century, which sought to repair the damaged *sens intime* through humane management and re-socialization via labour, education, prayer, and individual therapy.²⁸ For Brière de Boismont, hashish offered no benefit to this course of action against mental illness and, on the contrary, contributed to higher incidence of insanity among those who habitually consumed it.

Though spiritualists held considerable sway in French medicine and medical faculties during the decades of the Orléanist monarchy (1830–48), their momentary ascendancy in the 1830s and 1840s was bookended by the predominance of practitioners of an opposing school of thought, a group then known as the physiologists. Whereas spiritualists viewed mental illness as disorders of a “thinking soul” separate from the body, physiologists believed that insanity should be viewed and treated as a physical disease of the brain, understood as an organ like any other. As John E. Lesch details in his book *Science and Medicine in France: The Emergence of Experimental Physiology, 1790–1855*, medical philosophies

and practices in France in the decades after the Revolution underwent significant reform as doctors in Paris and Montpellier increasingly highlighted the importance of experimental science, dissection, surgery, and clinical teaching to the advancement of medical knowledge and treatment.²⁹ This Revolution-inspired turn towards positivistic science in French medicine prompted a considerable number of *médecins-philosophes* and *aliénistes* to apply the new techniques and theories of experimental physiology to the study and treatment of mental illness. The “father” of the physiological study of mental illness in nineteenth-century France was undoubtedly Jean-Étienne Dominique Esquirol (1772–1840), a student of Philippe Pinel and long-time resident alienist at Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris. While giving a lecture in 1822 at Salpêtrière, which served as a teaching hospital for the Parisian École de Médecine, Esquirol argued: “The metaphysicians [i.e., spiritualists] claimed that this malady belonged exclusively to the domain of their discussions and that they alone had the right to discourse upon it. They lost from view the true point of departure; they disdained familiarity with the physical man, threw themselves into empty theories and obscured [the subject matter] with metaphysical abstractions.”³⁰ Discounting the “empty theories” of the spiritualists, Esquirol believed that mental illness flowed from a physical malady of the brain that revealed itself as a lesion or area of discolouration, which of course was discernible only upon the death and dissection of an afflicted patient. Once the precise physical markers of mental illness were fully deciphered, Esquirol reasoned, physicians would know the seat of the disease and thus be better able to direct their course of treatment.

The aforementioned “Dr. X” of the Club de Hachichins, Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, was an ardent proponent of the physiological interpretation of mental illness and, as Goldstein put it, “a sarcastic critic of spiritualism.”³¹ A student of Esquirol at Salpêtrière during the 1830s, Moreau embraced the physiological school of psychiatric thought and used it as the foundation for his pharmacological experiments with hashish as a treatment for insanity. In fact, it was Esquirol who, in the mid-1830s, volunteered Moreau to accompany a wealthy patient during a lengthy business trip to the Orient, which supplied the setting for his first encounter with hashish. Moreau described his Oriental excursion and first experience with hashish in a monograph he published in 1841 on the treatment of hallucinations with *Datura stramonium* (a hallucinogenic

nightshade flower native to Mexico).³² In this text Moreau reported meeting French physician Louis Aubert-Roche, then working in the hospitals of Cairo for Muhammad Ali Pasha, and it was Aubert-Roche who first introduced the intoxicant to the travelling physician. “At the beginning of the intoxication, while preserving the most perfect consciousness of oneself, one feels as if carried away in a dream,” he wrote describing his first self-experiment with the drug. “A new existence penetrates you, so to speak, envelops you on all sides,” he continued. “The dreams, the phantoms of the imagination tear you from yourself; you feel that you are passing from the real world into a fictitious, imaginary world, and if I dared to express myself thus, in the impotence with which I found myself, I would say that I had fallen asleep without ceasing being awake.”³³ For Moreau, the “waking dreams” and hallucinations induced by hashish evinced the drug’s ability to produce a temporary state of insanity in users that could be used to both study and treat mental illness. “To comprehend the ravings of a madman, it is necessary to have raved oneself, but without having lost the awareness of one’s madness,” Moreau argued, and “there is not a single, elementary manifestation of mental illness that cannot be found in the mental changes caused by hashish.”³⁴ Moreau also believed that hashish offered a probable cure for certain patients afflicted with mental disorders, especially “melancholia.” A follower of homeopathy, or what he termed “simile-based therapy,” he maintained that he could treat mental illness with medicalized hashish, the idea being that a stimulant of the central nervous system could reformat normal brain functioning.

Though Moreau used his physiology- and homeopathy-based medical philosophies to justify the use of hashish in the study and treatment of insanity, his understanding of the drug’s psychotropic properties and belief in its efficacy as a treatment for mental illness, much as for Boismont, rested upon a racialized and reductive stereotype that equated hashish with Arabo-Islamic irrationality and savagery. In his article from 1841, Moreau introduced hashish by invoking the by then traditional narrative of the Assassins of Alamut and their leader’s use of the drug to deceive his devotees and to convince them to murder in his name.³⁵ He also argued that folklore in the Arab world surrounding genies was in fact a result of habitual hashish consumption among Muslim masses. “The Arabs, principally those of Egypt,” Moreau argued, “are very superstitious.”

There are very few, even among the most educated, who do not

believe in the existence of certain beings whom they call genies. The genies were created before Adam. They form an intermediate class between angels and men; they are made of an igneous substance, and may, at their own accord, assume the form of men, animals, monsters, and even render themselves invisible. They eat, they drink, they reproduce themselves in the manner of men; they are subject to death, although they usually live several centuries.³⁶

By the 1840s, the story of “Aladdin ou la lampe merveilleuse” had been well known in France for over a century, first appearing in the original volumes of Antoine Galland’s famous *Les Mille et une Nuits* (1704–17).³⁷ Interestingly, the provenance of the story of Aladdin and his magical genie lamp is still debated; Galland never found an original Arabic manuscript of the tale and instead relied on the oral testimony of a Maronite scholar from Aleppo called Youhenna “Hanna” Diab, who first told the story to Galland in Paris sometime in 1709.³⁸ Several “original” Arabic manuscripts of the tale emerged and were purchased by the Bibliothèque nationale de France during the nineteenth century, but all were proven to be forgeries.³⁹ Some scholars even suggest that the tale originated in the Xinjiang province of China and spread to the Muslim world via the Silk Road sometime around the twelfth century: after all, Galland begins his story of Aladdin in the “kingdom of China, very rich and well-known,” and the name “Aladdin” is itself formed from a combination of Turkic and Chinese languages.⁴⁰ For Moreau’s French readers of the early 1840s, the trans-civilizational origins of the story mattered little, and Aladdin and his marvelous lamp functioned instead as a decisive marker of Oriental exoticism, childishness, and insolence.⁴¹ And the widespread use of hashish in the Orient, Moreau argued, explained the widespread belief in the existence of genies. The general belief in genies, he wrote, “constitutes a pathological state of the mental faculties, an intellectual modification of which we have not been able to conceive hitherto, and which seems to be developed only by the use of hashish. I am speaking of a somewhat chronic, permanent disposition to hallucinations (without, however, the integrity of the mental faculties being otherwise injured), when the mind is placed in certain psychic conditions, a forcible preoccupation, a lively faith, an enthusiastic belief.”⁴² Moreau reported to his readers that “Arabs” from all classes, from the educated dragoman to the lowliest mendicant, believed in the existence of genies. “Most of the Arabs,” he wrote, “even attribute the construction of the pyramids to the genies, convinced that no men could

have erected such monuments.” The most probable explanation for these fantastical beliefs, he argued, rested in the widespread and habitual use of hashish among the Muslim masses. “The origin is not in doubt,” he wrote. “It is very material, it is organic, it is the phenomenal result of a toxic substance on the nervous system.”⁴³

Thus convinced of the power of hashish to induce a state of insanity in users (what he often called a “sleepless dream”), Moreau continued to experiment with the drug upon returning from his travels to the Orient and taking up a post as resident physician at Hôpital La Bicêtre in Paris in the early 1840s. As discussed in chapter 4, Moreau tested his psychotomimetic theories concerning hashish as a potential cure for insanity by using dawamesk, often supplied by Aubert-Roche or made from cannabis grown on the grounds of Bicêtre, in the treatment of the mentally ill under his care. He also organized semi-monthly gatherings at the Hôtel de Lauzun in central Paris starting around 1841, infamously known as the Club de Hachichins, where fellow physicians and French literati, artists, and notables ate dawamesk while Moreau observed, hoping to learn more about the inner workings of a temporarily diseased mind. In 1845, Moreau published a monograph based on his findings from these experiments at the Hôtel de Lauzun and Bicêtre entitled *Du hachisch et de l'aliénation mentale*, in which he detailed his contention that the intoxication of hashish offered a “powerful and unique means of exploration in the matter of mental pathogenesis.”⁴⁴ An ardent member of the physiology school of medical thinking and practice, Moreau based this contention on his belief that mental illness was best understood as a physiological disorder of the brain. “Many alienists have questioned the physiological causes of madness,” he wrote, “but I know of no one, speaking of madness, that has transmitted to us the result of his personal experience or described insanity according to his own perceptions and sensations.” For Moreau, much as for his teacher Esquirol, mental illness resulted from a “primordial functional lesion from which all the forms of madness flow like so many streams from the same source.” By consuming hashish, he reasoned, “I believe that I can trace back to the primitive source every fundamental phenomenon of delirium.”⁴⁵ Put simply, the “sleepless dream” induced by hashish intoxication, which according to Moreau had duped the majority of the Arabo-Islamic world into believing in genies, supposedly allowed a sane French person on the banks of the Seine to take a temporary mental sojourn to the Orient and, for a fleeting moment, experience a specifically

Oriental brand of insanity.

Not only did Moreau's experiments with hashish gain notoriety through Gautier's sensationalized essays on the activities of the Club de Hachichins, but his monograph on hashish and insanity received critical acclaim among physicians in France and abroad and was even awarded honourable mention in the 1846 "Concours pour le prix de Médecine et de Chirurgie," sponsored and judged by the Academy of Medicine in Paris.⁴⁶ One review in the *Gazette médicale de Paris* captured well this general acceptance of Moreau's work: "It is thus a new and happy idea to have recourse to such a means to deepen the study of a disease as obscure as folly, and we must be grateful to M. Moreau for having conceived and realized" the benefits of hashish for French and Western medicine.⁴⁷ Moreau's ideas even gained notoriety abroad, particularly in the United States. In the January 1846 edition of the *American Journal of Insanity*, the editor of the journal, Amariah Brigham, founding member of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane (the precursor of the American Psychiatric Center), wrote: "we consider [hashish] a very energetic remedy, and hope it will prove a useful one, and recommend attention to it, and the book of M. Moreau."⁴⁸ Brigham also reported that Moreau's study had inspired him to acquire "two ounces of pure extract, direct from Calcutta" from a Dr J.V.C. Smith of Boston and use it in the treatment of patients at the Lunatic Asylum at Utica, New York. "From our limited experience," Brigham wrote, "we regard it as a very energetic remedy, and well worthy of further trial with the insane." A review in an October edition of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, edited by the aforementioned Dr Smith, shared Brigham's praise of Moreau's work: "A new work by M. Moreau, of the Bicêtre, has much in praise of Cannabis Indica ... Its discovery must be of much importance to the civilized world."⁴⁹ As we have seen, the international and domestic approval for Moreau's findings concerning the medicinal and scientific value of hashish helped launch roughly a decade of sustained popularity for the drug in French medical circles.

Not everyone in the French medical and scientific communities in the mid-nineteenth century agreed with Moreau's conclusions about insanity and hashish or shared the same zeal for the new drug's potential benefit for the civilized world. For example, Alexandre Brière de Boismont challenged Moreau's findings on insanity and hashish, publishing a monograph on insanity and hallucinations in the same year.⁵⁰ A

contemporary (physiology-leaning) critic captured the upstream nature of Boismont's position: "It is no easy task to make the chords of contemporary criticism, in general so slack, vibrate so."⁵¹ In his study entitled *Des hallucinations ou Histoire raisonnée des apparitions, des visions, des songes, de l'extase, du magnétisme et du somnambulisme* (1845), Boismont laid out the spiritualist argument concerning the nature of mental illness and, from this philosophical position, heavily critiqued Moreau's use of hashish as a tool for research and as a pharmaceutical treatment for insanity. "Psychological facts cannot be placed on the same line with those that affect the senses," Boismont contended. "Although the brain may be the seat of intellectual operations, it is not the creator of them."⁵² Boismont and other prominent spiritualists, such as the Parisian alienist Ferdinand Berthier, believed the mind and consciousness existed separately from the physiological body and, thus, that mental illness must be viewed as a disorder of the rational or thinking soul.

One of Boismont's key spiritualist arguments concerned the nature of hallucinations and whether or not they should be understood as clear symptoms of insanity. For Moreau, hallucinations represented a clear symptom of mental illness, a sign that some disorder of the central nervous system had thrust the afflicted into a state of "sleepless dreaming." Moreau's physiological interpretation of hallucinations (which was prominent in French medicine in the mid-1840s) coupled with his belief in "simile-based therapies" led him to the conclusion that hashish, an intoxicant and stimulant of the central nervous system, could "excite" the brain into a state of "sleepless dreaming" that was beneficial to both the research into and the treatment of mental illness. However, for Brière de Boismont and his Christian rationalist sensibility, not all types of hallucinations should be considered a symptom of insanity. "In antiquity, Socrates, the founder of morality; in the Middle Ages, Joan of Arc, the popular heroine and liberator of France; in modern times, Pascal, the sublime thinker," all of these celebrated figures in the Western canon, Boismont argued, infamously suffered from hallucinations. "From the perspective of science itself," he contended, "the exclusive pathological theory of insanity seems to us viciously opposed to these examples of mental representations ... and of hallucinations."⁵³ By holding up three well-known and revered thinkers and French patriots who suffered hallucinations, Boismont hoped to convince his mostly physiology-leaning readers to question their presuppositions concerning hallucinations, mental

illness, and the medicinal value of hashish.

From Brière de Boismont's perspective, practitioners of science, medicine, and law all should have viewed mental illness, particularly hallucinations, with more nuance – that is, not simply as a clear sign of insanity. Boismont believed that there were two primary types of hallucinations – “physiological” hallucinations, or visions undetached from rational thought, and “pathological” hallucinations, or visions derived from fabricated sources linked to delirious ideas, contradictory intentions, and childish terrors. He conceded that physiological hallucinations, which he also called “rational insanity,” often leant themselves to criminality. However, it was this category of rational insanity in which Boismont positioned his case for a marriage of Christianity and science as the basis for understanding and treating mental illness. “Religious feeling is innate in man,” he wrote. “It answers an instinctive need of his nature. To make a clean sweep of the Christian religion, its most perfect expression, because ignorant, superstitious, fanatical, and ambitious people are used to expressing principles whose triumph would be its ruin, to misunderstand its divine origin, its immense benefits, its mission of devotion and charity, is to make use of a weapon which would destroy all that is good, moral, and generous in the world.”⁵⁴ Brière de Boismont thus framed his spiritualist position on mental illness and hallucinations as a scientific defence of Christian morality. The secularization of psychiatric thinking and treatment engendered by the rise of physiology in French medicine during the first half of the nineteenth century, coupled with the corresponding “purge” of spiritualist physicians from the medical faculties of Paris during the late years of the Orléanist monarchy, put Boismont and his fellow spiritualists firmly on the defensive in the mid-1840s.⁵⁵ Thus it is not surprising that *Des hallucinations*, for Boismont, was intended “to prove the persistence of the spiritual nature of insanity” against the charges of physiologists, especially Moreau. “There is no serious comparison to be drawn between the hallucinations of these famous men and those of the insane,” Boismont argued.⁵⁶ Auditory or visual hallucinations coupled with rational thinking and, more important, a strong moral (i.e., Christian) constitution should not, in his estimation, be associated with insanity proper.

After outlining his spiritualist assessment of hallucinations and mental illness, Boismont proceeded with a corresponding critique of hashish as a research tool and pharmaceutical treatment for insanity. He first reminded

readers of his 1840 article in the *Gazette médicale* in which he detailed the activities of an early hashish-eating club that gathered in Paris in the winter of 1840 under the direction of famed physiologist Esquirol.⁵⁷ Boismont reiterated his seemingly contradictory belief that those who consumed hashish at this gathering, while artificially and temporarily transporting themselves to an “empire of hallucinations and illusions,” remained more or less lucid throughout their intoxication and thus did not experience a true state of delirium, physiologically or pathologically speaking. He also was unconvinced that hashish could replicate or treat mental illness because he did not believe, as did Moreau and the physiologists, that mental illness derived from a physically diseased brain. In the same breath, he offered a biting critique of the drug, arguing that prolonged, excessive use could lead to irrational violence. “Its use is not without danger,” Boismont warned. “Indeed, a prolonged indulgence in this drug must necessarily have a fatal effect on the health. The momentary loss of reason, although it be intentional, presents by a miserable spectacle.”⁵⁸ In an article published in October 1845 in *Revue des deux mondes*, Boismont reiterated this critique of hashish and further dissected Moreau’s findings in *Du hachisch et aliénation mentale*, published earlier the same year.⁵⁹ After personally observing hashish intoxication in 1840 and carefully scrutinizing Moreau’s findings in *Du hachisch*, Boismont was convinced that “the result of the absorption of this substance was to change the ordinary visions of these patients into other visions. The fact is undoubtedly curious, but it seems far from conclusive. To move the nature of madness is not to cure it.”⁶⁰ Viewed from Boismont’s spiritualist perspective, then, hashish offered no cure for the moral deficiencies behind mental illness and, in fact, only modified or, worse, exacerbated the problem.

In the immediate decade following the publication of Boismont’s and Moreau’s competing studies in 1845, the majority of medical practitioners in Paris and abroad who commented on their works supported the latter’s contentions concerning the physiological nature of mental illness and his corresponding praise of hashish, often viewing the former’s conclusions, as one reviewer put it, as “a premature marriage of science and religion driven by overly Catholic ideals” and “motivated by the needs of his conscience.”⁶¹ As has been mentioned, dozens of medical practitioners and pharmacists working in Paris and abroad in the late 1840s and early 1850s championed medical philosophies – namely, anticontagionism,

homeopathy, and physiology – that provided a scientific rationale for the medicalization of hashish and its use as a treatment against a range of diseases, including cholera and the plague. The international acclaim of Moreau’s work combined with the widely publicized Gastinel Affair in the fall of 1848, the subsequent use of hashish by most Parisian hospitals to treat cholera during the 1849–50 epidemic, and the 1853 competition sponsored by the Société de Pharmacie de Paris, offering fifteen hundred francs (the equivalent of roughly \$17,000 today) to the first scientist to isolate the active chemical alkaloid in cannabis, all evidenced this ascendancy of hashish in medical and scientific circles during the mid-nineteenth century.⁶²

This brief but vibrant high point for hashish in France began to fade in the late 1850s and early 1860s as anticontagionism and homeopathy waned in popularity and an increasingly conservative press in Napoleon III’s Second Empire (1852–70) began to target hashish consumption as a growing threat to French civilization both at home in the nation’s newest colony in Algeria. As historians Catherine Kudlick and E.A. Heaman have detailed, the cholera epidemic of 1849–50 in Paris marked the definitive beginning of the end for anticontagionism in French medicine as physicians and public health officials in the short-lived Second Republic and then throughout the reign of Louis Napoleon III increasingly shifted their position on cholera towards, and gradually realigned their treatments and policies with, contagionist ideas.⁶³ The unsatisfying results of hashish tincture treatments of cholera in the epidemic of 1849 contributed to this shift away from anticontagionist theories, further undermining the medical justification for the drug’s use against epidemic and other serious diseases. And, as the medical and pharmaceutical epistemologies that drove and justified the medicalization of hashish in the 1830s and 1840s gradually gave way in succeeding decades to new philosophies of medicine (namely, the nascent stages of germ theory), physicians in France significantly revised their opinions on the medicinal value of cannabis and hashish and increasingly aligned their conceptions of the drug with Boismont’s once minority opinion.

Boismont’s critique of hashish remained firmly in the minority in French medicine during the 1840s, appearing as an outlier among the dozens of positive reviews of Moreau’s works and other praise of hashish as a “heroic remedy.” Starting in the mid- to late 1840s, several blurbs and sensationalized reports about hashish-eating Muslims and political

dissidents engaged in criminal behaviour throughout the empire began to appear with greater frequency in the French press. One of the earliest reports came in June 1845, when *La Presse*, a popular conservative daily published by Orléanist Émile de Girardin, reported on “Two Hashish-Eating and Furious Dervishes” who created an “ugly scene” on 30 May aboard the Austrian liner the *Impératrice*, which was sailing the Black Sea en route from Trabzon to Constantinople.⁶⁴ According to the report, at about three o’clock in the afternoon, two Afghan dervishes from Kandahar completed their prayers and “were seized with an attack of rage, the consequences of which were terrible.”

In the blink of an eye they killed a young Greek person with a pistol shot, stabbed an Armenian and, according to a Lloyd’s insurance agent interviewed in Trabzon, seriously injured six other passengers. Finally, on the order of the captain, the sailors killed the dervishes with bayonets. These furious fools were between 40 and 45 years old and belonged to a Shiite sect. They began the carnage without provocation. According to the testimonies of some travellers, it seems certain they were intoxicated with hashish. The Turks and Persians aboard the ship seemed for a moment to want to make a case for the assassins, which caused a general melee. But the captain fortunately was able to prevent the scene from escalating.⁶⁵

The similarities between this short report in *La Presse* and the infamous story of the hashish-eating Ismaili Assassins authorized and popularized by Silvestre de Sacy earlier in the century are striking. The two Afghani dervishes from Kandahar were not only from a Shia sect (much like the Ismailis) but also (supposedly) consumed hashish before their surprise and unprovoked attack on Western travellers and merchants. For readers of *La Presse*, one of the most popular and affordable daily newspapers in 1840s France with over sixty thousand subscribers in Paris alone, this news story brought to life the mythic Assassins of Alamut and further validated the idea circulating throughout French scientific, medical, and cultural communities that the intoxicating properties of hashish (when not tamed by Western pharmaceutical and medical sciences) metamorphosed users into mad and murderous Muslims.⁶⁶

Reports of hashish-crazed Muslims acting as “furious fools” appeared with increased frequency in French newspapers and peer-reviewed medical journals during the late 1840s and 1850s, even as hashish enjoyed a period

of sustained legitimacy in French medicine.⁶⁷ While Moreau won prizes for his work with hashish and gave key-note lectures at the École de Médecine in Paris extolling the virtues of the drug in the study and treatment of insanity, a backlash slowly developed around sensationalized reports of real-life examples of hash-crazed Muslim assassins. A report from 1850 in the “Variety” section of *Annales médico-psychologiques*, a peer-reviewed medical journal co-founded and co-edited by Brière de Boismont, captured this growing concern over dangerous Arab “hashish smokers” threatening social order in the expanding French Empire.⁶⁸ The article informed readers that, on 27 May 1850, in the city of Constantine, Algeria,

A nine-year-old Jewish boy was going to school when he was met by an Arab, who seized him by the throat, squeezed him tight enough to make him faint and was going to throw him into the Rhumell [a gorge], when the boy was delivered by spectators. The accused, after being interrogated, said for his justification that on the day of the crime he had smoked cannabis, and that, in the ecstatic intoxication which it produced, heard voices that ordered him to assassinate an Israelite. Dr. Boiso testified that when he saw the accused, he thought he was then under the influence of hashish. The abuse of this substance, he added, enervates the subjects who make use of it, and leads them to such a state of intellectual debasement and physical exhaustion, that they are impressionable to the highest degree, and that they can perform an act of violence or cruelty without having full awareness of its gravity.

Dr. Vital, who had observed the accused for fifteen days, declared in his report that his health and his faculties had undergone a slight weakening, which was aggravated by the use of hashish. At the moment when the accused attempted to kill the Jew, he was in the grip of a delirium ... The Arab declared that he had been brought to this crime by the voices that were walking beside him and said to him, “You have eaten with the Jews, you must purify yourself with their blood, and offer Muhammad the skin of a Jew.”

There is no doubt that the murderer had hallucinations whose cause was obviously the use of hashish. We quoted in the *Journal des débats* in 1837 and in the *Gazette médicale* on 2 May 1840, the fact of three merchants of Marseilles, who, after having made use of hashish, were seized with a furious delirium, breaking everything,

one throwing himself from a window. In the many trials that were attempted in Paris, we knew a doctor who was like a madman and who still wanted to kill someone. The use of hashish is therefore not as innocent as it has been claimed.⁶⁹

Though this story appeared without a credited author, it is clear that Brière de Boismont (the journal's editor) and the authors of the *Journal des débats* and *Gazette médicale* pieces mentioned in the final sentences, had a hand in its writing and/or publication. Much as in Boismont's previous pieces, the report highlights the serious threat posed to French society by hashish consumption and Islamic fanaticism, portraying both as moral deficiencies and thus as causes of mental disorder. The author also critiques the use of hashish by certain French doctors, one of whom is alleged to have become mad and homicidal due to excessive hashish use. Though the author did not explicitly name names, one can safely assume he was aiming his critique at the works of Moreau, Aubert-Roche, Gastinel, de Courtive, and others who extolled the virtues of hashish as a "heroic remedy" during the late 1840s and 1850s. The report also contains all of the hallmarks of the Assassins myth, further bringing to life for French readers the hashish-crazed murderous Muslims from Marco Polo's infamous legend. The author reanimated the infamous Hachichins myth, connecting it to an uncorroborated story about a Muslim Arab in present-day Constantine who smoked hashish, heard voices from Muhammad demanding the "skin of a Jew," and proceeded to try to throw a Jewish boy into the Rhumell gorge that cut through the city's centre. With hash-crazed doctors threatening social order at home and hash-crazed Muslims threatening the safety of French colonists abroad, one could hardly claim, the author averred, that hashish was an innocent, much less useful, intoxicant for French civilization.

From his early and lone critiques of experiments with hashish on the part of medical colleagues in the late 1830s and 1840s through his formal renunciation of the intoxicant in an 1845 monograph to his publication of anti-hashish propaganda about hash-crazed Muslims in French Algeria in the early 1850s, Brière de Boismont tirelessly beat the drum for the anti-hashish position in mid-nineteenth-century France, all while the majority of his professional colleagues and fellow Parisians extolled the drug's supposed virtues. However, with the conservative shift in politics engendered by the rise of Napoleon III and the Second French Empire, coupled with the shift away from anticontagionism and homeopathy in

French medical practices during the second half of the nineteenth century, Boismont's critique became increasingly accepted in medical and cultural circles of the French Second Republic. He thus laid the foundation for the de-medicalized understanding of hashish that dominated official and popular perceptions of the drug in the French Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century.

CHARLES BAUDELAIRE AND HASHISH AS A ROMANTIC ANTI-HERO

With the fall of the short-lived Second Republic after the coup of December 1851 and the formal creation of the French Second Empire a year later under Louis Napoleon III, a conservative and imperial swing in French politics triggered a similar shift in popular opinions of hashish across the French Empire. At home and abroad, conservative physicians emboldened by the return of monarchy to France increasingly spoke up against the general enthusiasm for hashish that had characterized the previous decade, some even going so far as to connect the rise of republicanism and revolution to unchecked hashish consumption in Paris. In March 1853, an article from the conservative daily *Gazette de France* captured this new impulse to depict hashish as a political threat to the newly re-established monarchical empire in France, which was controlled by Napoleon III and the House of Bonaparte. In the winter of 1852–53, Napoleon III undermined the power of the National Assembly granted by the Constitution the previous January (1852) and officially resuscitated the French Empire, crowning himself emperor after a series of rigged referendums and plebiscites in November and December 1852.⁷⁰ The article in the *Gazette* connected the republican backlash against Napoleon III's usurpation of power to the Hungarian nationalist János Libényi's recent assassination attempt on Austria's emperor Franz Joseph that February, blaming both attacks on "universal republicanism, that hashish of modern regicides."⁷¹ To drive the point home, the article gave a short history of the "Muslim fanatics who assassinated kings in the 11th century," describing them as "regicides pushed to criminality by an intoxicating drink called hashish, whence came the name Hachichins, of which we made the word assassin." Rhetorically linking the drug-fuelled activities of the mythic Hachichins to the contemporary political dissidence of European republicans and socialists, the article continued: "The crimes that this intoxicant has produced have undermined the nation ... All humanity demands that there be no longer in Europe places where this hashish of modern times can be safely prepared, where the instigators of political crimes are sheltered and favoured by unconditional and

unregulated hospitality. It is not only in the interest of order and authority that this cry rises in all honest hearts, it is also in the interest of freedom, which is obviously compromised by these attacks.”⁷² Though the article used hashish and the Assassins myth as metaphors to critique republican resistance to European monarchy, not to blame such resistance on actual hashish consumption itself, its use of the metaphor reflected a significant shift in popular perceptions of hashish in France in the 1850s. Orientalized myths that underpinned the medicalization of the drug a decade earlier were now being used to describe political threats to the newly re-established monarchical order. Like hashish in eleventh-century Syria, the article argued, republicanism in nineteenth-century France inspired political dissent and criminal activity and threatened the stability of the imperial nation-state. Once praised as a “heroic remedy” and as the new champagne of France, hashish by the 1860s was recast as anti-French and as a threat to imperial order.

Even many in France who viewed the rise of Napoleon III and the Second Empire with disdain expressed the same critical view of hashish held by royalists and Christian moralists like Boismont. Possibly the most influential and lasting voices among them was the poet Charles Pierre Baudelaire (1821–67), famed author of *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857) and key figure in the literary movement known as French Romanticism.⁷³ Though Louis Napoleon’s government banned six of the 101 poems in *Les Fleurs du mal* for “excessive realism” and “offending public morality,” Baudelaire, like many royalists, shared a strong distaste for hashish, viewing the Oriental intoxicant as an anti-French menace and as a threat to Western civilization and its artistic tradition. During the 1850s, the height of his literary career, Baudelaire wrote three pieces condemning hashish, the most famous being *Les Paradis artificiels* (1860).⁷⁴ Echoing the sentiments of the above-mentioned article from the royalist *La Mode*, Baudelaire wrote, “If ever there was a government that had an interest in corrupting its governed, it would only have to encourage the use of hashish among them.”⁷⁵

Notoriously short on cash, syphilitic, and addicted to laudanum for much of his adult life, Baudelaire produced some of the most innovative and controversial poetry in 1850s France and perhaps the West. His biting and original critiques of bourgeois life, often delivered via confessional or diary form, have come to signify one of the first articulations of the crises of modernity then engulfing industrializing France and Europe.⁷⁶ As

scholar Debarati Sanyal observes in *The Violence of Modernity: Baudelaire, Irony and the Politics of Form* (2006), Baudelaire's poetry bemoaned and belaboured the "individual's abdication before the forces of capitalist modernity."⁷⁷ And after trying dawamesk at a meeting of Moreu's Club des Hachichins at the Hôtel de Lauzun where he resided between 1843 and 1845, Baudelaire believed hashish intoxication presented as much of a danger to an individual's creative will and moral well-being as the inescapable forces of industrial bourgeois gentility.

In his first essay on the subject of hashish, published in early March 1851 in the Parisian monthly *Le Messager de l'Assemblée*, Baudelaire compared wine with hashish, praising the former for its utility and godliness and condemning the latter for its futility and connections to evil. In the opening paragraphs, the poet praises wine as a fuel for artistic creation and as the lifeblood of Christian man. Assuming the voice of wine speaking to the heart of humanity, he writes:

Man, my beloved, I want to inspire in you, despite my glass prison with cork locks, a song full of fraternity, a song full of joy, of enlightenment, of hope. I am not ungrateful; I know I owe you my life. I know what it cost you in labour and sun on your shoulders. You gave me life, and I will reward you ... Do you hear me stirring in the powerful refrains of ancient times, the songs of love and glory? I am the soul of the country; I am half gallant, half bellicose. I am the hope of Sundays. Work makes the weekdays prosperous; wine make Sundays happy. Elbows on the family table and rolled up sleeves, you will glorify me proudly, and you will be truly content.⁷⁸

According to Baudelaire, wine cultivated fraternity among men, filled them with happiness, hope, and courage, inspired love among their families, and thus helped strengthen the "soul" of the French nation. As anthropologist Marion Demossier demonstrates in her fascinating work *Wine Drinking Culture in France* (2010), this idea that quality wine is the lifeblood of France is a very real if somewhat cultivated marker of French cultural identity that the French and others continue to promote today. "French people have little or no knowledge of wine," Demossier found during her research in the early 2000s, "yet, paradoxically, wine drinking and the culture associated with it are seen by many as an essential part of what it means to be French. For French people, wine, or more precisely the love of good wines, characterizes Frenchness in much the same way as

being born in France, fighting for liberty or speaking French.”⁷⁹ Baudelaire echoed this idea that the cultivation and consumption of wine formed a central pillar of French values, culture, and identity. Making his case with the example of French music, Baudelaire argued: “The conscientious musician must use the wine of Champagne to compose a comic opera. He will find there the mossy and light cheerfulness that the genre demands. Religious music requires Rhine wine or Jurançon. As at the bottom of deep ideas, they hide an intoxicating bitterness; but heroic music cannot do without Burgundy wine. For it has the serious passion and drive of patriotism.” In short, wine embodied the nation’s talents and provided the fount of French artistic and musical innovation.

After extolling the French virtues of wine, Baudelaire used this patriotic profile of the nation’s favourite drink as a literary foil with which to contrast hashish, “whose intoxication is evil and antisocial, while that of wine is deeply human.”⁸⁰ He opened his condemnation with a description of the biological differences between cannabis grown in Europe for hemp and *Cannabis indica* grown in India and Egypt for dawamesk, and then proceeded to detail his unfriendly experience of the drug. He described feeling a “vulgar and irresistible hilarity,” an irrational urge to laugh, which he portrayed as satanic: “The devil has invaded you, and all efforts you make to resist will only serve to accelerate the progress of the evil.”⁸¹ He reported that hashish, as a demonic spirit, preyed upon one’s fears and anxieties and retarded one’s artistic sense. Again, using the subject of music to make his case, Baudelaire wrote:

A famous musician, who did not know the properties of hashish and perhaps had never heard of it, arrived in the middle of our group where almost everyone had taken hashish. We tried to make him understand its intoxicating effects. He laughed gracefully like a man who wants to pose for a few minutes in the spirit of propriety because he is well educated. But our bursts of laughter, incomprehensible enormities, and baroque gestures continued ... We begged him to play music and he resigned. The violin had scarcely made itself heard when the sound spread throughout the apartment seizing here and there some of the sick. Their deep sighs, sobs, heart-rending moans, and torrents of tears terrified the musician. He stopped playing, thinking himself in a house of madmen.⁸²

Baudelaire described the hashish users, himself included in this instance,

as “sick” and prone to histrionic and irrational displays of emotion. Whereas wine inspired one to write sonnets and operas, hashish rendered one incapable of respecting basic propriety let alone appreciating proper music. Baudelaire bemoaned the “violent gaiety” produced by hashish intoxication, which made his group incapable of appreciating the talents of the violinist.

The French poet offered a final anecdote to drive home this point concerning the violence and impropriety that flowed from hashish intoxication: “I once saw a respectable magistrate, an honourable man ... and at the moment when hashish invaded him, he abruptly jumped into an indecent cancan. The inner and truthful monster was revealed. This man who judged the actions of his peers, this *Togatus*, had learned the cancan secretly!”⁸³ Though a popular marker of Frenchness today, the cancan in 1840s France was a new and scandalous dance confined to cabaret’s and student dance halls. Interestingly enough, it is believed by many that the cancan originated in Algeria and spread to France via soldiers in the French *Armée d’Afrique* sometime after the French invasion in 1830.⁸⁴ Read from this perspective, Baudelaire’s description of the hash-crazed magistrate doing the cancan further embeds hashish consumption within a narrative of Oriental irrationality and incivility. To ensure his readers understood this clear civilizational divide between wine and hashish, Baudelaire concluded: “Wine exalts the will; hashish annihilates it. Wine is a physical support; hashish is a weapon for suicide. Wine makes one happy and sociable; hashish isolates. Wine is industrious; hashish is essentially lazy. What good is it to work, to plough, to write, to manufacture anything, when one can enter paradise with a single blow? Finally, wine is for the working people who deserve to drink it. Hashish belongs to the class of solitary joys; it is made for the miserable and the idle. Wine is useful and produces fruitful results. Hashish is useless and dangerous.”⁸⁵ Fruitless, perilous, slothful, evil, and murderous, hashish for Baudelaire embodied the incivility of the Oriental world, especially compared to wine, the lifeblood of the nation.

In a footnote affixed to the final lines about the dangers of hashish, Baudelaire mentioned the work of alienist Moreau de Tours, whose use of hashish as a treatment for mental illness in the mid-1840s sparked a decade and a half of sustained popularity for the drug in France and across the West. In the note Baudelaire critically and sarcastically wrote: “We must make mention, if only for the record, of the recent attempt to apply hashish

to the treatment of madness. It is believed by some that the madman who takes hashish contracts a madness that drives away the other, and when the intoxication has passed, the true madness, which is the normal state of the madman, regains its dominion! Someone even bothered to write a book about it. The doctor who invented this beautiful system is not in the least of the philosophical world!”⁸⁶ Though Baudelaire does not name him explicitly, Moreau de Tours is clearly the physician to whom the poet refers and to whom he directs his criticism. He no doubt had met Moreau at the Hôtel de Lauzun, where he was living, and where Moreau was holding his hash gatherings during the mid-1840s. It is highly probable that Moreau (via Aubert-Roche) supplied Baudelaire with the dawamesk and thus the “cruel nightmare” that informed his critical opinions and writings on the subject. So it is not surprising to read such a condemnation of Moreau, the evil hash-pushing doctor, in Baudelaire’s work. This footnote, much like the many citations of Sacy’s Assassins myth buried in the notes of hundreds of scientific works published since the early nineteenth century, simultaneously reflected and helped engender a shift in perceptions of hashish at that time – that is, a shift from the belief that hashish was capable of curing insanity via psychotomimetic therapy to the belief that it offered no medicinal benefit whatsoever and only served to produce psychotic states in users. At the time of this publication in 1851, hashish still enjoyed acclaim in France and abroad as a “heroic remedy” for a wide array of ailments. However, Baudelaire’s outright dismissal of Moreau’s research and poetic depiction of hashish as a foreign evil compared to wine, civilization’s lifeblood, would come to form the popular and professional opinions of the drug in France by the end of the century.

Seven years after his first publication on hashish, Baudelaire, who was then penniless because of continued laudanum addiction compounded by delays in royalty payments stemming from the controversy over *Les Fleurs du mal*, wrote a lengthy follow-up in *Revue contemporaine* entitled, “De l’ideal artificiel – Le Haschisch.”⁸⁷ Written as a teaser for his forthcoming book on the subject, the article expanded on his previous condemnation of the drug as a foreign evil, arguing that hashish users “want to create paradise via chemistry and fermented drinks, similar to how a maniac replaces solid furniture and real gardens by decorations painted on canvas and mounted to chassis.”⁸⁸ Baudelaire termed this foolish attempt to experience paradise and capture truth via hashish the “artificial idea,”

which was an explicit reference to the infamous Assassins myth and claims by Silvestre de Sacy earlier in the nineteenth century that the “Old Man of the Mountain” drugged his assassins with hashish to convince them of the veracity of his artificial paradise, which the Old Man used to incentivize their suicidal devotion.⁸⁹ “Further demonstrating this point on the immorality of hashish,” Baudelaire wrote: “a sect of Ismailis from which the Assassins are descended went astray in adoration [of the drug] to the point of going beyond the Hindu worshipers of ancient Lingam.”⁹⁰ During the nineteenth century it was widely believed throughout the West that Hindus worshipping the god Lingam during the first millennium BCE practised human sacrifice and phallus worship.⁹¹ Baudelaire referenced this contested factoid to further sully the drug and those who used it. He thus employed an Orientalized mythistory of hashish not as a premise for the medicalization of the drug (as physicians like Moreau, Gastinel, de Courtive, Aubert-Roche, Virey, and so on had done for the two previous decades) but, rather, as a justification for its de-medicalization, demonization, and prohibition.

To fill the remainder of the piece, Baudelaire strung together several stories of hash use gone wrong, starting with the tale of the famous musician who was offended by a group of intoxicated artists (Baudelaire included). This anecdotal evidence – of the disgruntled musician, of an intoxicated accountant breaking etiquette at a dinner party, of a doctor’s wife who was insufferably wonder-struck by every mundanity, and so on – served to support his argument that it was alarmingly misguided to believe hashish offered a heroic remedy or temporary access to eternal, primordial truths about the human mind. “Novices to the drug,” Baudelaire wrote with disdain and sarcasm, “imagine the intoxication of hashish as a prodigious country, a vast theatre of conjuring and sleight of hand, where all is miraculous and unforeseen. This is a prejudice, a complete mistake.”⁹² Instead, he warned, hashish only subjugates one to exaggerated, amplified, and often negative elements of one’s own personality and often one’s deepest fears and anxieties. “The idler,” he continued in sardonic tone, “is ingenious to artificially introduce the supernatural into his life and thought, but he is, after all and despite the accidental energy of his sensations, only the same man increased ... he is subjugated, and unfortunately only by himself.”⁹³ Far from some portal to the inner workings of the human mind, he argued, hashish functioned only to poison the soul and amplify the deadly sins of vanity, sloth, and hubris.

In the final lines Baudelaire re-emphasized the sinful and deceitful nature of hashish with rhetoric fit for the Inquisition centuries before. Hashish, he concluded, offered only

a slow suicide, a weapon always bloodied and always sharpened. No unreasonable mind will find this point redundant that I liken it to witchcraft, to magic ... no philosophical soul will blame this comparison. If the Church condemns magic and witchcraft it is because they militate against the intentions of God, that they suppress the work of time and want to make superfluous the conditions of purity and morality, and that it, the Church, considers it as legitimate, as true, only the treasures gained by the good and earnest intention. We call a scammer a player who has found a way to play without fail; how shall we name the man who wants to buy, with little money, happiness and genius? It is the very infallibility of the means that constitutes its immorality, as the supposed infallibility of magic imposes its infernal stigma. I will add that hashish, like all solitary joys, renders the individual useless to men and society, a superfluous individual, and urges him to continually admire himself and precipitating him day by day towards the abyss. Man does not need to sell his soul to pay for intoxicating caresses and the friendship of the *houris*. What is paradise that one buys at the price of one's eternal salvation?⁹⁴

Though he often blasphemed in his poetry and was infamous for obscenity, Baudelaire remained a secret Catholic throughout his life. On his deathbed, he even surprised his closest friends by asking for a priest to come and deliver his last rights and to be buried a Catholic at Montparnasse Cemetery. As scholar Kieran Flanagan argues, "his secularising admirers seemed to have missed the point that far from seeking to undermine Catholicism by reference to Satanism, Baudelaire sought to affirm the basis of both."⁹⁵ While we must always read Baudelaire's prose with an eye out for parody, one can argue that when he wrote that hashish "militated against the intentions of God" and Church, he was not being sarcastic or hyperbolic. Much as Catholics Silvestre de Sacy and Brière de Boismont had before him, Baudelaire seemed to believe that pursuing the artificial paradise of hashish amounted to mortal sin and eternal damnation.

In May 1860, Baudelaire repackaged his previous pieces on the mortal dangers of hashish into a book entitled *Les Paradis artificiels* published by

Auguste Poulet-Malassis, his friend and usual editor.⁹⁶ In a letter he sent Poulet-Malassis while preparing the manuscript, Baudelaire described the work as “an attractive little book” that “I’m counting on to get me back in circulation a little ... I’m sure it will sell.”⁹⁷ As per usual, Baudelaire was short on cash and hoped the book would help him repay his creditors in Paris, maintain his laudanum supply, and finance a retreat from the city to the country to write.⁹⁸ One could argue that Baudelaire’s expectation of the book’s success in the spring of 1860 spoke to the shift in public perceptions of hashish that was gradually occurring in France at that time. The national craze for medicalized hashish during the 1840s was followed by a decade of increased ambiguity concerning the drug, especially as more and more reports of “folie haschischique” among habitual hash users in French Algeria appeared in the French press.⁹⁹ Baudelaire likely aimed to take advantage of the growing controversy concerning hashish to help sell some books.

For the most part, the content of *Les Paradis artificiels* was poached from the two pieces (1851 and 1858, respectively) previously discussed, with only minor revisions and addenda. The key addendum was a translation of the recently deceased Thomas De Quincey’s *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1823) into French, presumably by Baudelaire. The poet used opium in the book mostly as a foil against which to contrast hashish: “Opium,” Baudelaire argued, “instead of making man sleep, excites him, but only excites him in a natural way.”¹⁰⁰ Baudelaire depicts De Quincey as “a moral character” and opium as a “peaceful seducer” compared to hashish, that “immoral demon” and “enemy of a regular life.”¹⁰¹ Put another way, Baudelaire constructs De Quincey as a typical Romantic hero, casting him as a self-conscious man of character battling depression and alienation brought on by the various ruptures wrought by modernity.¹⁰² Hashish for Baudelaire was the other side of this coin, the Romantic anti-hero, the embodiment of weakness and absurdity and the antithesis of the virtues of civilized or civilizing man.¹⁰³

But should we read Baudelaire’s poems on intoxicants at face value? Did he *really* believe hashish to be a source of evil and wine a source of virtue? Perhaps not. In a review of several English translations of Baudelaire’s work from the early 1980s, writer and literary critic Anatole Broyard argues that “we can know what meanings, moods or inflections Baudelaire intended in his poems only if we know him, and he was a mass of contradictions.”¹⁰⁴ Biographers of the French poet tend to agree. A

devout Catholic but expert in moral decadence, a proud *poète maudit* but consistently retreating into bourgeois comforts, a fierce critic of intoxication but addicted to laudanum, Baudelaire seemingly lived his life in uneasy suspension, caught at the chaotic nexus of opposing value systems and clashing personality traits. As Frank Hilton aptly puts it, “Baudelaire was paralysed by irreconcilable contradictions,” not to mention a severe drug dependency, that often manifested in his comportment and prose as profound ambivalence and, at times, outright deception.¹⁰⁵ “In the process of trying to discover his motives,” Hilton argues, “it’s important to avoid what all his biographers are guilty of to some degree – that is, taking what he has to say about his affairs at face value, especially when it has anything to do with money, work plans, alcohol or drugs. In these areas the truth of his statements simply cannot be trusted, not because Baudelaire is a deliberate liar, though there are certainly occasions when he could be accused of this, but because he often finds the dividing line between fantasy and reality an uncertain and highly flexible frontier.”¹⁰⁶ According to Hilton, Baudelaire described hashish from this flexible frontier, producing an “ambivalence [towards hashish that] permits him to play at the same time both the sophisticated expert and the disapproving moralist.”¹⁰⁷ Hilton provocatively contends that Baudelaire might have intended, “consciously or unconsciously,” his condemnations of hashish as a veiled self-denunciation of his worsening addiction to laudanum.¹⁰⁸ Literary scholar Carmen Mayer-Robin similarly argues that one should read Baudelaire’s heavy praise of wine as in part (and a growing part towards the later years of his career) a critique of alcohol, particularly wine, for its “complicity with capitalist production during the Second Empire.”¹⁰⁹ Put simply, we can never know the full intentions behind his poems as Baudelaire lived life on the limens of the nineteenth century and thus both embodied and chronicled the *modernité* he so fiercely critiqued.¹¹⁰

However sincere or sardonic, though, Baudelaire’s poems on wine, and especially on hashish, were widely read *at face value* by French writers, physicians, and politicians then and for decades to come. In a biographical study of famous French authors published in 1878, for example, amateur historian and conservative politician Alcide Dusolier wrote: “For M. Baudelaire, indeed, opium and hashish are, above all, diabolical things, potions of modern invention, and, consequently, the Church must severely forbid their use.”¹¹¹ In 1887, journalist Georges Montorgueil (née Octave

Lebesgue) wrote a piece on the Club des Hachichins, reporting that a former member of the club told him how, after trying it once, “Baudelaire, who described hashish as a scholar and a poet, swore never again to touch the divine and abominable jam.” Montorgueil argued that one should thus ignore the rumour that Baudelaire died of hashish poisoning as “such a beautiful genius could not have been extinguished under the influence of narcotics.”¹¹² Indeed, though published letters and medical reports even then evinced the contrary,¹¹³ rumours that Baudelaire had succumbed to severe hashish addiction persisted into the twentieth century.¹¹⁴ As one newspaper article from 1902 described his death: “The end of the poet was sad: the fatigues, the troubles, the sorrows, the frequent use of those artificial paradises, opium and hashish, quickened his fall.”¹¹⁵ Legal and medical texts authored around the turn of the century likewise deployed the myth of Baudelaire’s dying of hashish poisoning to add greater authority to the poet’s condemnations of the drug in *Les Paradis artificiels*. Much as Sacy’s Assassins myth, then, the literal reading of Baudelaire’s poems on hashish and the factoid concerning his death by cannabis poisoning ultimately functioned as a mythologized warning against the dangers posed by cannabis-based intoxicants, particularly those from the Orient, for the French moving forward.

CONCLUSION

During a hearing on the nation’s drug problem at the National Assembly in Paris on 24 October 1969, Socialist deputy Daniel M. Benoist made a rousing speech supporting the prohibition of cannabis in France and concluded with the following remarks. “In closing, I will quote a sentence that Baudelaire wrote in one of his poems in prose from *Les Paradis artificiels*,” he declared. “It has illustrated for a long time the problem of drugs and seems to me to summarize everything that has been said this afternoon. It perhaps offers us hope, because already Baudelaire – especially Baudelaire – foresaw that the drug would create a social drama. It was in his *Poème du Haschisch* that he wrote: ‘The analysis of mysterious effects and morbid enjoyments that these drugs produce, the inevitable punishments that result from their prolonged use, and finally the immorality even implied in this pursuit of a false ideal, is the subject of this meditation.’”¹¹⁶ Over a century after he wrote *Les Paradis artificiels*, Baudelaire helped provide the logic and language used by French politicians to pass the 1970 law proscribing cannabis use throughout the country, the same law that stands in France today. During those same National Assembly meetings, deputies from across the political spectrum

employed one nineteenth-century myth about hashish after another to stir up enough terror and anger among the politicians to easily pass this prohibition. Echoing the fears of Brière de Boismont, several politicians and consulting medical, public health, and legal professionals described the nation's social unrest and drug problems in the late 1960s as a foreign-born "plague," spread to France by Arab drug traffickers and provocateurs set on undermining the health and moral constitution of the body politic.¹¹⁷ Explicitly citing Silvestre de Sacy, Socialist deputy René Chazelle reminded the Assembly that the word "assassin" derived from the word "hashish," after the name of an ancient cult of cannabis-smoking murderers in the Islamic world, the Hachichins.¹¹⁸ Sacy's Assassins myth, Brière de Boismont's portrayal of hashish as a Muslim plague, and Baudelaire's poetic rendering of hashish as a social and moral threat to French civilization, all products of the early to mid-nineteenth century, both formed and continue to maintain the basis for cannabis prohibition in France.

To fully understand how these mid-nineteenth-century mythologies of hashish came to form the basis of laws against cannabis in France in 1970 and since, we must examine how they became formalized in colonial medicine and law in French North Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the previous two chapters demonstrate, medicalized hashish experienced a marked period of acceptance in France and throughout the West from the late 1830s to the early 1850s. This push to medicalize hashish in France and abroad in and around the 1840s stemmed from pharmacists' belief that the expanding medical sciences could tame the dangerous, Oriental intoxicant and render it useful to medical practices. Many physicians working around this same time were similarly convinced of the drug's "heroic" potential and employed it to test their medical theories and treat their patients suffering from a wide array of illnesses. As we have seen, though, not every physician and scholar in France agreed. And, during the 1850s, what started as a handful of critical voices, loudest and most significant among them being Baudelaire and Brière de Boismont, gradually transformed by the end of the decade into the dominant position in France. In the next chapter we see how the anti-hashish logic and language of Boismont and Baudelaire went on to inform the opinions of colonial physicians and officials in Algeria and, thus, to serve as scientific justification for the creation of cannabis prohibitions in Algiers in the late 1850s and calls for an empire-wide prohibition in the

early 1870s.

The Hachichins of Algiers: The Criminalization of Hashish in French
Algeria, 1840–80

There is in Constantine a peculiar amusement enjoyed by hashish-eaters, it is the hunting of hedgehogs, whose flesh is quite sought after in the country. The Hachichins, for this hunt, are organized into a brotherhood to which are attached details that I cannot give here.

Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon (1841)

Alcohol has its place in the products of food consumption; its function is constant in the arts and in industry. Hashish, freely sold in our bazaars, serves only the deplorable fancies of the idle and debased who frequent the intersections and brothels of the old Moorish city ... it must be dispensed only from the pharmacy of a pharmacist, and by duly worded order of a doctor.

Alphonse Bertherand and Noël-Eugène Latour (1857)

The use of Cannabis indica, in the form of Kif or Madjaun, has long been known ... [and] history tells us that in the time of Saint Louis, the Old Man of the Mountain intoxicated his disciples, whence came the name Hachichins, from which we have drawn the word “assassin.” I thus recommend preventing and suppressing the abuse of Kif in the three provinces of Algeria.

Émile-Louis Bertherand (1880)

INTRODUCTION

On 22 August 1857, a twenty-year-old Muslim man from Algiers named Soliman ben Mohammed attacked a crowd of Jewish Algerians gathered in the “haut quartier” of Algiers for the Sabbath, wounding seven and killing one. Eyewitnesses described the killer as being “crazed by a fury and “prey to unspeakable exasperations” as he wildly clubbed the fleeing crowd of men, women, and children. It was only when a group of nearby Frenchmen, “hearing the cries of the victims, seized the madman and disarmed him,” bringing the violent scene to a close.¹ During his interrogation by French physicians Alphonse Bertherand and Noël-Eugène Latour, Soliman ben Mohammed, described by the doctors as “strong and robust, with a rather intelligent physiognomy,” stated that he neither remembered the attack nor recognized his victims. He recalled leaving work at Dely-Ibrahim earlier that day, smoking kif, eating madjaun, and drinking wine and anisette (liquor made from anise) for several hours at a

café in Algiers. He somewhat recalled getting into a minor altercation with several Jewish patrons at the café. But, “visibly regretful and shedding tears,” Soliman again and again professed that he never intended to kill anyone and remembered nothing of the fatal attack.²

In late September, the Criminal Court of Algiers found Soliman ben Mohammed guilty of murder and sentenced him to five years’ imprisonment. Following the recommendation of medical experts, Bertherand and Latour, the Court ruled that, while Soliman’s hashish use “certainly disturbed his intellectual and moral faculties,” he nonetheless must be held responsible for his crimes because he consciously targeted Jewish Algerians to avenge his earlier quarrel at the café.³ Moreover, during the trial a witness came forward claiming that Soliman, while fasting and sober during his journey from work that morning, stated: “if they gave me 50 Jews, I gladly would thump them all.”⁴ The Court found convincing the notion that Soliman ben Mohammed’s innate hatred for Jews was exacerbated by hashish, and the medical experts, Bertherand and Latour, believed the incident sufficient justification for the immediate proscription of hashish. Consequently, they argued that the use of the drug should be completely prohibited across French Algeria and that stricter regulations should be established for its dissemination as a medicine. By the end of the year the governor general of Algiers, Jacques-Louis Randon, having read the testimonies and facts of the case, passed an official decree on 16 December 1857 regulating the sale and consumption of hashish in Algerian cafés and prohibiting its sale to minors.⁵ Randon’s decree marked the second time during the nineteenth century that a French official passed a law against the use of hashish in North Africa, the first being Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou’s hashish ban of 8 October 1800 during the ill-fated Egyptian Campaign (discussed in chapter 2). This time around, however, instead of an attempt to placate the Sunni elites of Egypt in an effort to establish an integrationist colonial administration (as was the case with Menou), these new proscriptions against hashish in French Algeria were justified as efforts to improve the hygiene, morality, and thus civility of France’s newest colonial subjects.

Starting in the early 1840s, an increasing number of military officers, medical practitioners, and government officials working in French Algeria published reports of widespread hashish consumption in all three provinces, blaming the intoxicant for unhygienic living conditions and high rates of insanity, sexual deviancy, and criminality among the native

Muslim population. While physicians back in Paris and throughout the West were praising hashish as a “heroic remedy” and possible homeopathic cure for cholera, the plague, and insanity, and while a Romantic subculture of hashish consumption gained infamy and traction around Moreau’s Club des Hachichins at the Hôtel de Lauzun, French military physicians across the Mediterranean – such as Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon (chief surgeon of the Armée d’Afrique during the 1840s) and Julien Larue du Barry (pharmacist and surgeon with Ambulance service of the Armée) – saw it as the source of “indolence, apathy, gross inclinations, [and] frenzied and filthy passions” that they believed were plaguing Muslim Arabs and thus threatening the viability of Algeria, France’s newest colony.⁶

As the French solidified their control over Algeria during the second half of the nineteenth century, hashish consumption among the colony’s Muslim population, especially in the cities of Algiers and Constantine, became an increasingly serious public health and social order issue for French colonial authorities. Throughout the Second Empire (1852–70) and into the Third Republic (1870–1941), colonial physicians and officials routinely employed Orientalized ideas about hashish consumption, built around Silvestre de Sacy’s Assassins myth, to paint the Muslim *indigènes* as barbaric and dangerous and to fuel calls for the prohibition of the drug across the colony. The case of Soliman ben Mohammed marked a turning point in the history of hashish in nineteenth-century France, solidifying myths and misconceptions about hashish cultivated in France’s imperial imaginary for over a century by providing a contemporary example of an Algerian Hachichin, a Muslim assassin driven to murder by the intoxication of hashish and fanaticism of Islam. By the 1870s, this case and other sensationalized reports of Algerian Hachichins were employed by public health officials both in Algeria and in Paris to scientifically explain the “Oriental disposition to insanity and violence” and to later help justify the formalization of the *Code de l’Indigénat* in the late 1870s.

“CANNABIS ALGÉRIEN – A SPECIES PARTICULAR TO THE ORIENT”

The formal military conquest of Algeria by the French lasted nearly fifty years (1830–70), a half century that also saw three revolutions and five regime changes back in Paris. Even as the country shifted back and forth (and again) between constitutional monarchy and republic between 1830 and 1870, there remained a steady push across the successive post-Revolutionary governments of the nineteenth century to establish *Algérie française*, a settler colony in North Africa that would serve as a staging

ground for continued territorial acquisition along the southern Mediterranean coastline and into the heart of Africa.

Initiated by Charles X in his final days of power, the invasion of Ottoman-controlled Algeria in June 1830 marked the second time that century that France attempted to establish a permanent colony in North Africa.⁷ As during the Egyptian Campaign three decades before, the French enjoyed early victories and suffered limited casualties in the opening conflicts. By the third week, the French Armée d'Afrique of thirty-seven thousand defeated an Ottoman force of thirty-five thousand, and after the sultan refused to send reinforcements the French were largely unfettered in their takeover of Algiers. As historian Benjamin Claude Brower details in his excellent study, *A Desert Named Peace: The Violence of France's Empire in Algeria* (2009), the French, from the outset, employed high degrees of violence and destruction to build their military fiefdom in Algeria. French "practices of total conquest" included the destruction of 425 buildings in Algiers by 1831 and the forced conversion of mosques into churches, such as the popular Ketchaoua Mosque in central Algiers on 18 December 1832, which was later renamed the Cathedral of St Philippe and used as such by French Catholic *colons* (colonizers) until 1962.⁸ This mass violence, destruction, and theft wrought by French conquest forced nearly two-thirds of the city's native population to flee, reducing it from thirty thousand in 1830 to twelve thousand by 1834.⁹ Using Algiers as a colonial foothold, the French expanded their military occupation eastward towards Constantine, finally capturing the city in 1837, and thus began laying a firm foundation for their settler colony across the North African country.

In response to France's brutal takeover of the city of Algiers and its continued military movement towards Constantine, Algerians soon organized armed resistance, the most substantial force forming in 1832 in Oran around Sufi leader Abd el-Kader. Leading a multi-tribal band of Algerian Arabs and Berbers, at times numbering 150,000, el-Kader, originally a Sufi scholar, offered the French continued armed opposition well into the 1840s. Despite brief ceasefires in 1834 and between 1837 and 1839, during which el-Kader operated an independent Islamic state out of the city of Tagdemt (which far exceeded the coastal French colony in size and population), the Sufi-led counterinsurgency prompted the French to promote the ruthless Thomas Robert Bugeaud to the position of governor general of the colony in December 1840 and to give him *carte blanche* to

brutally suppress the forces of el-Kader and make Algeria safe for French settlement.¹⁰ As scholars Martin Evans and John Phillips detail in their study *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed* (2007), “Bugeaud was utterly relentless in the pursuit of victory” over el-Kader and all other anti-imperial jihadists.¹¹ While giving a report on the progress of colonization in Algeria to the National Assembly in Paris in 1840, he stated: “Wherever there is fresh water and fertile land, there one must locate *colons* [colonizers] without concerning oneself to whom these lands belong.”¹² After 1843, the inhumane tactics of Marshall Bugeaud – tactics that included, for example, mass summary executions, *razzias* (swift, brutal raids), and, in one savage moment, the asphyxiation of over eight hundred Arab men, women, and children in the caves of the Dahra mountains in 1842¹³ – led to the defeat of el-Kader in 1847 and helped pave the way for the formal inclusion of the three provinces of French Algeria the following year.

It was during these early decades of France’s military conquest of Algeria that officers, doctors, and pharmacists attached to the French Armée d’Afrique began to publish reports of hashish, kif, and madjaun consumption among Algeria’s native Muslim population, presenting the intoxicant as source of Oriental deviancy, barbarism, and resistance to civilization. For example, in 1840, while French physicians Louis Aubert-Roche and Antoine Clot-Bey published reports extolling the virtues of hashish as a cure for plague in Egypt, numerous military officers and physicians working to expand French territory over thirty-two hundred kilometres to the west in Algeria held an opposing opinion of the intoxicant, viewing it not as a medical cure but as a dangerous poison and threat to the body politic of the empire.¹⁴ Even early critics of the French invasion of Algiers, for example, artillery captain Louis-Joseph-Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy (1807–57), described the intoxicant as the source of “disorderly intoxication” and “violent delirium” among Muslim Algerians.¹⁵ Walsin-Esterhazy, who gained great fame during the Crimean War (1853–56) and whose son committed the act of espionage that the French military infamously blamed on Alfred Dreyfus in 1894, first arrived in Algeria in 1832 as a lieutenant and slowly worked his way up to squadron leader of the Indigenous Cavalry Corps by 1842.¹⁶ Along the way, in 1840, Walsin-Esterhazy published a historical account of Ottoman-controlled Algiers to support his belief that the French military, ignorant of the “fatalism and despotism” at the heart of the Arabo-Islamic

world, was pursuing a futile strategy in Algeria because the men in charge failed to truly understand political, economic, and socio-cultural norms under Ottoman rule.¹⁷ Throughout his book, entitled *De la domination turque dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger*, Walsin-Esterhazy takes the French military occupation to task, criticizing its use of excessive violence and destruction and its complete incomprehension of existing political and economic systems in Muslim Algeria (namely, native systems of taxation and land ownership), knowledge of which he deemed imperative to any viable transition of power. "The ignorant peoples to whom we have addressed ourselves have not understood us," Walsin-Esterhazy writes:

Anarchy has replaced from the beginning the order and regularity which reigned before us; instead of submission we have only the spirit of licence and rebellion; in wanting peace, we have given birth to war ... We believe that a great nation must have a great idea for it to spend a portion of its activity and energy on it, and we have united with those who see in our world a noble and generous mission, a providential mission perhaps: we come to bring them the fruit of our studies and our work, well convinced that to arrive at the conquest of the country, the pacification, the civilization of the country, it is necessary to begin with the study of that country.¹⁸

Throughout his study Walsin-Esterhazy interestingly mixes ideas of cultural relativism, which often expressed sincere respect and concern for traditional Algerian practices, with Orientalized notions of the Arabo-Muslim character as innately "ignorant" and "barbaric." He argues that, because the French completely dismantled the Ottoman regency in Algeria and attempted to replace it with systems of taxation and land ownership wholly foreign to Algerian Muslims, they missed an opportunity to use existing structures to their advantage. Walsin-Esterhazy calls this missed opportunity a "great fault" and an "impolite and unreflective act" unbecoming the French nation, a "civilizer struggling against barbarism."¹⁹

However, despite his critiques of France's early attempts to civilize Algeria and his appreciation for certain native Algerian practices, Walsin-Esterhazy also simultaneously believed in the historically produced inferiority and incivility of Algeria's Muslim population. The central thesis of his historical investigation was that Algerians, brutalized by centuries of Ottoman despotism and rendered irrationally fatalistic by Islam, were incapable of understanding or appreciating modern French systems of colonial governance and the other "fruits of civilization." "The history of

the country tells us,” he argues, “that we will have no real success in Africa except by reorganizing the army to allow us to pass from the defensive, which we have kept up to this day, to a vigorous offensive; in short, we will only be masters at home when we can make the Arabs tremble in theirs.”²⁰ Much like Dominique-Octave Mannoni over a century later, who identified the socio-psychological trauma wrought by the encounter between colonizer and colonized in Algeria (what he termed the “colonial situation”) but then blamed this trauma not on French racism or imperialism but on the assumed mental weakness of the Muslim Arab psyche, Walsin-Esterhazy saw the hypocrisy and absurdity of France’s colonial strategy in Algeria but blamed the supposedly stunted mentality of Algerian’s native masses for their inability to digest the fruits of French civilization.²¹ He thus believed that the French had to force feed the Algerians much as the Turks had done: “[The Turks] wanted by every possible means the submission of their slaves, in order to be able to exploit them; victorious France ought to have demanded the same submission, no longer to rob the vanquished, but to regenerate them, to free them after having enlightened them.”²²

Throughout the nearly three hundred-page study, the artillery captain cum historian paints a picture of Algeria replete with images of barbarism, violence, and subjugation, stretching from the “waves of warrior populations” that “flooded Africa with barbarians from the East” after the rise of Islam in the seventh century through the “brutal Berber domination of North Africa” between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries to the “audacious piracy of the Turks” and the savage reign of their beys over Algeria’s major cities from the early sixteenth century to the arrival of the French in 1830.²³ Within this story of brutalization Walsin-Esterhazy highlighted hashish consumption, ironically, as a source of Ottoman brutality and despotism that he believed allowed the Turks to maintain power in Algeria for so long. For example, he recounted a story from Oran in 1808 about a man named Muhammad-Mekallech, then the acting Ottoman bey of Oran, who developed a substantial hashish addiction and perpetrated numerous atrocities that, according to Walsin-Esterhazy, solidified his control and authority over the city.²⁴ After violently quelling an uprising led by a marabout general called Bin-Chéri at an el-had (Monday) market in central Oran, and then leaving “the bleached bones of more than six hundred corpses” from the defeat in the streets for months as a warning, Mohammed-Mekallech, “having no one left to fight, allowed

himself to be corrupted by idleness and the calm of peace.”²⁵ “An unscrupulous Muslim,” Walsin-Esterhazy wrote of the bey,

he began by drinking wine and strong liquors ... Soon the liquors were no longer a strong enough stimulant, so he smoked and drank hashish. It provides a disorderly intoxication, in which one is capable of all excesses. Mekallech soon did not shrink from anything: every obstacle had to disappear before his caprices, everything had to yield to his violence. In his delirium, he had the women and girls of the honourable inhabitants of the city snatched from their homes; woe to those who dared to oppose his will, who dared to murmur against his odious tyranny! Many of the most commendable families of Oran were dishonoured in the shameful orgies of the Casbah; several young girls were forcibly taken from their father’s house to go to the debauchery of this mad man.²⁶

In a discursive footnote attached to the word “hashish” in the above passage, Walsin-Esterhazy took the opportunity to warn his readers about the contemporary dangers the intoxicant posed for French authorities in Algeria. Even though he held up the example of Muhammad-Mekallech’s hash-fuelled atrocities and sexual deviancy as an *effective* means of ruling the country’s 3 million brutalized and fatalistic Muslims, he also portrayed hashish consumption among this population as the source of their “violent excitements” and “annihilation of reason.”²⁷ Wherever Walsin-Esterhazy looked, hashish provided a tidy explanation for Oriental savagery. Whether the source of the tyrannical despotism and sexual deviancy of the Turkish beys or the cause of mass delirium and violence among the Muslim masses, for him, hashish consumption helped explain why Algeria’s natives were rejecting the fruits of civilization cultivated by French colonialism.

In addition to the writings of military officers, works produced by physicians and pharmacists attached to the French Army of Africa often depicted hashish consumption among Algerian natives as a source of immorality, social disorder, and mass resistance to French rule. Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon (1794–1870), chief surgeon of the Army of Africa in the early 1840s, wrote a paper for the Academy of Sciences in Paris (of which he was a member) in December 1841 entitled “Hashish, Its Preparation and Uses by the Arabs of Algeria and of the Levant.”²⁸ Guyon, also at that time an expert in epidemiology, had spent much of his adult life treating French troops as they expanded the empire, first in Holland

during the tail end of the Napoleonic wars and then in French Martinique from 1815 to 1826, where he spent much of his time studying and treating yellow fever. Guyon's travels and bravery in the face of the era's deadliest and most feared diseases were well known throughout the empire; in one biography (published only forty-six years into his life) Guyon is portrayed as an imperial hero, a French frontiersman who courageously and brazenly put himself in great peril to treat French soldiers suffering from the plague, cholera, and yellow fever, *and* to prove his anticontagionist position concerning the outbreak and spread of epidemic diseases.²⁹ Much like Louis Aubert-Roche and many other anticontagionist physicians in France and Europe at that time, Guyon believed that epidemic diseases were not contagious but, rather, resulted from bad air, or miasmas, released from the ground, especially in unhygienic and poorly ventilated and drained areas.³⁰ Guyon was willing to risk his life to prove his position. For example, in 1831, while in Poland studying the outbreak of cholera in Warsaw and Kolo, Guyon famously sported the clothing of a recently deceased cholera patient and then slept an entire night in the bed in which that patient had died earlier that day. While we know that Guyon's stunt did not put him at any real risk of catching cholera, physicians in the 1830s and 1840s were unaware of the true nature of water-borne bacteria and thus were plenty fearful of the mysterious outbreak and spread of epidemic diseases, especially considering many personally knew colleagues who had become infected and died as a result of their work during epidemics. As the mid-life biography of Guyon declares, the "heroism" of this pioneer physician "deserves all the attention and rewards of the government and people of France."³¹

After a brief respite in Paris upon returning from the cholera outbreak in Poland, Guyon was promoted to the rank of senior surgeon of the French Army of Africa and hired as a professor at the newly constructed Hôpital d'Instruction d'Alger in 1833. For the rest of the 1830s Guyon continued to grow his reputation as colonial doctor and imperial hero by accompanying French troops on military campaigns to capture Constantine in 1836 and 1837, Les Portes de Fer in 1839, and Cherchell and Médéa in 1840. Throughout these campaigns to extend French control in Algeria, Guyon reported on his adventures and research on the various exotic diseases encountered by the conquering French Army of Africa. He was a prolific writer and scholar during his years in North African, publishing dozens of articles in the leading scholarly, military, and legal journals of

the day, including *Les Annales maritimes*, *La Gazette médicale de Paris*, *Les Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, *Journal des connaissances médico-légales*, and numerous others.³² In several of these publications Guyon focused his attention on hashish consumption in the newly occupied territories of eastern Algeria.

In 1842, Guyon wrote a short piece for the French Academy of Sciences in Paris on the use of hashish among Muslim Arabs across Algeria.³³ He opened his note on hashish with a short description of “*Cannabis Algérien*, a species particular to the Orient,” followed by stories of hashish-consuming cultures in Algeria and former brutal (and ineffective) attempts by the Ottoman Empire to prohibit that consumption.³⁴ A careful observer, Guyon reported to his readers the various native cultures of hashish consumption, ranging from groups of wives in Constantine who daily consumed madjoun (often with slaves) to socialize, laugh, and “dispel their worries and fears,” to formally organized hashish clubs whose members weekly met, smoked hashish from terracotta pipes, and vigorously competed against one another in hedgehog-hunting competitions.

These hedgehog (or sometimes porcupine) hunts between hashish clubs in Algeria were mentioned in several sources penned by members of the French army in North Africa during the 1840s.³⁵ In most discussions of this custom the French, like Guyon, associated the intoxication of hashish with sexual deviancy, in this case homosexual and pedophilic relationships between members of these hashish clubs and boys. As historian Todd Shepard argues in his recent study, *Sex, France, and Arab Men* (2017), the “erotics of Algerian difference” were employed by the French from the beginning of their conquest of Algeria and even reappeared after the Algerian war for independence, when French national legislators highlighted the racial and moral differences between Muslim Algerians (whom they wanted to prevent from immigrating to France) and the “civilized” French.³⁶ This kind of “Orientalized sex talk,” as Shepard terms it, is commonplace in early portrayals of hashish consumption on the part of Muslim Arabs in French Algeria. For example, after describing high instances of hashish-induced madness among Muslim patients in the hospitals of Algiers, which he found “considerable in number and very distressing,” Guyon recounted how, in Constantine, the many hashish clubs made a competition of hedgehog and porcupine hunting, saying: “the *Hachichins*, for this hunt, are organized into a brotherhood to which are

attached details that I cannot give here.”³⁷ Guyon’s sense of propriety prevented him from giving details about these peculiar bonds of “brotherhood,” but one can infer from the writings of other French military officers and physicians stationed in Algeria during the 1840s that the French viewed these hashish clubs and their porcupine hunts as hotbeds of homosexuality and pederasty and, thus, as markers of Algerian inferiority and savagery.

A military pharmacist called Julien Larue du Barry who served in Constantine in the late 1830s and early 1840s, for example, wrote a short article for the *Journal de chimie médicale* in 1845 in which he described in much greater detail this, to him, observable correlation between hashish consumption and sexual deviancy among members of Algeria’s hashish clubs engaged in hedgehog-and porcupine-hunting competitions.³⁸ “Hashish-smokers have a platonic love for young boys,” Barry reported in 1844. “They make a thousand caresses, care for them, and experience an infinite happiness, a kind of ecstasy to fix on them their pupils dilated by the narcotic. They search for porcupine meat, and preferably eat it with these children.”³⁹ While homosexuality and pederasty existed in Algerian society at this time (just as it did in France and in many European countries then and for centuries before and after), Guyon and Barry linked the culture of hashish consumption in Algeria to a sweeping notion of sexual barbarism, further solidifying the “erotics of Algerian difference” in the minds of French colonizers. As one French observer in Algeria later in the century put it, “European pederasts ... hardly exist except as a memory.”⁴⁰ But “the Arab,” the same author argued, “is an inveterate pederast, even in his own country, where women are not lacking ... All the travellers writing about morals in Arabia and Turkey have commented on this fact.”⁴¹ From the first decades of France’s conquest of Algeria, then, French military officers and physicians attached to the Army of Africa routinely codified hashish consumption and cafés where hashish was consumed as epicentres of sexual deviancy and savagery among Algeria’s Muslim natives.

In addition to sexual deviancy, Barry, like Guyon, linked hashish consumption to high instances of lunacy, mendicancy, and physical violence among Algerian natives. In the final paragraphs of his article the military pharmacist (then back in France working as a professor at the *École de Pharmacie de Montpellier*) reported that hashish smokers in Algeria exhibited all sorts of “extraordinary disorders of imagination.” In

one instance, he reported seeing an “Arab” come out of a café, cross the street, and then stop, befuddled and “terrified at the sight of a puddle of water.” “A little recovered from his fright,” Barry continued, “he approached the puddle with precaution, took a few steps backward to take his flight, and jumped across the puddle; then he looked back and laughed at the feat he had just accomplished.”⁴² Though a rather benign event, the point of the anecdote is clear: hashish consumption renders the Arab mind irrational, childlike, and easily mesmerized by a mere puddle of water. Barry also reported that hashish so thoroughly dulled the senses and reason of Arab Algerians that “it seems, under its influence, their brains have not the faculty of transmitting sensations to the muscles. Indeed, a man in this state received bruises, even wounds, that in a normal state would be dangerous. I saw one,” he continued, “putting an incandescent coal in his mouth, another seizing a red iron, a third, lying on the coals, allowing another to dance on his belly without feeling the least pain.”⁴³ In a mere three pages, Barry’s article linked hashish consumption among native Algerians to sexual deviancy, high rates of insanity, a childlike and irrational mentality, and a propensity for physical violence and pain, all portrayed as innate Oriental anti-virtues produced by the intoxication of hashish, or, as Guyon termed it, “Cannabis Algérien.” In short, these French military physicians of the Armée d’Afrique saw in hashish both the cause and consequence of mass violence among Algeria’s Muslim natives.

“THE HACHICHINS OF ALGIERS”: THE CASE OF SOLIMAN BEN MOHAMMED

At the turn into the second half of the nineteenth century, as revolts reformed and then rewound politics back in Paris only to replay another era of monarchy after 1852, French military control of Algeria continued to expand as the Armée d’Afrique stretched its occupation across the Mediterranean coastline and inland to the Tell Atlas, which would later serve as the new land for French and European settlers. As historian Benjamin Claude Brower detailed in *A Desert Named Peace*, the French also set their sights on expanding the colony southward into the Sudanese interior; by 1852, the army had brutally conquered the key Saharan strongholds of Zatcha and Laghouat and largely pacified rebelling forces for the remainder of the decade.⁴⁴ As Abbé Jacques Suchet declared at Laghouat after the French victory in December, “Soldiers of France ... in conquering Algeria, this new France, you also – do not doubt it – do *the work of God*. In pursuing the course of your victories over these proud children of Muhammad,” the Abbé declared, “you extended Christian domination over the debris of Islamism, and even more than your fathers

you accomplish here the work of God.”⁴⁵

Despite this zeal for solidifying France’s settler colony in Algeria at the expense of native lives and land, colonial policies coming out of Paris during the new reign of Emperor Louis-Napoleon III (nephew and heir of Bonaparte) gradually shifted during the 1850s and early 1860s towards a policy pursuing the assimilation of Algeria’s 3 million prominently Muslim natives into a new “royaume arabe” of the French Empire.⁴⁶ In several speeches and letters written towards the end of the decade and into the early 1860s, Napoleon III time and again expressed the belief that he was “as much the Emperor of the Arabs as [he was] the Emperor of the French.”⁴⁷ As historian Christina Carroll details in her article, “Defining ‘Empire’ under Napoleon III,” this shift in colonial policies towards the assimilation of Algeria’s Muslim Arabs and Berbers sparked outrage among the over 125,000 French and European *colons* in Algeria who viewed the forced evacuation of native Muslims as necessary for the maintenance and growth of the European settler colony.⁴⁸ Thus, during the mid-1850s through to the end of the Second Empire, France’s Algerian policies suffered from an imperial schizophrenia: on the one hand, Napoleon III, much as his uncle had done, hoped to extend France’s imperium to include North African Muslims; on the other, the French *colons* viewed the assimilation of Muslims as both impossible and unpatriotic.⁴⁹

It was during this era of shifting and conflicting colonial policies in Algeria that French settlers, physicians, and colonial administrators increasingly pointed to hashish consumption among native Algerians as a clear marker of Oriental savagery and thus as a threat to the safety and civility of *Algérie française*. Much like the reports of military physicians Guyon and Barry from the 1840s era of conquest, physicians and officials attached to the expanding French colonial government and newly created provinces of Alger, Oran, and Constantine reported throughout the 1850s that hashish consumption explained high rates of insanity and violent criminality among Algerian Muslims. Many of these reports drew heavily from the myths and misconceptions of hashish circulating in France and Europe since the late eighteenth century, particularly the myth of the Hachichins authorized and popularized by Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in the early 1800s.⁵⁰ For many French settlers working to solidify the empire’s control over Algeria’s major cities, the country’s many Hachichins and hashish clubs , commonly referred to by the French as

“cafés maures,” appeared as a second coming of the mythical Assassins of Alamut that (allegedly) terrorized European crusaders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And, as we shall see, in many instances colonial doctors and officials took from the Assassins myth to make sense of hashish consumption among Algeria’s Muslim natives and, by 1857, to lobby for (and ultimately pass) a legal proscription against the drug’s recreational use across the colony.

In a series of articles in the Parisian liberal literary newspaper *Le Constitutionnel* in 1851 and 1852, Algerian correspondent Henri Cauvain gave early voice to this conflation of myth and reality and entertained metropolitan readers with stories of present-day Hachichins in Algeria’s major cities.⁵¹ In his first article on the subject, Cauvain reported on the construction of French schools and hospitals in Constantine and then shifted abruptly to a discussion of a “question most serious that now threatens the public health” of the city. In the course of just three months, he reported, “we have had to arrest and hospitalize, for the cause of dementia, 11 Muslims, almost all young and from good families. They lost their mind as a result of the abuse of hashish.” Cauvain then reminded his readers that hashish, “as we know, is the same potion which pushed to ecstasy and crime the disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain, and derives the word assassin (*hachichi*).”⁵² As we have seen, the myth of the hashish-eating Assassins served in the 1840s and 1850s as a counterintuitive rationalization for the use of hashish as a homeopathic treatment for epidemic diseases as well as for insanity.⁵³ Either unconvinced by or unaware of this widespread enthusiasm for hashish-based medicines then sweeping France and Europe, Cauvain chose to use the Assassins myth as a “mode of emplotment,” that is, as a largely mythical story of tragic barbarism (i.e., the Old Man’s hash ruse and campaigns of assassination) that explained – historically, religiously, biologically – why Algeria’s Muslim natives exhibited such violent and irrational resistance to the civilizing process.⁵⁴ “Hashish is doubly dangerous,” Cauvain warned. “It makes one crazy and arouses fanaticism.” To thwart the “disastrous evil of the *hachichins* of Algeria,” he concluded, “extremely energetic measures must be taken by the colonial administration” to close the over twenty cafés maures in Constantine that sold the dangerous intoxicant.⁵⁵

The Bureau d’Arabe in Constantine, in a correspondence to the city’s prefect in early April 1852, shared Cauvain’s and Boismont’s concerns

about hashish consumption among the city's Muslim population. The Arab Bureaus were originally created in 1844 to facilitate communication between the French military and the indigenous elite of Algeria and to act as official "interpreter of the conquering nation's thought and institutions."⁵⁶ Operated by military officers, bureaucrats, some scholars, and native translators, and organized geographically into *cercles* (administrative units assigned to particular locations), these Arab Affaires divisions spent much of their first two decades attempting to convert the nomadic Berber, Arab, and Kabyle tribes of Algeria into sedentary communities more conducive to colonial control and taxation. Louis-Joseph-Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy, a member of the Bureau in Oran, played an important role in this project to sedentarize Algerians and helped to develop hybrid "village indigènes," stationary communities built with Oriental architecture and Occidental urban design that were meant to initiate the process of conversion from nomadic practices.⁵⁷ As Patricia Lorcin notes in her seminal work *Imperial Identities*, despite its often sincere concern for indigenous life and culture in Algeria, the Arab Bureaus mostly failed in their efforts to assimilate large numbers of Algeria's native population, even with an influx of financing from Louis-Napoleon III after 1860. In the process of attempting to civilize and assimilate Algerian's natives, the Bureaus enraged the growing French and European settler population, much of which viewed complete segregation as vital for the continued existence of French Algeria.⁵⁸

There was one thing on which the settlers and Bureaus often agreed: hashish consumption among Algeria's indigenous population posed a serious threat to the colony, however one conceived of it. In their correspondence from April 1852, the Bureau in Constantine informed the city's prefect that, from August through December 1851, just over 4,120 kilos of hashish legally entered the city and were taxed by Bureau authorities.⁵⁹ The report, corroborating Cauvain's claims from the articles in *Le Constitutionnel*, estimated that twenty-two cafés maures sold hashish and suggested that the prefect come to understand that the abuse of this drug by the city's indigenous population led to frequent cases of "aliénation mentale" and "fanaticisme."⁶⁰ In a follow-up article in the 4 January 1852 edition of *Le Constitutionnel*, Cauvain reported to French readers that the volume of this hashish trade in the last three months of 1851 had risen to 6,500 kilos, but "taking mass fraud into account ... one can estimate at approximately 10,000 kilograms the flow of this

abominable commodity for the last three months.”⁶¹ Echoing the Bureau’s report from just months before, Cauvain demanded: “it is time to put an end to this public poisoning, and effective measures must be taken to cut it short.”⁶²

In their correspondence from 1851 and 1852, both the Bureau and Cauvain employed the Assassins myth and its concomitant association of hashish with Muslim violence to explain and denounce the drug’s consumption among native Algerians in Constantine. The Bureau, which in the 1850s was tasked with collecting taxes and often with trying and judging legal disputes among the indigenous population, thus both taxed the sale of hashish in the city and believed that consumption by natives, especially in the cafés maures where hashish was sold and “lascivious brotherhoods” congregated to get high and hunt porcupines, were serious threats to civil order. Historian Chantal Descours-Gatin notes a similar “duplicitousness” and “irony” in French Indochina, where the colonial authorities blamed the “Oriental disposition” of natives for widespread opium addiction and simultaneously built an opium monopoly that both supplied the drug and funded a substantial portion of French colonial public works in Cochinchina, Annam, and Tonkin between the 1880s and 1920s (as high as 31 per cent in 1914).⁶³ Further research in the Archives d’outre mer in Aix-en-Provence is needed to determine the exact dimensions of the hashish trade and tax revenues generated by the Bureaus and colonial prefectures of Algeria on that trade during the early to mid-1850s. However, from evidence thus far examined, it is clear that, by 1857, official colonial policy on hashish had shifted abruptly towards prohibition.

The event that inspired this abrupt shift towards hashish prohibition in French Algeria, of course, was the case of Soliman ben Mohammed, who, after smoking a large quantity of hashish one Saturday in late August 1857, attacked a crowd of Jews in Algiers, injuring seven and killing one.⁶⁴ The hash-fuelled attack made headlines throughout Algeria and in Paris, where journalists as well as physicians portrayed the event as a clear example of the dangers of both hashish and the Muslim/Oriental temperament.⁶⁵ As historian Allan Christelow details in *Muslim Law Courts and the French Colonial State in Algeria* (1985), the late 1850s marked a “low point” in the already contentious relations between Western Europe and the Islamic world, when international incidents such as the Sepoy Mutiny in India (1857), the Jeddah massacre (1858), and the anti-

Christian attacks in Damascus (1860) “seemed to lend credence to the image of the Muslim as the bloodthirsty fanatic.”⁶⁶ French and European settlers in Algeria believed this international threat had spread to Algeria, pointing to increased tensions with Sufi rebels along the Algerian-Moroccan border and, now, the Soliman ben Mohammed case as clear signs of jihad on *Algérie française*.

The case of Soliman ben Mohammed thus played an important role in the evolution of colonial legal structures and practices in French Algeria, serving as a test case for the Decrees of 1 October 1854, which granted semi-autonomy to sedentarized Muslim *qadis* (judges in small claims and misdemeanor cases among Muslim *indigènes*) while firmly affixing them to the Bureaux Arabes-controlled *cour d’assises*, or criminal court, overseen by the various cities’ prefectures.⁶⁷ Interestingly, both proponents (colonial authorities) and opponents (colonizers) of the 1854 decrees pointed to the Soliman case as evidence to support their opposing colonial ideologies. Colonial authorities led by Governor General Randon (in the imperfect spirit of forced integration earlier expressed by Walsin-Esterhazy) wanted to try and work with native Algerians to gradually eliminate hashish consumption via the civilizing process. While settler physicians, led by brothers Alphonse and Émile-Louis Bertherand, preferred to cast the problem as an issue of public hygiene and safety that threatened the settler population with increasing numbers of hash-crazed Muslim criminals, thus demanding their immediate institutionalization and separation from the colonial community.

Both parties saw in the case of Soliman ben Mohammed reified and verifiable proof of the prevailing idea that hashish simultaneously produced and signified the innate barbarism of the Arabo-Islamic world. Put another way, Soliman’s crime brought to life and substantiated the many tropes of the infamous Assassins myth (i.e., hashish intoxication; loss of memory, consciousness, and rational control; assassination and murder; religious fanaticism produced by Islam; etc.). In almost every article or report discussing the event, French physicians, lawyers, and journalists referenced the Assassins myth explicitly and/or emplotted the case’s fact pattern within the well-worn story of Oriental tragedy.

The most comprehensive record of the event and trial, found in a series of articles published in the *Gazette médicale de l’Algérie* during late September 1857 by Drs Alphonse Bertherand and Noël-Eugène Latour, time and again cast Soliman ben Mohammed as an Algerian Hachichin.⁶⁸

A doctor and pharmacist, respectively, with the French army and Civil Hospital in Algiers, Bertherand and Latour were summoned by the city's criminal court and Bureau Arabe d'Alger to question Soliman and help "formulate an opinion on a complicated case."⁶⁹ In their report of their encounter with Soliman at the recently constructed Prison de Barberousse just blocks from the Marché de la Lyre in the haut quartier of Algiers where the attack occurred, the medical practitioners cum interrogators had the defendant walk them through the day of the act (Saturday, 22 August 1857). They noted that, while giving his testimony, Soliman, a "mulatto," appeared "strong and robust, with a rather intelligent physiognomy," and did not exhibit "the ordinary attributes of an individual addicted to alcohol or narcotics." The defendant recounted how around 5:00 a.m. he finished a night shift at a construction site in Dely-Ibrahim eleven kilometres to the north of the city and walked to his home in the northern suburb of Bouzaréah, arriving there around 7:00 a.m. He then ate his lunch, "meat as usual," went to a café maure on the corner of rue Médée and rue de la Lyre and purchased fifty centimes (something like eight dollars today) of kif and proceeded to smoke for the remainder of the morning. Around noon he exited the café and visited several pubs, drinking "a bottle of wine, then about six glasses of anisette" before returning to the original Moorish café around 1:00 p.m. to continue smoking kif, eating madjaun, and drinking coffee. Soliman remembered then becoming overwhelmed with drunkenness and nausea and vomiting inside the café. And it was "at that moment [he] had an altercation with some Jews, who knocked [him] down," forcing the young man out into the street to continue his spree elsewhere. Around 3:00 p.m. Soliman returned to his home in Bouzaréah, "took a stick and went down to the Moorish café to rejoin [his] opponents." But from there, he pleaded and swore, "I do not remember what happened!" The doctors noted that the defendant clearly "underst[ood] the seriousness of his position" and, from their vantage, sincerely "expressed regret by shedding tears." Over and over he denied planning the attack or intending to kill anyone.

According to one news report, what unfolded along the Marché de la Lyre, a popular casbah (covered market) in the north of Algiers, was "a scene of carnage" as Soliman, "prey to unspeakable exasperation," ran into a crowd of Israelites gathered for the Sabbath and began clubbing indiscriminately left and right, injuring seven and killing a young boy named David Mouchi.⁷⁰ When forced to face several of his victims at the

initial arraignment in early September, Soliman claimed that he did not know or remember any of them, giving greater credence to the idea that his intoxication, especially due to hashish, might have so infected his moral constitution as to render him insane and thus partially not responsible for his actions. To gain greater clarity on the newly intersecting issues of hashish intoxication and legal culpability, the criminal court hired Bertherand and Latour to interview Soliman and, from their observations, answer three main questions: “1) Can the combined intoxicants make a man lose consciousness and the sense of what he is doing? 2) What is the virtue of kif and its pernicious influence on the brain and body of man? and 3) Did Soliman ben Mohammed, who had enough presence of mind to distinguish and choose his victims, not have the sense of what he was doing by striking, with a wooden club, the Jewish persons he met?”⁷¹

To the first question, Bertherand and Latour responded simply, yes, a bottle of wine, six glasses of anisette, coffee, hashish, and madjaun (all consumed within five to six hours) “are more than enough to produce a very marked drunkenness, especially in a Muslim who is not used to drinking [alcohol].”⁷² To the second question, concerning the “pernicious” effects of hashish on one’s mind and body, the doctors replied that “loss of memory, discolouration of the face and languor of the eyes, slimming, mania, madness and finally death are the consequences” of prolonged kif consumption. The authors also pointed to the well-known 1845 research of Moreau de Tours as evidence of the drug’s power to induce a “partial and furious delirium” in even a casual user such as Soliman. Moreau’s other, more central, claims from 1845, namely, that hashish could *cure* in addition to cause insanity, remained unvoiced in their report. As to the final question, Bertherand and Latour argued that, in their medical opinion, the defendant must be held responsible for his actions because his intention of exacting revenge against the initial group of Jewish Algerians was well formed before he consumed a drop of alcohol or took a puff of hashish. Moreover, it was discovered during the trial that Soliman had said to a coworker on the walk from Dely-Ibrahim the morning of the attack: “if I were given fifty Jews, I would knock them all heartily.” “These words,” Bertherand and Latour wrote, “were an expression of the inveterate antipathy and deep contempt of the Muslim for the Jew, rather than a real or specific threat.” “It is not surprising that Soliman ben Mohammed, in the fixity of his resentment ... could find by the analogy of the costume and without much effort of memory, the Israelites, on whom

he felt the need to quell his vengeance.”⁷³ Meaning, while Bertherand and Latour accepted that hashish (much like the potion used by the Old Man of the Mountain) temporarily annihilated Soliman’s free will and memory, his Islam-inspired desire for vengeance against Jews was premediated and so strong, so innate, that, through the haze of hashish, the very sight of a Jewish person instinctively ignited his rage and desire for retaliation. The Criminal Court of Algiers thus found Soliman guilty of murdering an “indigène juif” and sentenced him to five years’ imprisonment. Bertherand and Latour agreed with the sentence, arguing that, “as we have seen, hashish can lead one to commit acts dangerous to public safety; we thus demand that something be done to prohibit the sale of all preparations of *Cannabis indica*” throughout French Algeria.⁷⁴

Coverage of Soliman ben Mohammed’s case in Paris informed and likely alarmed metropolitan readers of *Le Constitutionnel* (then Bonapartist), the *Journal des débats* (a more or less liberal-leaning daily), and the *Journal de médecine et de chirurgie pratiques* (a peer-reviewed medical journal) with details of the murder and trial throughout September and into October of 1857.⁷⁵ An uncredited correspondent for *Le Constitutionnel* provided comprehensive coverage of the events from Algiers, giving life to the idea that medieval Hachichins had returned to North Africa to again threaten the spread of the French Empire and Western civilization. Soliman’s case, the author wrote, was just one example of the “widespread and deplorable use of hemp preparations called *kif*, *hachich*, and *tekrouri* made and consumed by the Orientals of Algeria.”⁷⁶ Echoing the concerns of Cauvain, Guyon, and Barry, the article reported that “more than half the natives admitted to the asylum of the Algiers civil hospital are hashish smokers and madjaun eaters. And experience has shown that almost none return to the community.” Soliman’s sentence, the author thus reasoned, was “not surprising” and set a firm precedent for “consequences of a crime committed under the influence of hashish.”⁷⁷ The *Journal des débats*, drawing largely from an article in *L’Akhbar*, a tri-weekly newspaper covering Algiers’ *faits divers*, described a similarly “tragic scene” of Islam-inspired and hash-fuelled anti-Semitism. “He paid no attention to the French and Spanish women and girls who live in the extremely popular quarter,” the *Journal* reported: it was only against indigenous Jews that Soliman directed his blows.⁷⁸ “We do not understand,” the article concluded, “the tolerance” that continues to characterize colonial policies on this issue.

With pressure growing both in Algiers and Paris, the colony moved to address the issue of hashish consumption in French Algeria and, by the end of 1857, Governor General Randon passed a decree restricting the sale of hashish to minors and increasing surveillance of cafés maures, where “consumers frequently became overly intoxicated” and threatened public order.⁷⁹ It was hoped that increased police presence around the cafés would deter violent behaviour in the haut quartiers of Algiers and the colony’s other major cities without inciting mass resistance to colonial rule. Proud French *colons*, Alphonse Bertherand and his younger brother Émile-Louis viewed the case and resulting sentence and regulations as startling half-measures considering the clear dangers posed by the drug in the hands of Algerian Muslims. The Bertherand brothers believed that the colony should at the very least limit the sale of hashish to minors, educate its youth about the “serious dangers of kif or hashish as an intoxicant,” and close the rowdy cafés maures where Hachichins gathered, especially those in the city’s haut quartier.⁸⁰ However, in the end, neither Randon’s half measure nor the Bertherands’ call for more severe restrictions truly materialized to reduce the sale and use of hashish in Algiers, let alone across the colony. When Louis-Napoleon III, in the summer of 1858, dissolved the Office of the Governor General in Algeria and replaced Randon with his first cousin Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte as the new minister for Algeria and the colonies, the bureaucratic restructuring coupled with growing anticolonial resistance throughout the colony in 1859 and 1860 seem to have deprioritized the hashish regulations. A close reading of the correspondence between the Bureau Arabe d’Alger and the ministers of Algeria during these two years reveals not a single mention of hashish or hashish-related crimes.⁸¹ After just two years of the ministry’s struggling to control and administer the colony, Louis-Napoleon, heeding the advice of “Arabophile” officers and officials of his imperial court (such as General Émile Fleury and Frédéric Lacroix), restored the Office of the Governor General in December 1860 under Marshal Aimable Pélissier.⁸² In the shuffle of colonial authority Randon’s decree went unenforced and hashish consumption continued largely uninhibited through the 1860s.

Not only did the case of Soliman ben Mohammed lead to the creation of laws regulating the sale of hashish in French Algeria (however short-lived), but it also helped engender a shift in public and professional perceptions of the drug back in Paris. After nearly two decades of French

physicians publicly extolling the medicinal, scientific, and even spiritual virtues of hashish, the Parisian coverage of the case in the fall of 1857 helped engender a shift in popular and professional opinions of the drug back in France. As discussed in the previous two chapters, from the late 1830s through the early 1850s hashish enjoyed a brief but vibrant period of general acceptance among French pharmacists and physicians, some (Aubert-Roche, Moreau, Gastinel, de Courtive, etc.) even staking their careers on the efficacy of the drug. However, hashish began to be de-medicalized in 1850s France due, in part, to the inability of chemists to isolate and standardize its active ingredient, which led to a decline in its use by physicians, and to the fact that the medical philosophies that supported its use were starting to give way to a paradigmatic shift towards germ theory. The news and medico-legal ideas coming out of French Algeria in the late 1850s fed into and accelerated the de-medicalization of hashish that was beginning to unfold in France. As we know, the Catholic alienist Alexandre Brière de Boismont was among the first in France to criticize hashish (against prevailing opinions) *and* to substantiate his critiques through stories of hash-crazed Algerian Muslims committing acts of religiously inspired murder. Remember that he reported a story about how, on 27 May 1850 in the city of Constantine, a hash-crazed Muslim “Arab,” hearing voices in his head demanding the “blood” and “skin” of a Jew as a sacrifice to Muhammad, grabbed a young Jewish boy and tried to throw him in the Rhumell gorge.⁸³ According to Boismont, “there is no doubt that the murderer had hallucinations whose cause was obviously the use of hashish ... its use is therefore not as innocent as it has been claimed.”⁸⁴ With the sensationalized case of Soliman ben Mohammed, Boismont’s early and largely lone warnings of modern-day Hachichins threatening French civilization appeared sage and the threat of Hachichins real.

Starting with Soliman’s case in late summer of 1857 and extending well into the 1860s, reports of hash-crazed Muslims committing violent crimes in French Algeria appeared with steady frequency, especially in Parisian newspapers and medical peer-reviewed journals.⁸⁵ The *Journal de chimie médicale*, for example, in June 1860 published a report from Algiers about an “act of savage violence” committed at the city’s Great Mosque (Djamaa el Kebir) by a man called Hammoud el-Kahouadjii, who owned a café maure on rue Philippe and was known for being an avid smoker of hashish. The café owner, rendered “furious and insane” by his

hashish addiction, entered the mosque from rue de la Marine and “rushed upon a young Moor, violently biting him in his face.”⁸⁶ According to the report “this madman” then attacked the boy’s father before several people intervened, restrained him, and brought him to the prison to await his trial for attempted murder. The *Journal de chimie médicale*, which twenty years before had published a quite favourable review of French physician Louis Aubert-Roche’s study and use of hashish as a cure for plague in Egypt, viewed the case of Hammoud as a clear indication that the intoxicant’s career cycle as an accepted pharmaceutical *and* legal recreational drug had come to an end.⁸⁷ “It is worth recalling, in connection with the facts of this case,” the report continued, “that there are about fifty natives in Algiers suffering from madness for the same cause.” If we trust this statistic, the tally of fifty natives suffering from “folie hashishique” in 1860 shows a nearly 500 per cent increase from the eleven cases reported by Cauvain in 1851.⁸⁸ This perceived increase in the number of hash-crazed Muslims threatening social order in French Algeria, an escalation highlighted and amplified by the sensationalized cases of Soliman ben Mohammed and Hammoud el-Kahouadjii, pushed the anonymous writer for the *Journal de chimie* to officially change tunes on hashish. “It is therefore advisable,” the article concluded, “to execute some measures against the sale of hashish and madjoun. During the rule of the Turks, the conjurers (*manipulateurs*) and sellers of this plant were severely punished. This is one of those wise prohibitions that French civilization can borrow with advantage from Ottoman barbarism.”⁸⁹ Echoing the earlier sentiments of General Walsin-Esterhazy, who incongruously believed the French should employ Oriental barbarism to civilize the Oriental barbarians of Algeria, the writer from the *Journal de chimie*, convinced by the shocking statistics and stories coming out of Algiers, now believed that hashish posed such a threat to French civilization that resorting to barbarism to eradicate it was the wisest and more civilized thing the empire could do.

This call to adopt severe prohibitions against hashish historically (and unsystematically) employed by the Ottomans and ruling Sunni elite in North Africa between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries appeared with increased frequency in both France and French Algeria during the 1860s and into the 1870s. As discussed in chapter 2, the Ottoman beys and ruling Sunni elite in North Africa for centuries debated and attempted to prohibit the sale and consumption of hashish, especially among Sufi

communities.⁹⁰ From the infamous and oft-cited punishment of de-teething imposed on hashish consumption in Cairo by the Mameluke king al-Zahir Babr in the 1260s to the Ottoman bey Si Tzakar's public execution of four hashish-smokers in Bône in the early 1800s, examples of Ottoman severity and barbarism (to which Napoleon I and Napoleon III both repeatedly pointed as moral justification for the expansion of French interests in Ottoman-controlled North Africa) became models of effective colonial policy and were seen as the necessary first steps of France's civilizing mission. Continued reports of contemporary Hachichin(e)s – such as that in *La Presse* in 26 August 1863 about a woman named Fatma who died in hospital in Constantine after allegedly catching fire while smoking hashish – coupled with the news of the Ottoman Empire's reinstating an empire-wide ban on hashish in 1864 resulted in a perfect cocktail of colonial hypocrisy and racialism that intoxicated the minds of the French, allowing myths and misconceptions about hashish and the Arabo-Islamic world to form the foundation of drug policies in French Algeria and, later, in France itself.⁹¹

In his excellent study of marijuana prohibition in nineteenth-century Mexico, *Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs* (2012), historian Isaac Campos notes similar confusion and contradiction at the heart of the United States of America's historical fight against drug addiction.⁹² Campos's research convincingly shows that the traditional understanding of the United States's infamous "war on drugs" as a somewhat recent confrontation between the American government and Mexican and South American cartels is flawed because it ignores the fact that American anti-marijuana sentiment and prohibition policies were "homegrown" in Mexico – that is, they were cultivated within Mexico's socio-medical and popular discourse during the mid-nineteenth century. Out of this vibrant domestic discourse in Mexico (in which marijuana consistently appeared as "quintessentially indigenous, putatively dangerous," and tied to lower classes) emerged federal marijuana prohibitions in the late 1880s, some fifty years before similar policies appeared in the United States. As Campos shows, it was from these Mexican anti-marijuana laws that lawmakers in, first, the southwestern states and, later, Washington, DC, formulated early American anti-marijuana laws during the first decades of the 1900s. While these American lawmakers appropriated the anti-marijuana policies that were "home-grown" in Mexico, they also expropriated the home-grown

“marijuana lore” used by nineteenth-century Mexican elites to “orientalize their own country’s lower classes.”⁹³

We see a strikingly similar dynamic at work in France during the mid-to late 1800s as the early founders of France’s “war on drugs” directed their rhetoric towards the dehumanization of dangerous hashish-distributing and hashish-consuming Muslims, all the while pointing explicitly to a reductive and context-shorn chronicle of Ottoman violence against hashish users as an effective playbook for “civilized” anti-drug policy in French Algeria. An article from the January 1864 edition of the *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques* captures this colonial slippage in its calls for anti-hashish laws in French Algeria that would operate along the same lines as those recently created in Constantinople under Sultan Abdul Aziz.⁹⁴ According to the newly added Article 96 of the criminal code in the Ottoman capital, Dr Paul-Louis Ballhazar Caffé wrote: “the distribution of hashish, a toxic substance, is prohibited to all except pharmacists, and smoking hashish in cafés is strictly prohibited.” Reminding the reader of the many “dangers derived from the habit of hashish too often revealed,” Caffé argued: “It is to be hoped that the French administration draws similar attention to the poison of hashish, which decimates the population in Algeria.”⁹⁵

CONCLUSION: CONFLATING MYTH WITH REALITY IN HASHISH

Despite the numerous and animated calls during late 1850s and throughout the 1860s to impose anti-hash regulations in French Algeria based on those in the Ottoman Empire, the minor policies that did pass during this time (e.g., Randon’s 1857 decree and those of the Ottoman Sultan in 1864) were lost in the shuffle of regime changes and, well into the 1870s, were largely unenforced by police and ignored by the masses. In a proposal sent to the Société Savantes in Paris in March 1880, Émile-Louis Bertherand, physician from Algiers and secretary general of the Société des sciences physiques naturelles et climatologiques d’Alger, bemoaned this state of affairs across the three provinces of Algeria, where “hash-crazed Muslims” continued to threaten public safety and hygiene without real consequence.⁹⁶ The younger brother of Alphonse Bertherand, Émile-Louis, estimated that the number of café maures and *haschichia* in Algiers alone had grown from a handful in 1830 to 21 in 1851 to over 60 in 1880. He estimated that in the previous year (1879), over fifteen thousand kilos of kif at the average price of 1.40 francs per kilo were sold in Algiers, and “mostly to the Kabyles, who consume the greatest quantities of the drug, fuelling their growth in numbers daily.”⁹⁷

From the beginning of the Third Republic's turn at attempting to "civilize" French Algeria in 1871, which marked the formal end of military occupation and ascendancy of the interests and authority of French *colons* within the colonial government, a renewed campaign of anti-French resistance emerged among the 3 million predominantly Muslim natives, especially from the Kabyle-Berber communities to the northeast of Algiers.⁹⁸ The extension of civil authority in and sequestration of Berber lands by the new civil authorities, widespread famine caused by drought and a locust invasion, and the weakened condition of the French military after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War together provided the motive and opportunity for rebellion among the Kabyle-Berber tribes led by Muhammad El-Mokrani.⁹⁹ As historian Patricia M.E. Lorcin shows in *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (1995), the French in the first decades of their colonial conquest of Algeria mythologized the Kabyle Berbers as good, civilizable North Africans as compared to the hopelessly barbaric Arabs.¹⁰⁰ But when the Kabyle rose in defiance of the Third Republic's land reorganization schemes, the French quickly disregarded this "myth" of Kabyle assimilability and linked the rebellion to hashish consumption among the tribes. In a letter to the National Assembly in January 1870, the général commandant of Constantine reported that a "large number of religious orders have emerged in Algeria, all of which are based on pure Mohometism," and whose "founders ordered their followers to use hashish."¹⁰¹ The unnamed commandant then connected the anti-imperial resistance of Abd el-Kader (during the 1840s) and Muhammad El-Mokrani (early 1870s) to the infamous activities of the Assassins of Alamut. "This practice derives from those of the Old Man of the Mountain and his followers, known as 'Assassins.' In the grip of this delirious intoxication," the commandant wrote, conflating myth with reality, "the disciples are capable of anything; the crimes will cost him nothing, as they will open to him the doors of paradise. The philosophy of this religious order has borne fruit in the new successors." Similar warnings of modern-day Hachichins terrorizing the Republic's North African departments were voiced in the National Assembly throughout the 1870s, echoing the anti-hashish sentiments of *colon* physicians such as the Bertherand brothers and, thus, further reifying the criminality of hashish in the minds of French physicians and lawmakers across the empire.¹⁰²

As we see throughout this chapter, many of the reports of hashish-

induced insanity and criminality among Muslims in Algeria penned by French physicians, military officers, and colonial administrators between 1840 and 1880 conflated myth and reality: they routinely employed the Assassins myth trope and other Orientalized perceptions of hashish and the Arabo-Islamic world to make medical and legal sense of behaviours and events that likely only tangentially involved – rather than revolved around – hashish consumption. These reports of hash-crazed, sexually deviant, religiously fanatical, furiously violent murderers portrayed the over 3 million Muslim “voteless subjects” of France as revived Hachichins, and, in so doing, they failed to adequately contextualize, let alone examine and offer alternative explanations for, this behaviour. For example, why did Bertherand and Latour so firmly connect Soliman’s furious attack on Algerian Jews to hashish intoxication and not to the bottle of wine and six glasses of anisette he also consumed hours before the attack? Blinded by the same civilizational dichotomy poetically described by Charles Baudelaire in *Les Paradis artificiels* (1860), Bertherand and Latour ignored alcohol as a cause and argued instead that Soliman’s Arabo-Muslim heritage rendered him biologically incapable of processing wine (the favoured drink of civilization) and prone to hash-fuelled religious fanaticism.¹⁰³ Why did the journalists of *L’Ahkbar* and the editors of numerous Parisian medical journals attribute the assault of Hammoud el-Kahouadjii to the fact that he owned a café maure and was known to habitually consume hashish when his profession and hashish consumption had never before given rise to concern? Could the dispute between Hammoud and the father and son at the Grand Mosque not have stemmed instead from a business, personal, and/or familial quarrel unrelated to hashish? In both cases, and in others discussed throughout the chapter, French observers and adjudicators ignored these very real possibilities and instead deployed a mythistory of hashish, one that had recently been de-medicalized (and thus disconnected from the brief period during the late 1830s and 1840s when medical enthusiasm for the drug in Paris and Europe was high), to cast Muslim Algerians who resisted the advance of French civilization as Hachichins.

Conclusion

Over the past four decades, an international movement to legalize and medicalize marijuana has gradually swept across the Western world. Starting slowly in the 1970s in the Netherlands (1976) and New Mexico (1978), this movement to legitimize marijuana gained significant momentum around the turn of the century, spreading to eight other states in the United States and three other European nations by 2004. As of the end of 2017, twenty-nine states in the United States (as well as Washington, DC) and eighteen member nations of the European Union have reformed previous prohibition policies and decriminalized and/or medicalized marijuana in their jurisdictions. While much of the movement's impetus came from "grass-roots" marijuana activists fighting for social and racial justice, the most recent surge in legislative reform has been fuelled more by venture capitalism and prospective tax revenues.¹ As a recent article in *Forbes* detailed, the global legal and medical marijuana market this year is estimated at \$7.7 billion and projected to exceed \$30 billion by 2021.² The lion's share of this expanding global market (around 90 per cent) is located in the United States; the state of Colorado alone raked in nearly \$200 million in tax revenue in 2016 from roughly \$1.3 billion in total marijuana sales.³

Though a vast majority of legitimate marijuana commerce today is transacted in the United States and Canada, a growing number of European nations and Israel have loosened their drug proscriptions to better stimulate medical research and, for some, create the foundations for the regulation and taxation of recreational marijuana.⁴ A notable example is Israel, which today operates as a second "epicentre" in the seismic shift in medical marijuana movement currently sweeping the globe. Since the 1960s, Israeli chemists have led the world in state-sponsored scientific and medical research on cannabis. This tradition began in the 1960s with Raphael Mechoulam at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who first isolated and synthesized THC in 1963 and thirty years later helped discover the endocannabinoid system, a network of neurotransmitters and receptors built into the brain that are stimulated by cannabinoids – namely, THC. Liberal marijuana policies mixed with state-sponsored research in Israel helped grow this scientific tradition into a multi-million-dollar industry projected to reach \$1 billion by 2020.⁵

But one nation, historically at the forefront of medical and scientific research and generally viewed as having a bohemian and progressive

culture, is conspicuously absent among the growing list of countries pursuing the decriminalization and medicalization of marijuana. Despite having the highest rates of cannabis use in all of the European Union, France continues to enforce – against the wishes of a majority of French citizens who support reforms – arguably the most repressive laws against the drug in the EU, with possession offences punishable by up to one year in prison and a 3,750 Euro fine, and trafficking and cultivation offences punishable by up to a ten-year sentence and a 75,000 Euro fine.⁶ And, as previously discussed, the French politicians who crafted these laws in the wake of student protests in 1968–69 built them around the centuries-old and scientifically verified “fact” that cannabis is an Oriental intoxicant that transforms Western youths into violent Muslim maniacs. The final version of law no. 70-1320 of 31 December 1970 thus hardened penalties and lengthened jail time for drug trafficking and gave police forces unprecedented power to suspend basic civil liberties in the pursuit of suspected drug traffickers and distributors. Under the same law, those convicted of drug possession or public intoxication were deemed victims of addiction and were required to undergo rehabilitation treatment supervised by state-regulated medical institutions or suffer criminal prosecution. In short, the law vilified drug traffickers (depicted as hashish-pushing Arab assassins) and victimized drug users (deemed as passive addicts in need of state-supervised medical treatment). And, as a 2009 study conducted by the Open Society Justice Initiative and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique revealed, France’s current war on drugs disproportionately targets the nation’s Arab and Muslim minority communities, believed by legislators and police to be the primary traffickers and distributors of illegal substances in the Fifth Republic.⁷ While the current French government and its president, Emmanuel Macron, have indicated their intention to reform marijuana policies in France, the administration has been slow to offer any substantial changes and has proposed no explicit plan to replace the prohibition system outlined by the 1970 proscriptions.⁸

In recent decades, this reluctance in France to reform cannabis laws and concede ground to the global medicalization and legalization movements currently sweeping the United States and other European nations has stymied medical marijuana research and legislation that could deliver effective medicines to ailing French citizens. As of the end of 2016, only a handful of cannabis-based medications were available on the

French market, including Marinol, Kanavape, and Sativex.⁹ But the story of Sativex, a cannabis-based oromucosal spray designed to treat spasticity disorders in muscular dystrophy patients, is illustrative of the general reluctance of French politicians to reverse two centuries of drug-related demagoguery at the policy level. Though approved by the French Ministry of Health in 2014, Sativex has remained out of French pharmacies due to a pricing dispute between the French government and the medicine's creators, the British-owned GW Pharmaceuticals.¹⁰ In a recent interview in *Le Parisien*, Senator Esther Benbassa argued that this reluctance comes entirely from politicians and constituencies who are “too conservative.” “Today,” she continued, “sick people have to go to other countries to get Sativex. The legalization of cannabis is not a taboo and should not remain so ... Look at the United States, they have already gone through some stages of therapeutic cannabis to recreation. We are one of the most repressive countries in the world when we are among the biggest consumers. This is a problem that needs to be addressed with rational answers .”¹¹ Again, while Macron's administration has proposed some reforms to France's cannabis restrictions – namely, decriminalization in major cities – the government is far from proffering complete legalization or dismantling the logic and foundations of the 1970 drug laws. Thus, for the foreseeable future, racialized taboos will continue to drive French anti-drug policies and further prevent effective cannabis-based medicines from reaching French patients.

This continued unwillingness to reform cannabis prohibitions and the corresponding dearth of scientific research into medical marijuana in France today is rendered all the more curious when compared to the ubiquity of cannabis in French medicine during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. As this book details, during the mid-nineteenth century Paris functioned as the epicentre of a global movement to medicalize cannabis (specifically hashish) for the study and treatment of a variety of major diseases ranging from cholera and the plague to insanity. Many pharmacists and physicians practising in France and throughout the West then believed that hashish, though a dangerous and exotic intoxicant from the Orient, could be tamed by the developing pharmaceutical sciences and, once refined, used by physicians to treat the era's most frightening and deadly ailments. As we see in chapters 3 and 4, between 1840 and 1860 dozens of French pharmacists and physicians published over one hundred dissertations, monographs, and peer-reviewed articles on the medicinal and

scientific benefits of medicalized cannabis. And a close examination of these publications reveals that discussions and debates about cannabis-based medicines figured prominently in the early professionalization of French pharmacy and psychiatry as well as in prominent mid-nineteenth-century medical debates, most notably those concerning the nature and spread of epidemic diseases, the treatment of insanity, and the efficacy of homeopathy.

These publications also reveal that medical ideas about cannabis-growing in France in the mid-nineteenth century were cross-pollinated by a trans-imperial medical discourse stretching from British India through Continental Europe to Central and North America. Physicians practising in Calcutta, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Cairo, Milan, Stockholm, Brussels, Lyon, London, Edinburgh, Boston, and Utica commented on research coming out of Paris, many offering praise for the new Oriental wonder-drug and sharing their own cannabis-related findings from personal experiments and medical treatments. The domestic and international approval for Moreau's findings in *Du hachisch et l'aliénation mentale* (1845), for example, helped launch roughly a decade and a half of sustained popularity for the drug in French and Western medical circles. Dozens of physicians and pharmacists in the United States, England, and numerous European states and empires read, reviewed, and mostly praised Moreau's work with hashish, many lauding the drug as a "heroic remedy" and "gift to Western medicine and the civilized world."¹² In the United States and the Italian and German states especially, pharmacists, doctors, and scientists seized upon these new French discoveries, importing and propagating Moreau's psychotomimetic medical theories *and* his racialized perceptions of hashish as an intoxicant whose psychotropic profile is reflective of Oriental barbarism. While most today think of the infamous "French Connection" – the Corsican narco-traffickers who supplied the United States with heroin from Marseilles during the 1950s and 1960s – when positioning France within the context of the global history of intoxicants, it's clear that an original French connection existed over a century earlier. Rather than an illicit trade in illegal narcotics, this first French connection operated as an entirely legitimate, scientific, and, at times, commercial enterprise that trafficked internationally in the latest medical ideas and practices.

The vast majority of these international publications similarly codified hashish as an "Oriental intoxicant" or "Indian medicine" with dangerous

psychotropic properties reflective of an untamed, violent, and savage world. This racialized stereotype of cannabis as a dangerous and exotic intoxicant – the same stereotype that underpins current prohibitions in France and twenty-one of the states in the United States – mostly stimulated research into and use of the drug in the West during the 1830s and 1840s, and many practitioners and pharmacists viewed cannabis as an important proving ground for the civilizing power of Western medicine. However, when cannabis-based medications proved ineffective due to misdiagnosis, prescribing errors, and inconsistent dosages, the same stereotypes that helped fuel the rise of cannabis in Western medicine during the 1840s were marshalled by a new generation of doctors in the 1860s and 1870s, especially in France, to argue against its efficacy and to support their diagnoses of “hashish poisoning” and “hashish-induced insanity,” particularly among the newly colonized subjects of Asia and North Africa.

With the continued expansion of French territory in Algeria in the late nineteenth century, new generations of physicians working in the colonies increasingly reported “hashish-poisoning” and “hashish-induced insanity” among France’s colonial citizens.¹³ These physicians, notably Drs Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon (chief surgeon of the French African Army), Julien Larue du Barry (military pharmacist stationed in Constantine), and Émile-Louis Bertherand (medical expert in Algiers’s criminal court), routinely pointed to habitual hashish consumption as a clear indication of the racial inferiority of Algeria’s native Muslim population. “The Arab people,” Bertherand wrote in 1855, “are in a state of moral and physical degradation ... theft and murder plague the moral order, syphilis and mange the material order.”¹⁴ “The effects produced by the use of *Kif* are really disastrous,” he later wrote, and

the consumption of *Kif* has grown significantly in Algeria since the conquest. In 1830, there was only one vender of *Kif* in Algiers; today, there are 60. The proportion is the same in the other important towns of Algeria, and the pernicious influence of *Kif* is so considerable that in the quarter of Constantine authorities were forced to confine eleven Muslims with dementia caused by the abuse of this strange stimulant ... A very high fee or a considerable tax on the matter would be able to stop the evil. I am trying to share this opinion with the Assembly.¹⁵

Émile-Louis Bertherand spent the next twenty years working to convince

the colonial authorities in Algeria and the National Assembly back in Paris that cannabis-based intoxicants offered one of the greatest threats to public hygiene and thus to the moral and social order of the French Empire.¹⁶ And while he failed to convince it to pass a blanket prohibition of hashish during his lifetime, his publications became key pieces of evidence in later debates during the twentieth century that, ultimately, led to the creation of anti-cannabis policies that remain in effect in France today.¹⁷

Contemporary French policy-makers can learn much from the history of their nation's first major encounter with cannabis during the mid-nineteenth century. For starters, the fact that the same Orientalized myths that underpin anti-cannabis laws in France today were used a century earlier speaks to their absurdity and to the urgent need for drug policies in France (and elsewhere) to be unmoored from archaic ideas about hash-crazed Muslim assassins and reaffixed to realistic and ethical public health initiatives. Not only have these myths led to a "racialized drug war" in France that disproportionately targets the nation's Arab and Muslim minority communities, whom both legislators and the police believe to be the primary traffickers and distributors of illegal narcotics in the Fifth Republic. But they have also stymied the nation's research into medical marijuana, kept thousands of patients from receiving effective care, and isolated the French economy from the exponentially expanding global cannabis market. If France were to engage its colonial past, reform its prohibitionist policies, and make room for medical research and commercialization inside the Hexagon, perhaps it could again become a global leader in this new medical marijuana movement.

Notes
INTRODUCTION

- 1 For more on the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961, which standardized definitions and prohibitions of illicit intoxicants (including cannabis) for UN signatories, see William B. McAllister, *Drug Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century: An International History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 185–212.
- 2 *Journal officiel de la République française: Débats parlementaires – Assemblée nationale, Compte rendu des séances* (hereafter *JORF*) 63 (Friday, 24 October 1969): 2935. All translations from the French, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 2944.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 2945.
- 5 *Ibid.* Hashish is a cannabis product produced by collecting and compressing the stalked resin glands, or trichomes, of the plant and its variety of subspecies. This compressed resin contains the plant’s psychoactive compound, delta-9-tetrahydrocannabinol, commonly known as THC, and can be cooked into foods, boiled into liquids, or smoked to release the intoxicant into the body. See Leslie L. Iversen, *The Science of Marijuana* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 19–22, 33–5.
- 6 Farhad Daftary, *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 10–13.
- 7 For more on the Marco Polo fabrication, see Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967); Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 301–2; Daftary, *Ismailis*; Robin Brown, *Marco Polo: Journey to the End of the Earth* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), 165; and Ian Richard Netton, “Ibn Battuta in Wanderland: Voyage as Text – Was Ibn Battuta an Orientalist?” in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (New York: Routledge, 2013), 237.
- 8 By “violence” I mean human behaviour that causes intentional, non-consensual, and often non-essential harm, physical or mental in nature but often both, to other humans. See Sherry Hamby, “On Defining Violence, and Why It Matters,” *Psychology of Violence* 7, 2 (2017): 167–80.
- 9 The law called for a minimum penalty of five years in prison and fines amounting to no more than 50 million francs for all those

convicted of drug trafficking and distribution. The law also allowed police forces to enter private residences without a warrant if sufficient evidence of drug trafficking or distribution existed, and it also strengthened the power of the state to exile and deport suspected traffickers. See *JORF* 4 (18 December 1970): 6704.

- 10 Alexandre Marchant, “Petite histoire de la prohibition des stupéfiants en France,” *La Découverte* 1, 3 (2018): 10-15; and *L’Impossible Prohibition: Drogues et toxicomanie en France 1945–2017* (Paris: Perrin, 2018).
- 11 Sihem Souid, “La guerre aux drogues, une guerre contre les minorités ethniques?” *Le Point*, 11 July 2014, http://www.lepoint.fr/invites-du-point/sihem-souid/la-guerre-aux-drogues-une-guerre-contre-les-minorites-ethniques-07-11-2014-1879530_421.php; Kim Hullot-Guiot and Cécile Bourgneuf, “La lutte contre les drogues, une ‘guerre raciale?’” *Libération*, 15 April 2015, https://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/15/la-lutte-contre-les-drogues-une-guerre-raciale_1240975.
- 12 *Les Musulmans en Europe* (New York: Open Society Foundations, 2011), 206, https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/ad5b247d-a060-4585-8efa-f2e5dd81cd6f/h-muslims-in-europe-french-20110912_0.pdf.
- 13 Fabrice Olivet, Samuel Roberts, Jean-Maxence Granier, Virgil Blanc, and Marie Jauffret-Roustide, “Guerre à la drogue, guerre raciale?” *Esprit* 2 (February 2017): 85–93.
- 14 As it is forbidden by law (loi 78-17) in France to collect statistics based on race, religion, or ethnicity, all quantitative data on ethnicity in France comes to us via scholarly, NGO-produced, and journalistic works. These particular statistics come from Farhad Khosrokhavar, *Prisons de France: Violence, radicalisation, déshumanisation ... Quand surveillants et détenus parlent* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 2016); Christopher de Bellaigue, “In France Muslims Face Mass Incarceration,” *Pulitzercenter.org*, 8 April 2016, <https://pulitzercenter.org/reporting/france-muslims-face-mass-incarceration>; and “Are French Prisons ‘Finishing Schools’ for Terrorism,” *Guardian*, 18 December 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/17/are-french-prisons-finishing-schools-for-terrorism>.

- 15 According to a report commissioned by the French National Assembly and released in January 2018, France has witnessed a tenfold increase in the number of narcotics convictions from 2000 to 2015, increasing from 3,481 to 37,160, respectively. In 2010, a peak year during the period for arrests, 102,000 of 140,000 arrests for simple drug possession in France involved cannabis. See Éric Poulliat and Robin Reda, “Rapport d’information: Déposé en application de l’article 145 du Règlement par la Commission des Lois Constitutionnelles, de la Législation et de l’Administration Générale de la République, En conclusion des travaux d’une mission d’information relative à l’application d’une procédure d’amende forfaitaire au délit d’usage illicite de stupéfiants,” Paris, 25 January 2018, <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/15/pdf/rap-info/i0595.pdf>.
- 16 For an overview of this expanding field in European history, see the introduction of James H. Mills and Patricia Barton, eds, *Drugs and Empires: Essays in Modern Imperialism and Intoxication, c. 1500–c. 1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1–18.
- 17 Notable studies of drugs and prohibition in France include Ernest L. Abel, “The Hashish Club,” in *Marijuana: The First Twelve Thousand Years* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1980), 148–70; Jean-Jacques Yvorel, *Les poisons de l’esprit: Drogues et drogués au XIXème siècle* (Paris: Quai Voltaire, 1992); Howard Padwa, “National Security and Narcotics Control in France, 1907–1920,” *Western Society for French History* 33 (2005): 245–60; “Anti-Narcotic Nationalism in Britain and France, 1866–1916,” *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 22, 2 (2008): 168–83; and *Social Poison: The Culture and Politics of Opiate Control in Britain and France, 1821–1926* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Emmanuelle Retailaud-Bajac, *Les paradis perdus: Drogues et usagers de drogues dans la France de l’entre-deux-guerres* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009); Takuya Watanabe, “L’émergence de la drogue: La construction d’une catégorie à partir des cas de l’opium, du haschisch et de la morphine, xixe – xxie siècle, France,” *L’Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* (2012), <http://acrh.revues.org/5067>.
- 18 Padwa, *Social Poison*, 8 (emphasis in original).
- 19 An important exception is Chantal Descours-Gatin’s *Quand l’opium finançait la colonisation en Indochine: L’élaboration de la régie*

générale de l'opium, 1860 à 1914 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992), which explores how French colonial authorities hijacked a vibrant indigenous opium trade in Indochina to help finance their territorial conquest there during the first decades of the twentieth century.

- 20 Notable works that pushed the “imperial turn” in French historiography include Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Pascal Blanchard and Sandrine Lemaire, eds, *Culture coloniale: La France conquise par son empire, 1871–1931* (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2002); Martin Evans, ed., *Empire and Culture: The French Experience, 1830–1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Négritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Robert Aldrich, *Vestiges of the Colonial Empire in France: Monuments, Museums and Colonial Memories* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, ND: Duke University Press, 2006); Emmanuelle Sibeud, “Du postcolonialisme au questionnement postcolonial: pour un transfert critique,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54, 4 (2007): 142–55; Jean-Frédéric Schaub, “La catégorie ‘études coloniales’ est-elle indispensable?” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 3 (2008): 625–46; Ian Coller, *Arab France: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 1789–1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
- 21 Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, 4.
- 22 Wilder, *French Imperial Nation-State*, 3.
- 23 Marc Ferro, “Foreword – French Colonization: An Inaudible History,” in *Colonial Culture in France since the Revolution*, ed.

- Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, Nicolas Bancel, Dominic Thomas, and Alexis Pernsteiner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 51–5. It should be noted that the current French president, Emmanuel Macron, has acknowledged and apologized officially for the nation’s use of torture during the Algerian War as well as for the state-sponsored assassination of numerous political dissidents in Algiers during the 1940s and 1950s. See Yasmeen Serhan, “Emmanuel Macron Tries – Slowly – to Reckon with France’s Past,” *Atlantic*, 14 September 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/emmanuel-macron-acknowledges-torture-algeria/570283>.
- 24 Marc Ferro, ed., *Le livre noir du colonialisme, XVIe-XXIe siècle: De l’extermination à la repentance* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2003).
- 25 Article 4: Law No. 2005-158 of 23 February 2005, <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000444898&-categorieLien=id>. For more on “historical negationism,” or the process altering or negating the interpretation of past events to serve a contemporary political and/or socio-cultural cause, see Henry Rousso, “The Political and Cultural Roots of Negationism in France,” trans. Lucy Golsan and Richard J. Golson, *South Central Review* 23, 1 (2006): 67–88.
- 26 Marc Ferro, “Foreword: French Colonization: An Inaudible History,” 52. Statistics in Kamel Kateb, “Européens, ‘indigènes,’ et juifs en Algérie, 1830-1962,” *Collection travaux et documents, cahier n. 145* (Paris: Éditions de l’Institut national d’études démographiques, 2001), 16, 30, 47–8.
- 27 Frantz Fanon, *L’An V de la révolution Algérienne* (Paris: François Maspero, 1959) [Published in English as *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1965)]; and *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris: François Maspero, 1961) [Published in English as *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1965)].
- 28 Fanon, *Dying Colonialism*, 4.
- 29 Yves Benot, *Massacres coloniaux, 1944–1950: La IVe République et la mise au pas des colonies françaises* (Paris: La Découverte, 1994); Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All the Brutes*, trans. Joan Tate (New York: New Press, 1996); Kateb, “Européens, ‘indigènes,’ et juifs en Algérie”; Benjamin Stora and Mohammed Harbi, *La Guerre*

- d'Algérie 1954–2004, la fin de l'amnésie* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2004); Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, *Coloniser, exterminer: Sur la guerre et l'état colonial* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), 18; “Violences symboliques et discriminations raciales dans l’empire français,” *Historical Reflections* 36, 2 (2010): 24–38. Though focused on German East Africa, Isabel V. Hull’s *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005) likewise refocused historians’ attention onto Europe’s justifications for and uses of excessive violence to colonize Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the ways in which colonial violence foreshadowed and shaped state violence during the World Wars.
- 30 Drawing from philosopher Étienne Balibar and historian Samuel Kalman, I define “structural violence” as social systems and practices that “maintain unequal social relations while defending ‘the interests, power positions, and forms of social domination.’” See Samuel Kalman, “Introduction: Colonial Violence,” *Historical Reflections* 36, 2 (2010): 1. Notable works in this vein include Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*; Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers, and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Amit Prakash, “Colonial Techniques in the Imperial Capital: The Prefecture of Police and the Surveillance of North Africans in Paris, 1925–circa 1970,” *French Historical Studies* 36, 3 (2013) : 479–510; Frederick Cooper, “French Africa, 1947–48: Reform, Violence, and Uncertainty in a Colonial Situation,” *Critical Inquiry* 40, 4 (2014) : 466–78.
- 31 See also Alice Conklin, “Colonialism and Human Rights, a Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895–1914,” *American Historical Review* 103, 2 (1998): 419–442, and with Ian Christopher Fletcher, *European Imperialism, 1830–1930: Climax and Contradictions* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).
- 32 Prakash, “Colonial Techniques,” 481–2.
- 33 Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- 34 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Hilcox (New York: Grove Press, 2008), 220, 2.
- 35 Julia Clancy-Smith, “La Femme Arabe: Women and Sexuality in

- France's North African Empire," in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic Society*, ed. Amira El Azhary Sonbol (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 63.
- 36 The law defined "signs" as "a large cross, a veil, or a skullcap." See Law of 15 March 2004, quoted in Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 1. See also John R. Bowen, *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- 37 Jacques Chirac quoted in Scott, *Politics of the Veil*, 158.
- 38 Joan Wallach Scott, "France's Ban on the Islamic Veil Has Little to Do with Female Emancipation," *Guardian*, 26 August 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2010/aug/26/france-ban-islamic-veil>.
- 39 "French MPs Vote to Ban Islamic Full Veil in Public," *BBC News*, 13 July 2010, <https://www.bbc.com/news/10611398>.
- 40 Alexis de Tocqueville quoted in Scott, *Politics of the Veil*, 46. See also Todd Shepard, *Sex, France, and Arab Men, 1962–1979* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
- 41 Scott, *Politics of the Veil*, 46–7 (emphasis in original).
- 42 François Guizot quoted in *ibid.*, 47.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 44 Historian Martin Thomas defines the "French colonial mind" in the *Annales* tradition of *histoire des mentalités* as "a collective conscious, or unconscious, thought process – a universal mind of French colonialism – that influenced, determined, or otherwise affected key decisions in the colonial encounter" engendered by French overseas conquest. See Martin Thomas, "Introduction: Mapping the French Colonial Mind," in *The French Colonial Mind*, vol. 1, *Mental Maps of Empire and Colonial Encounters* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), xi.
- 45 Christian Makarian, "Tobie Natahn: Pour Daech, les temples sont des idoles modernes," *L'Express*, 9 October 2015. A similar reference to hashish as a cause of terrorism also appeared in the British press (in response to the November 2016 attacks in Paris) and the Israeli press (in response to the February 2016 attacks in Tel Aviv). See Christopher Brooks, "BBC Censures Itself for Telling Truth about 'Global Warming' –Christopher Brooks Examines a Case of BBC

- Groupthink and a Curious Silence over Cannabis and Violence,” *Telegraph*, 12 December 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/12047679/BBC-censures-itself-for-telling-the-truth-about-global-warming.html#disqusthread>; and Dr Reuven Berko, “Beer, Drugs and Sex,” *Israel Hayom*, 19 February 2016.
- 46 Daniel M. Benoist, “Séance du vendredi 24 octobre 1969,” *JORF* 63 (Paris: 24 October 1968), 2944.
- 47 Alexandre Brière de Boismont, “Au rédacteur,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (17 November 1837): 3a.
- 48 Quoted in Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 244.
- 49 For the most comprehensive discussion of the debate in nineteenth-century French medicine between “psychologists” and “physiologists,” see *ibid.*, 240–75.
- 50 For more on the rise of physiology – understood here as a medical philosophy formed around new practices of experimental surgery, dissection, and data-driven analysis and the central idea that new medical knowledge can be obtained most efficiently by adopting methods and ideas from other scientific disciplines (namely, chemistry, physics, mathematics, and pharmacy) – in French medicine during the first half of the nineteenth century, see John E. Lesch, *Science and Medicine in France: The Emergence of Experimental Physiology, 1790–1855* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); and Ian Dowbiggin, *Inheriting Madness: Professionalization and Psychiatric Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- 51 Jacques Arveiller, “Hachich, romantisme et voyage initiatique,” *L’Information psychiatrique* 66, 5 (1990): 493–504; and “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle: Une histoire médicale,” *L’Évolution psychiatrique* 78 (2013): 465.
- 52 Stephen Snelders, Charles Kaplan, and Toine Pieters, “On Cannabis, Chloral Hydrate, and Career Cycles of Psychotropic Drugs in Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80, 1 (2006): 104.
- 53 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 49–73.

CHAPTER ONE

- 1 Despite concerted efforts, the incomplete records of the civil tribunal

of Bône housed at the Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence (in subseries F80 1604-1624, 1722-1730) and the Archives nationales in Paris (in subseries C 1400-1412, 5827-5851) have yet to reveal to me the details of the case from the perspectives of the court or the defendant. Thankfully, the trial is detailed in the *Bulletin de la Société botanique de France* 13, 8 (1866): 401–6; *Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hippone* 2 (1865): 119–22; and *Seybouse* (3 February 1866): 3.

- 2 Much as they do with the Arabic term for “hashish,” the French appropriate the term “kif” (meaning psychoactive cannabis) and “kiffer” (to be high and/or enjoy or feel pleasure) in common parlance through to today. See Roland Laffitte and C.R. Selefa, “Le point su le français kif,” *Bulletin de la SELEFA* 6 (2005): 7–14.
- 3 Isidore Dukerley, “Note sur les différences que présente avec le chanvre ordinaire la variété de cette espèce connue en Algérie sous les noms de kif et de *tekrouri*,” *Bulletin de la Société botanique de France* 13, 8 (1866): 401–6.
- 4 Carl Linnaeus, *Species Plantarum*, T. 2 (Stockholm: Laurentii Salvii, 1753), 1057; Jean-Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet de Lamarck, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Botanique*, tome 1 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1783), 695.
- 5 Lamarck, *Encyclopédie méthodique*, 695.
- 6 Dukerley, “Note sur les différences,” 402–4.
- 7 Ibid., 405.
- 8 Jacques Derrida, “The Rhetoric of Drugs,” in *Points... : Interviews, 1974–1994*, ed. Elisabeth Weber, trans. Peggy Kamuf (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1995), 231.
- 9 Sandra Harding, “After Eurocentrism: Challenges for the Philosophy of Science,” *PSA: Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Association* 2 (1992): 311; Suman Seth, “Putting Knowledge in Its Place: Science, Colonialism and the Postcolonial,” *Postcolonial Studies* 12, 4 (2009): 373–88; Chris S. Duvall, “Science, Society, and Knowledge of the Columbian Exchange: The Case of Cannabis,” in *Environmental History in the Making*, vol. 6, ed. Estelita Vav, Cristina Joanaz de Melo, and Lígia Costa Pinto (Cham: Springer, 2017), 225–41.
- 10 Alexandre-Henri Tessier, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Agriculture* tome 3 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1793).

- 11 Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert, "Preliminary Discourse," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Richard N. Schwab and Walter E. Rex (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2009), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0001.083>, originally published as "Discours préliminaire," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* 1 (Paris: Chez Briasson, 1751), ii–xlv.
- 12 Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment: And Why It Still Matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 13 Claude Hartmann, "Un Agronome exemplaire: Henri-Alexandre Tessier (1741–1837)," *Mémoires de l'Académie d'Orléans, agriculture, sciences, belles-lettres et arts* 6, 20 (2010): 19–31.
- 14 Hartmann, "Un Agronome exemplaire," 20–2.
- 15 Tessier, *Encyclopédie méthodique*, 16–37.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Though an oft-repeated line in the history of cannabis in France and Europe, recent archaeological evidence shows that the cultivation of cannabis for textiles *and* for the production of intoxicants well preceded the Roman Empire's presence in ancient Gaul. See H. Delhoofs, C. Bazillou, A. Dupoux, B. Hollemaert, M. Pasquel, N. Payne, and B. Robin, "Les installations antiques en périphérie des Terres Noires. Lieu-dit 'Pré Paradis'" (Blot-l'Église, Puy-de-Dôme), operational report of archaeological survey (Clermont-Ferrand: SRA Auvergne, 2013); "Les Gaulois festoyaient-ils avec du vin au cannabis?" *Le Point*, 15 April 2018, https://www.lepoint.fr/insolite/les-gaulois-festoyaient-ils-avec-du-vin-au-cannabis-15-04-2018-2210850_48.php.
- 19 Tessier, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Agriculture*, 17.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 Alfred W. Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon: American Trade with Russia and the Baltic, 1783–1812* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1965).
- 22 Stephen J. Randall, *United States Foreign Oil Policy since World War I: For Profits and Security* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-

- Queen's University Press, 2005); Andrew T. Price-Smith, *Oil, Illiberalism, and War: An Analysis of Energy and US Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2015).
- 23 Brian E. Coutts, "Flax and Hemp in Spanish Louisiana, 1777–1783," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 26, 2 (1985): 129–39; James H. Mills, *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade and Prohibition, 1800–1928* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005); Pierre Bouloc, ed., *Le Chanvre industriel: Production et utilisation* (Paris: France Agricole Éditions, 2006); Bradley J. Borougerdi, "Crossing Conventional Borders: Introducing the Legacy of Hemp into the Atlantic World," *Traversea* 1 (2011): 5–12; Nick Mattingly, "Natural Knowledge and Sea Power: The Cultivation of Hemp in the British Imperial World" (PhD diss. Southern Cross University, Lismore, NSW, 2013), and "Natural Knowledge, Sea Power, and the Decline of Hemp Cultivation in Early modern England," *History Australia* 9, 2 (2012): 111–34; Chris Duvall, *Cannabis* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 59–88; Bradley J. Borougerdi, *Commodifying Cannabis: A Cultural History of a Complex Plant in the Atlantic World* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 39–62.
- 24 Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon*, 17.
- 25 Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1928 [ca. 1890]).
- 26 Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon*, 3–13; Borougerdi, *Commodifying Cannabis*, 39–55; Mattingly, "Natural Knowledge," 111–14; Josep M. Fradera, *The Imperial Nation: Citizens and Subjects in the British, French, Spanish, and American Empires*, trans. Ruth MacKay (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 22–52.
- 27 Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon*, 19–21.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 29 Mattingly, "Natural Knowledge," 112.
- 30 In 1765, for example, Britain imported £820,000 worth of hemp and only contributed £200,000 worth of hemp to its own domestic market, which was mostly produced in the Fens. See *ibid.*, 124.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 116.
- 32 Language from the May 1649 "Act for Drayning the Great Level of the Fens," quoted in *ibid.*, 117.

- 33 Ibid., 117–24.
- 34 Crosby, *America, Russia, Hemp, and Napoleon*, 14; Serge Allegret, “Histoire du chanvre,” in Bouloc, *Le chanvre industriel*, 13–42.
- 35 Charles Woolsey Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism*, 2 vols. (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1939); Allegret, “Histoire du chanvre,” 13–42; Jennifer R. McCaskill, “Cordage,” in *La Belle: The Archaeology of a Seventeenth-Century Vessel of New World Colonization*, ed. James E. Bruseth, Amy A. Borgens, Bradford M. Jones, and Eric D. Ray (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2017), 239–54.
- 36 The museum at the Corderie Royale de Rochefort-Centre International de la Mer survives and thrives today, attracting over 400,000 mostly French tourists every year. It currently is a candidate for UNESCO’s World Heritage Site List. See Jean-Yves Duyck and Jean-Dominique Riondet, “Communiquer un patrimoine culturel: Le cas de la commercialisation de la Corderie Royale de Rochefort,” *Management et Avenir* 15 (2008): 174–96.
- 37 Some of the wreckage from *La Belle*, which met its end in the Matagorda Bay after La Salle’s crew mutinied and killed him in 1687, can be found on permanent exhibition at the Bullock Texas State History Museum in Austin, Texas. The *Hermione*, which met its end off the coast of Le Croisic in 1793, was reconstructed in 2014 and operates as a floating museum and tour boat between its port in Rochefort and destinations across France. See “La Belle: The Ship That Changed History,” The Bullock Museum, <https://www.thestoryoftexas.com/la-belle/the-exhibit> (viewed 20 January 2019); “Voyage Hermione 2018: Libre ensemble de l’Atlantique á la Méditerranée,” *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*, <https://www.hermione.com/voyage/voyage-2018/> (viewed 20 January 2019).
- 38 Allegret, “Histoire du chanvre,” 17; Cole, *Colbert and a Century*, 1:102–9, 324–8.
- 39 Cole, *Colbert and a Century*, 2:524.
- 40 Jean-Baptiste Rougier de La Bergerie, “Mémoire sur la culture, le commerce et l’emploi des chanvres et lins de France pour la marine et les arts,” read at the Institut national on 21 Nivôse Year 8 (11 January 1800): 1–33, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k43767q/f4.item.zoom>.

- 41 Ibid., 3.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., 4.
- 44 The best works on the history and global operations of the French East India Company, which compared to its Dutch and English cousins has received short shrift by contemporary historians, include Chantal Descours-Gatin, *Quand l’opium finançait la colonisation en Indochine: L’élaboration de la régie générale de l’opium, 1860 à 1914* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992); Philippe Haudrère, *La Compagnie française des Indes au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2005); Donald C. Wellington, *French East India Companies: A Historical Account and Record of Trade* (Lanham: Hamilton, 2006); Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Eric Greenwald, *Marc-Antoine Caillot and the Company of the Indies in Louisiana: Trade in the French Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).
- 45 Kwass, *Contraband*, 42–54.
- 46 Ibid., 42.
- 47 Ibid., 49–53.
- 48 Ibid., 53, 58.
- 49 Ibid., 49
- 50 “Arrêt du Conseil du 29 décembre 1719,” printed in *Le Nouveau Mercure* (February 1720): 106–7.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid., 107.
- 53 One can find numerous cases from the 1720s onward involving farmers, transporters (*voiturier*), and venders facing charges in France for hemp crimes ranging from forging tax seals and the signatures of tax officials to smuggling and selling contraband hemp. Notable examples include, “Arrêt du conseil d’Etat qui casse une sentence des élus d’Orléans, confisque les chanvres, charette et chevaux saisis sur les Srs Lauret et Tizeau, et les condamne solidairement en 100 livres d’amende, pour avoir fait faire une fausse lettre de voiture, à la faveur de laquelle ils avaient fait entrer lesdits chanvres, pour s’exempter de payer les droits d’imposition,” 1 April 1727, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b-8600853f?rk=493564;4>; “Sentence de police qui défend à tous maîtres cordiers et marchands

forains d'acheter et vendre de chanvres, cordages, fils et ficelles ailleurs qu'à la Halle," 8 June 1731,

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8600853f?rk=493564;4>; "Arrêt du Conseil d'État du Roi portant le règlement pour la substitution du fil de chanvre au fil de lin, dans les provinces et généralités où il se fabrique des 'Siamois' et des petites toiles rayées et à carreaux, signé Phelypeaux," 30 October 1731,

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86028799?rk=21459;2>; "Arrêt de parlement qui homologue une sentence rendue par les officiers de police de la ville de Beaufort le 7 septembre 1774 faisant défenses de faire rouir des chanvres dans les fossés et lieux indiqués," 31 May 1775, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8605389w> (all viewed 21 June 2018).

- 54 Bergerie, "Mémoire sur la culture," 3.
- 55 Ibid., 5.
- 56 Ibid., 24.
- 57 Other notable examples include Nicolas Baudeau, *Encyclopédie méthodique, Commerce*, tome 1 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1783), 493–5; Lamarck, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Botanique*, 695; François Rozier, *Recueil de mémoires sur la culture et le rouissage du chanvre* (Lyons: Chez les Frères Perisse, 1787), 1–7; Dominique Villars, *Histoire des plantes de Dauphiné*, tome 2 (Grenoble: Chez l'Auteur and Chez les Libraires, 1787), 569; François Rozier, *Cours complet d'agriculture théorique, pratique, économique et de médecine rurale et vétérinaire*, tome 3 (Paris: Chez Les Libraires Associés, 1793), 1–13.
- 58 Lamarck, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Botanique*, tome 1, 695. After the Revolution, Lamarck was named professor at the reorganized *Muséum national d'histoire naturelle* in 1793, which included the original *Jardin*.
- 59 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 140–60, 244–52; John M. McPartland and Geoffrey W. Guy, "Models of *Cannabis* Taxonomy, Cultural Bias, and Conflicts between Scientific and Vernacular Names," *Botanical Review* 83 (2017): 327–81, 331.
- 60 Lamarck, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Botanique*, 1:695.
- 61 Foucault, *Order of Things*, 238–45.
- 62 Pietro Corsi, *The Age of Lamarck: Evolutionary Theories in France*,

1790–1830, trans. Jonathan Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 25–30; Richard W. Burckhardt, Jr, “Lamarck, Evolution, and the Inheritance of Acquired Characters,” *Genetics* 194, 4 (2013): 793–805.

- 63 Foucault, *Order of Things*, 249.
- 64 Lamarck, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Botanique*, 1:695.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 695.
- 66 The French historically have defined “l’Orient,” and often in reductive and unethical ways, as the land, peoples, and cultures of North Africa and the Middle East. The “Orient,” as Edward Said famously argued in *Orientalism*, thus was both a geographical entity and “an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West.” See Edward Said, *Orientalism, 25th Anniversary Edition* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 5.
- 67 Étienne-François Geoffroy, *Traité de la matière médicale ou De l’histoire, des vertus, du choix et de l’usage des remèdes simples*, tome 5, section 2 (Paris: Chez Jean DeSaint et Charles Saillant, 1743), 424–9.
- 68 The earliest mentions of psychoactive cannabis in early modern France are found in new editions of Greek and Latin works by ancient physicians and botanists, including Dioscorides, Theophrastus, Galen, Hippocrates, Plutarch, and Pliny, who all mention the psychoactive and medicinal properties of cannabis and its use in both the Occident and the Orient in their works. See Martin Booth, *Cannabis: A History* (New York: Macmillan, 2005), 30–48; Theodore F. Brunner, “Marijuana in Ancient Greece and Rome? The Literary Evidence,” *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs* 9, 3 (1977): 221–5.
- 69 Vivian Nutton, “Humanist Surgery,” in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A. Wear, R.K. French, and I.M. Lonie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 75–99.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 71 Mauro Ambrosoli, *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe: 1350–1850*, trans. Mary McCann Salvatorelli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 175.
- 72 Jacques Daléchamps, *Histoire générale des plantes*, tome 2 (Lyons: Chez Philip Borde, 1653), 68–4.

- 73 According to Daléchamps, both drinkable and edible varieties of bhang in India and Persia were often laced with *Datura* (*Datura metel*), belladonna (*Atropa belladonna*), and henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*). For more on bhang, see Duvall, *Cannabis*, 130; Mills, *Cannabis Britannica*, 1–17, 30–3.
- 74 Daléchamps, *Histoire générale des plantes*, 684.
- 75 Harish Kapur, *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier: A Life* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2013); Michèle Longino, *French Travel Writing in the Ottoman Empire: Marseilles to Constantinople, 1650–1700* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 23–38.
- 76 Longino, *French Travel Writing*, 24–8.
- 77 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier... Qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, 6 vols. (Paris: Chez Gervais Clouzier, 1676–1724); Kapur, *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, 114–18; Longino, *French Travel Writing*, 4–8.
- 78 Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, 1:644.
- 79 Jean-Jacques Yvarel, *Les poisons de l'esprit: Drogues et drogués au XIXème siècle* (Paris: Quai Voltaire, 1992); Howard Padwa, “National Security and Narcotics Control in France, 1907–1920,” *Western Society for French History* 33 (2005): 245–60; “Anti-Narcotic Nationalism in Britain and France, 1866–1916,” *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 22, 2 (2008): 168–83; and *Social Poison: The Culture and Politics of Opiate Control in Britain and France, 1821–1926* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Emmanuelle Retaillaud-Bajac, *Les Paradis perdus: Drogues et usagers de drogues dans la France de l'entre-deux-guerres* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).
- 80 Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, 1:646.
- 81 *Les mille et une Nuits, contes arabes*, trans. Antoine Galland, tomes 1–12 (hereafter *Les Nuits*). The original editions were published in Paris between 1704 and 1717 and are available for consultation at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). Reprints from the early nineteenth century are available online through gallica.bnf.fr. For more on Antoine Galland and the history of his translations, see M. Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 11–50; Jorge Luis Borges, “The Translators of *The Thousand and One Nights*,” trans. Esther Allen, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Venuti Lawrence (London: Routledge, 2000), 92–109.

- 82 Borges, “Translators,” 93.
- 83 Henry van Hoof, *Histoire de la traduction en occident: France, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne, Russie, Pays-Bas* (Paris-Bruxelles: Duclot, 1991), 48–9; Christiane Damien, “Les mille et une nuits: La belle infidèle,” paper delivered at XI Congresso Internacional da ABRALIC in Sao Paulo in July 2008.
- 84 Borges, “Translators,” 93; Mahdi, *Thousand and One Nights*, 30–1.
- 85 In French, *herbe* is more often used in reference to “grass” than to “herbs” or “spices,” which are known as *épices*.
- 86 *Les Nuits*, tome 2, trans. Antoine Galland (Paris, 1705).
- 87 The original story of Sindbad the Sailor came from a different source than the rest of the tales. Galland acquired a manuscript containing the tale of Sindbad during his travels as secretary to the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in the 1670s and 1680s. He did not receive a copy of *Alf Leyla wa Leyla*, which contained the bulk of the other tales, until 1701 or 1702 in Paris. Using his style of free translation, common of *les belles infidèles*, Galland reorganized the tales in *Alf Leyla wa Leyla* and wrote the story of Sinbad into his translation of *Les Nuits*. See Mahdi, *Thousand and One Nights*, 30; and Borges, “Translators,” 94–5.
- 88 The standard biography of Carsten Niebuhr remains his son B.G. Niebuhr’s *The Life of Carsten Niebuhr, the Oriental Traveler*, translated from the German by Prof. Robinson (Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1836). For a recent re-evaluation of Niebuhr’s life and travels, see Josef Wiesehöfer and Stephan Conermann, eds, *Carsten Niebuhr 1733–1815, und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2002); and Ib Friis, Michael Harbsmeier, and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen, eds., “Early Scientific Expeditions and Local Encounters: New Perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and ‘The Arabian Journey,’ Proceedings of a Symposium on the Occasion of the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia Felix,” *Scientia Danica* 4, 2 (2013), 1–253.
- 89 Michael C. Carhart, *The Science of Culture in Enlightenment Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 36–48; and Roger H. Guichard, Jr, *Niebuhr in Egypt: European Science in a Biblical World* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 1–35.
- 90 Many European adventurers who travelled to Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula after Niebuhr, including Napoleon and his Army of the

- Orient in 1798, relied on Niebuhr's descriptions and maps to plan their voyages and military expeditions. See Lawrence J. Black, "'A Practical Skill That Was without Equal': Carsten Niebuhr and the Navigational Astronomy of the Arabian Journey, 1761–7," *Mariner's Mirror* 99, 2 (April 2013): 138–52.
- 91 Carsten Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie faite sur des observations propres et des avis recueillis dans les lieux mêmes*, 2 tomes, trad. Ferdinand-Louis Mourier (Amsterdam: S.J. Baalde, 1774).
 - 92 Guichard, *Niebuhr in Egypt*, xi.
 - 93 Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, T. 1, 50.
 - 94 *Ibid.*, 51.
 - 95 Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte: Fait par ordre de l'ancien gouvernement et contenant des observations de tous genres*, 4 tomes (Paris: F. Buisson, 1798).
 - 96 Sophie Linon-Chipon and Daniela Vaj, eds, *Relations savantes: Voyages et discours scientifiques* (Paris: pu Paris Sorbonne, 2006), 51–5.
 - 97 Ferenc Tóth, "Un Hongrois en Égypte avant Napoléon. La mission secrète du Baron de Tott," *Revue historique des armées* 270 (2013): 14–22.
 - 98 For more on the Tott Expedition, see François Charles-Roux, *Le Projet français de conquête de l'Égypte sous le règne de Louis XVI* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français, 1929); and Christophe Farnaud, "Culture et politique: La Mission secrète du baron de Tott au Levant, 1776–1779" (MA thesis prepared under the direction of Jean Meyer, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1988).
 - 99 Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*, 3–32, 44.
 - 100 *Ibid.*, 103.
 - 101 *Ibid.*, 95.
 - 102 Roland Laffitte and C.R. Selefa, "Le point sur le français kif," *Bulletin de la SELEFA* 6 (2005): 7–14.
 - 103 Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte*, 3:105–6.
 - 104 *Ibid.*, 105.
 - 105 Richard Evans Schultes, William M. Klein, Timothy Plowman, and Tom Lockwood, "Cannabis: An Example of Taxonomic Neglect,"

- Botanical Museum Leaflets, Harvard University* 23, 9 (1974): 337–67; Chris Duvall, “Science, Society, and Knowledge of the Columbian Exchange: The Case of *Cannabis*,” in *Environmental History in the Making*, vol. 6, ed. Estelita Vav, Cristina Joanaz de Melo, and Lígia Costa Pinto (Cham: Springer, 2017), 225–41.
- 106 In 1924, Russian scientist D.E. Janischewsky classified cannabis grown in Siberia as *Cannabis ruderalis*, a distinct, ruderal species of the plant that produced shorter, thinner stalks and thicker foliage and auto-flowered but with limited psychoactive properties.
- 107 Éric Poulliat and Robin Reda, “Rapport d’information: Déposé en application de l’article 145 du Règlement par la Commission des Lois Constitutionnelles, de la Législation et de l’Administration Générale de la République, En conclusion des travaux d’une mission d’information relative à l’application d’une procédure d’amende forfaitaire au délit d’usage illicite de stupéfiants,” Paris, 25 January 2018, <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/15/pdf/rap-info/i0595.pdf>.
- 108 Observatoire Français des Drogues et des Toxicomanies (OFDT), *Drogues, Chiffres clés 2017* (7^e édition): <https://www.ofdt.fr/BDD/publications/docs/DCC2017.pdf>.
- 109 Edwy Plenel, *For the Muslims: Islamophobia in France*, trans. David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2016); Raymond Taras, *Xenophobia and Islamophobia in Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 154–65.
- 110 To the credit of the French government, Zemmour was prosecuted and found guilty for “provocation to racial hatred” and fined two thousand Euros. He’s since faced three more charges of hate speech and numerous fines totalling tens of thousands of Euros. See Scott Sayare, “French Provocateur Enters Battle over Comments,” *New York Times*, 11 February 2011. For an insightful critique highlighting the “double blindness” of Zemmour’s refusal to acknowledge the country’s racist institutions and unjust laws, which produced the “mass incarceration” of “blacks” and “Arabs” for petty drug crimes while stigmatizing the same ethnic and religious minorities as the foreign cause of the nation’s issues, see Fabrice Olivet, “Tous les trafiquants sont-ils noirs ou arabes? Un double point aveugle dans les prisons françaises,” *VST-Vie Sociale et Traitements* 4, 124 (2014): 24–7.
- 111 Yann Thompson and Kocila Makdeche, “ENQUETE. Drogue, prison et

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- 112 OFDT, *Drogues, Chiffres clés 2017*, 3–4; “Attentats du 13 novembre à Paris: Les terroristes n’étaient pas drogués,” *France 24*, 1 May 2016, <https://www.france24.com/fr/20160105-attentats-paris-terroristes-drogues-analyses-tests-captagon-13-novembre>.
- 113 China was the top hemp cultivator in the world in 2016 at 45,000 hectares, followed by Canada at 31,000 hectares. See *Le Chanvre: La culture écologique, agronomique et éco-responsable* (InterChanvre, 2018), https://www.interchanvre.org/documents/I.Interchanvre/201801_PPT.
- 114 Twitter coverage of the ALLHEMP conference can be found at <https://twitter.com/interchanvre?lang=en>.
- 115 InterChanvre, “Communiqué de Presse – La filière chanvre français milite pour le maintien de taux de THC à 0.2% et la dissociation du chanvre du cannabis,” Paris, 29 March 2018, https://www.interchanvre.org/documents/5.actu_presse/communiques

CHAPTER TWO

- 1 Notable works that mention Napoleon’s hashish ban include: Louis Lewin, *Phantastica: A Classical Survey on the Use and Abuse of Mind-Altering Plants* (Rochester, VT: Park Street Press, 1998), 90, originally published in German in 1924; Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1981), 210; Ernest L. Abel, *Marihuana: The First Twelve Thousand Years* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), 148–9; Max Gallo, *Napoléon – Le chant du départ*, vol. 2 (Paris: Magellan, 1998), 46; James H. Mills, *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade, and Prohibition, 1800–1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 178, and “Globalising Ganja: The British Empire and International Cannabis Traffic c. 1834 to 1939,”

in *Consuming Habits: Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define Drugs*, ed. Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt (London: Routledge, 2007), 186; Leslie L. Iversen, *The Science of Marijuana* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 21–2; André Julien Fabre, *Haschisch, chanvre et cannabis: l'éternel retour* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011), 113; Jonathan P. Caulkins, Beau Kilmer, and Mark A.R. Kleiman, *Marijuana Legalization: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) 16–18; Martin A. Lee, *Smoke Signals: A Social History of Marijuana* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013), 27–9; Robert Clarke and Mark Merlin, *Cannabis: Evolution and Ethnobotany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 235; Martin Booth, *Cannabis: A History* (New York: Macmillan, 2015), 17–18; Lukasz Kamienski, *Shooting Up: A Short History of Drugs and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 53–4. Notable exceptions include Henry Laurens, who correctly credited Menou with passing the ban on hashish but incorrectly argued that the ban applied only to Muslims – see Henry Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte, 1798–1801* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), 418 – and Jacques Arveiller, who briefly mentions Menou's ban in “La Cannabis en France au XIX^e siècle: une histoire médicale,” *L'Évolution psychiatrique* 78 (2013): 455.

- 2 Kamienski, *Shooting Up*, 53–4.
- 3 Michael Broers, *Europe under Napoleon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 16.
- 4 “Général Menou, commandant au Caire – Lettres généraux à Kléber et Damas et aux agents de l'administration d'armée du 15 septembre 1800–13 janvier 1801,” Service Historique de la Défense archives at the Chateau de Vincennes in Paris (hereafter SHD) B6 123; “Correspondances de Général Menou, janvier 1801– septembre 1801,” SHD B6 124–7.
- 5 Jacques Menou, *Dépêches du général Menou, général en chef de l'armée d'Égypte, parvenues au gouvernement français* (Paris: Imprimerie des Sciences et Arts, 1800), 1–4.
- 6 J. Christopher Herold, *Bonaparte in Egypt* (New York: Harper Collins, 1962); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*; Jacques Benoist-Méchin, *Bonaparte en Égypte: Le rêve inassouvi* (Paris: Librairie

Académie Perrin, 1998); Nicolas Saudray, “L’expédition d’Égypte: Une folie ou un investissement?” *Bulletin de la SABIX* 20 (Hiver 1999), 43–52; Jean-Joël Brégeon, *L’Égypte de Bonaparte* (Paris: Tempus Perrin, 2005); Robert Solé, *Bonaparte à la conquête de l’Égypte* (Paris: Seuil, 2006); Nina Burleigh, *Mirage: Napoleon’s Scientists and the Unveiling of Egypt* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008); Paul Strathern, *Napoleon in Egypt* (New York: Bantam Books, 2009); Frank McLynn, *Napoleon: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 2011); Marie-Cecile Thoral, “Colonial Medical Encounters in the Nineteenth Century: The French Campaigns in Egypt, Saint Domingue and Algeria,” *Social History of Medicine* 25, 3 (2012): 608–24; Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon: A Life* (New York: Penguin Publishing Group, 2014); and Jacques Garnier, *L’Art militaire de Napoléon* (Paris: Perrin, 2015).

- 7 Drawing from the work of Marie Louise Pratt, I define “contact zones” as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical power, such as colonialism.” See Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* 91 (1991): 34, and *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992). The first piece to erroneously credit Napoleon with passing the hashish ban in Egypt was a review of Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy’s *Chrestomathie arabe* (1806) penned by M. Chézy and published in *Journal des savans* in February of 1829. In *Chrestomathie arabe*, an Arabic and Persian grammar textbook that featured a story about hashish in the Muslim world, Sacy in a footnote discussed the recent ban and credited an unnamed “French general” with passing it. Chézy then took the liberty of associating the most famous of the Campaign’s generals, Napoleon, with the ban in his review.
- 8 Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory, 1890–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Mamadou Diouf, “The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and Civility of the *Originaires* of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth-Century Globalization Project,” *Development and Change* 29 (1998): 671–96; Francesca Bruschi, “Politique indigène et administration au Sénégal (1890-1920),” *Il*

- Politico* 70, 3 (2005): 501–22; Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, “De l’assimilation à la ‘politique d’association,’” dans *La république impériale: Politique et racisme d’état*, 107–211 (Paris: Fayard, 2009).
- 9 Clément de la Jonquière, *L’Expédition d’Égypte, 1798–1801*, tome 5, annexe 1, “L’abjuration et le mariage de Menou,” 662–3; Ali Bahgat, “Acte de mariage du Général Abdallah Menou avec la dame Zobaidah,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien* 9 (1899): 221–35, and “La famille musulmane du général Abdallah Menou,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien* 4e Série, tome 1 (16 February 1900), 37–43; Didier Ferrand, “L’étrange mariage de Menou,” *Revue des deux mondes* (mai 1965): 116–19; Ré Khoury, “Le mariage musulman du général Abdallah Menou d’après sa correspondance. Qui était Zobaïdah,” *Egyptian Historical Review* 25 (1973): 65–90.
 - 10 Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Négritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
 - 11 Chris Duvall, *Cannabis* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 23–5.
 - 12 Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1971); A.M. Khalifa, “Traditional Patters of Hashish Use in Egypt,” in *Cannabis and Culture*, ed. V. Rubin, 190–215 (The Hague: Mouton, 1975); Ernest L. Abel, “Hashish and the Arabs,” in *Marijuana: The First 12,000 Years* (New York: Springer, 1980), 28–31; Gabriel G. Nahas, “Hashish in Islam: 9th to 18th Century,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 58, 9 (1982): 814–31, “Hashish and Drug Abuse in Egypt during the 19th and 20th Centuries,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 61, 5 (1985): 428–44, and *Histoire du hash: Une perspective historique et scientifique du hachich* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1983).
 - 13 Martin Levy, “Medieval Arabic Toxicology: The Book of Poisons of ibn Wahshiyyah and Its Relations to Early Indian and Greek Texts,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 56, 7 (1966): 1–130; Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 41–3; Nahas, “Hashish in Islam.”
 - 14 Quoted in Levy, “Medieval Arabic Toxicology,” 93.
 - 15 Quoted in *ibid.*, 43, 46.
 - 16 Sami Hamarneh, “Pharmacy in Medieval Islam and the History of

- Drug Addiction,” *Medical History* 16, 3 (1972): 226–37.
- 17 Rosenthal, *Herb*, 101–30. See also Yasmin Hanani Mohd Safian, “An Analysis on Islamic Rules on Drugs,” *International Journal of Education and Research* 1, 9 (2013): 1–16.
 - 18 Rosenthal, *Herb*, 41–3; Nahas, “Hashish in Islam,” 816–17.
 - 19 Nahas, “Hashish in Islam,” 817; Abel, “Hashish and the Arabs,” 34.
 - 20 Abel, “Hashish and the Arabs,” 30–1. It should be noted that, like most subsets of major religions, Sufism was and is no monolith, and numerous branches of Sufism rejected hashish consumption and even forbade it. See Nahas, “Hashish in Islam,” 817; and Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 16.
 - 21 Eric Geoffrey, *Introduction to Sufism: The Inner Path of Islam* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2010); Green, *Sufism*, 18–22; Rosenthal, *Herb*, 51–4; Nathaniel Weyl, “Hashish and the Decline and Fall of Arab Civilization,” *Mankind Quarterly* 16 (1975): 86.
 - 22 Rudi Matthee, “Alcohol in the Islamic Middle East: Ambivalence and Ambiguity,” *Past and Present* 222, 9 (2014): 100–25; Rosenthal, *Herb*, 51–4; Abel, “Hashish and the Arabs,” 30; Nahas, “Hashish in Islam,” 820–1; Khalifa, “Traditional Patters of Hashish Use in Egypt,” 198.
 - 23 Quoted in Nahas, “Hashish in Islam,” 818.
 - 24 Nahas, “Hashish in Islam,” 819.
 - 25 From 1174 to 1260, the Sunni Ayyubid dynasty ruled over Egypt and much of the Middle East. Saladin and his sons controlled their empire from Cairo until the Mongol invasions of the 1250s weakened their power, allowing a faction of slave-soldiers in the Ottoman army called the Mamelukes to take control of Egypt by 1260. The Mamelukes, meaning “bought men,” were a tribe of Circassian slave-soldiers originally purchased by the sultan during his campaigns in the Caucasus Mountains during the 1230s. The Mamelukes ruled Egypt from 1260 until Selim I and the Ottoman Empire defeated them in 1517. From 1517 to the arrival of the French in 1798, the Sultanate functioned as a titular ruler of Egypt and allowed the Mamelukes to act as feudal lords. See Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, *A History of Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31–4. For more on the history of the Mamelukes, see Jean Savant, *Les Mamelouks de Napoléon* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1949); and Jean Brunon, *Les*

- Mameluks d'Égypte: Les Mameluks de la Garde Imperiale* (Marseilles: Collection R. and J. Brunon, 1963).
- 26 Rosenthal, *Herb*, 102.
 - 27 Safian, "Analysis on Islamic Rules on Drugs," 5.
 - 28 Ibid., 6–7; Nahas, "Hashish and Drug Abuse in Egypt," 429–32; and Rosenthal, *Herb*, 98–112.
 - 29 Rosenthal, *Herb*, 136; Nahas, "Hashish in Islam," 820–1; David T. Brown, *Cannabis: The Genus Cannabis* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 7–8.
 - 30 Nahas, "Hashish and Drug Abuse in Egypt," 428.
 - 31 Quoted in *ibid.*, 821–2.
 - 32 Quoted in *ibid.*
 - 33 Marinos Sariyannis, "Law and Morality in Ottoman Society: The Case of Narcotic Substances," in *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History – Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, ed. Elias Kolovos, Phokion Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou, and Marinos Sariyannis (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2007), 315–16. See also Nahas, "Hashish and Drug Abuse in Egypt," 420; and Khalifa, "Traditional Patterns of Hashish Use in Egypt," 190–4.
 - 34 "Napoléon Bonaparte au Directoire, 29 Thermidor V (16 August 1797)," in *Correspondance générale publiée par la Fondation Napoléon. II. – La Campagne d'Égypte et l'avènement, 1798-1799*, tome 3 (Paris: Éditions Fayard, 2005), 310–11.
 - 35 Geoffrey Symcox, "The Geopolitics of the Egyptian Expedition, 1797–1798," in *Napoleon in Egypt*, ed. Irene A. Bierman (Ithaca, NY: Ithaca University Press, 2003), 13–31.
 - 36 For more on French ambitions for empire during the eighteenth century, see Carl Ludwig Lokke, "French Dreams of Colonial Empire under the Directory and Consulate," *Journal of Modern American History* 2, 2 (1930): 237–50; Henry Laurens, *Les Origines intellectuelles de l'expédition d'Égypte* (Istanbul-Paris: Éditions Isis, 1987); and Juan Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 16–18.
 - 37 Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, *A History of Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31–4.
 - 38 Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, *Essai sur les avantages à retirer de*

- colonies nouvelles dans les criconstances présentes* (Paris: Chez Baudouin, 1797), 14.
- 39 Napoleon quoted in Ian Coller, “Egypt in the French Revolution,” in *The French Revolution in Global Perspective*, ed. Suzanne Desan, Lynn Hunt, and William Max Nelson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 115–31, at 121.
- 40 For more on the early months of Napoleon’s military campaign in Egypt, see Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt*, 1–127; and David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 205–52.
- 41 Malus quoted in Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt*, 114. The famous Commission des Sciences et des Arts consisted of 167 (mostly) French scholars, engineers, scientists, and artists hand selected by Napoleon to accompany the Army of the Orient to Egypt and tasked with “rediscovering” the wisdom and culture of ancient Egypt, determining the viability of constructing a canal to Suez, and bringing science and reason to the “abject and oppressed” Egyptian population. For more on the Commission, see Burleigh, *Mirage*.
- 42 Quoted in Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt*, 114.
- 43 Joris Oddens, Mart Rutjes, and Eric Jacobs, *The Political Culture of the Sister Republics, 1794-1806: France, the Netherlands, Italy, and Switzerland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015).
- 44 Coller, “Egypt in the French Revolution,” 115–31; Andrew Jainchill, “The Transformation of Republicanism in the Sister Republics,” in Oddens et al., *Political Culture of the Sister Republics*, 43–7.
- 45 Coller, “Egypt in the French Revolution,” 121–31. The standard history of *La Grande Nation* phase (1789–99) of French imperial history during the Revolution remains Jacques Godechot, *La Grande Nation: L’Expansion révolutionnaire de la France dans le monde, 1789–1799*, tomes 1 and 2 (Paris: Éditions Montaigne, 1956).
- 46 Marc Ferro quoted in Saliha Belmessous, *Assimilation and Empire: Uniformity in French and British Colonies, 1541–1954* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 121,
- 47 *Ibid.*, 125–204.
- 48 Joseph Eschassériaux quoted in Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt*, 16.
- 49 One can find the most complete account of this initial meeting of the Diwan in Cairo in the chronicles of the contemporary Egyptian historian ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *Al-Jabarti’s Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt*, trans, S.

- Moreh (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 50–7. See also Ahmed Youssef, *Bonaparte et Mahomet: Le Conquérant conquis* (Paris: Éditions du Rocher, 2003), 105–32; Muhammad Afifi and André Raymond, *Le Diwan du Caire, 1800–1801* (Cairo: IFAO, 2004).
- 50 Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 79.
- 51 Ida M. Tarbell, ed., *Napoleon's Addresses: Selections from the Proclamations, Speeches and Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte* (Boston: J. Knight Company, 1897), 50–2.
- 52 Napoleon Bonaparte quoted in Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, 108–9.
- 53 John V. Tolan, “European Accounts of Muhammad’s Life,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, ed. Jonathan E. Brockopp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 242–6.
- 54 Napoleon Bonaparte, *Mémoires de Napoléon: La Campagne d'Égypte*, ed. Thierry Lentz (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2011), 160–1.
- 55 The Battle of Abukir Bay alone cost over eight thousand French casualties. See Oliver Warner, *The Battle of the Nile* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1960), 121. In a letter to the Executive Directory in Paris, dated 22 September 1799, Captain Poussielgue, comptroller of the expenses of the army and administrator general of the finances of Egypt, reported that nearly one-third of the Army of the Orient had been killed, and only about ten thousand men were fit for combat. See E. Poussielgue, Letter to the Executive Directory, 22 September 1799, printed and translated in Christopher Kelly, *History of the French Revolution and of the Wars Produced by that Memorable Event* (London: T. Kelly, 1820), 290–2.
- 56 Savant, *Les Mamelouks*, 42.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 At the time of Napoleon’s Egyptian Campaign, the city of Cairo was safe from flooding so long as the river did not rise over sixteen cubits, or twenty-four feet (7.3 metres). See Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 118–19.
- 59 Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 13. See also Mona Ozouf, *La Fête révolutionnaire (1789-1799)* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976); Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne au combat: L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979).

- 60 *Courier de l'Égypte*, No. 1, le 12 Fructidor, VIe Année de la République, 29 August 1798, 2.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 al-Jabarti, *Chronicles*, 63–4.
- 63 Elsewhere in his *Chronicles*, al-Jabarti criticizes the “blasphemy” of folk Islamic sects in Egypt, including the Sufis. See *ibid.*, 106–7. See also Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 119; “Mad Sufis and Civic Courtesans: The French Republican Construction of Eighteenth-Century Egypt,” in *Napoleon in Egypt*, ed. Irene A. Bierman (Lebanon: Ithaca Press, 2003), 47–62; and “Playing Muslim: Bonaparte's Army of the Orient and Euro-Muslim Creolization,” in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840*, ed. David Armitage and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 133–7.
- 64 François Bernoyer, *Avec Bonaparte en Égypte et en Syrie, 1798–1800: Dix-neuf lettres inédites*, ed. Christian Tortel (Abbeville: Les Presses Françaises, 1976), 71.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 127.
- 66 Joseph-Marie Moiret, *Mémoires sur l'expédition d'Égypte* (Paris: Pierre Belfond, 1984), 80.
- 67 Nicholas R. Spitzer, “Monde Créole: The Cultural World of French Louisiana Creoles and the Creolization of World Cultures,” *Journal of American Folklore* 116 (2003): 57–9. See also Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Ulf Hannerz, *Cultural Complexity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 264–5; Charles Stewart, ed., *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007).
- 68 Isabel P.B. Feo Rodrigues, “Islands of Sexuality: Theories and Histories of Creolization in Cape Verde,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36, 1 (2003): 83–103. Cole, “Playing Muslim”; Spitzer, “Monde Créole,” 57–9.
- 69 Cole, “Playing Muslim,” 126–7, 141.
- 70 Napoleon Bonaparte quoted in Strathern, *Napoleon in Egypt*, 6.
- 71 All told some thirty-six savants of the Commission des Sciences et des Arts participated in the activities of the Institut from its creation in August of 1798 to the French retreat from Egypt in August of 1801. See Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, 235.
- 72 Fournier quoted in Bonaparte, *Correspondance*, 4:385.

- 73 Napoleon Bonaparte quoted in Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 154. See also Jean-Édouard Goby, *Premier Institut d'Égypte: Restitution des comptes rendus des séances* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1987), 3–4.
- 74 Burleigh, *Mirage*, 7–8.
- 75 The palaces in central Cairo previously belonged to Kasim Hassan Bey, who fled the country upon the arrival of Napoleon's army in June 1789. See Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, 125; Brégeon, *L'Égypte de Bonaparte*, 97–100.
- 76 Ian Coller, *Arab France: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 114; and “Egypt in the French Revolution,” 115–31.
- 77 Sabbagh gained fame in France for his poetry and some infamy for his forgeries. See Coller, *Arab France*, 115–16.
- 78 Coller, *Arab France*, 112.
- 79 La Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, tome 2, 291–4. See also Juan Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 210–13.
- 80 La Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, tome 5, annexe 1, “L'abjuration et le mariage de Menou,” 662–3; Bahgat, “Acte de mariage du général Abdallah Menou”; and Ali Bahgat, «La famille musulmane du général Abdallah Menou,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 4e Série, tome 1 (16 February 1900), 37–43; Didier Ferrand, “L'étrange mariage de Menou,” *Revue des deux mondes* (mai 1965): 116–19; Ré Khoury, “Le mariage musulman du général Abdallah Menou d'après sa correspondance: Qui était Zobaïdah?” *Egyptian Historical Review* 25 (1973): 65–90.
- 81 Al-Jabarti, *Journal d'un notable du Caire*, 320–21. See also Yves Laissus, *L'Égypte, une aventure savante: Avec Bonaparte, Kléber, Menou, 1798–1801* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 358–60; Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 185–9; Terry Crowdy, *French Soldier in Egypt, 1798–1801: The Army of the Orient* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2012), 21–2; Maurice Mejan, “Mariage d'un Général Français avec une Égyptienne,” dans *Recueil des causes célèbres et des arrêts qui les ont décidées* (Paris: O. Plisson, 1808), 233–48.
- 82 For more on the history of *métissage* as colonial policy and practice in French history, see Owen White, *Children of the French Empire: Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa, 1895–1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Ann Laura Stoler,

Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Saliha Belmessous, "Assimilation and Racialism in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century French Colonial Policy," *American Historical Review* 110, 2 (2005): 322–49; Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Devrim Karahasan, *Métissage in New France and Canada 1508 to 1886* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009); Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

- 83 The original ban from 8 October 1800 can be found at SHD in the files of the Armée d'Orient, B6, dossier 123 – "Général Menou, commandant au Caire – Lettres généraux à Kléber et Damas et aux agents de l'administration d'armée du 15 septembre 1800–13 janvier 1801." A printed copy of the ban is available in *Pièces officielles de l'Armée D'Égypte, seconde partie* (Paris: De L'Imprimerie de P. Didot L'Ainé, An IX/1800), 459–62.
- 84 Patrice Bret's "L'utopie 'coloniste' du général Menou," in *La campagne d'Égypte, 1798-1801: Mythes et réalités*, ed. Paul Noirot (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1998), 165–88.
- 85 It is important to note that one can find examples of prohibition in France well before the Revolution. Most often, however, these examples involved poisons, notably mandrake and belladonna, rather than intoxicants. And many of these laws, much like the earliest passed in Avignon in 1242, Toulouse in 1309, and Paris in 1311, dealt primarily with apothecary licensing and only secondarily with the control of deadly poisons. See Joseph Simon, *Chemistry, Pharmacy, and Revolution in France, 1777–1809* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 3–7; Stéphanie Tésio, *Histoire de la pharmacie en France* (Laval: Presses Université Laval, 2009), 14–19.
- 86 See note 1.
- 87 Lewin, *Phantastica*, 90–1.
- 88 Steven Englund, *Napoleon: A Political Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), 212–13.
- 89 André-François-Joseph Borel d'Hauterive, *Preuves de l'histoire de la maison Menou* (Paris: Imprimerie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1852), 88–92.

- 90 Bret, “L’utopie ‘coloniste’ du général Menou,” 167–8.
- 91 Ibid. See also J.-E. Goby, *L’Oeuvre scientifique et culturelle du général Menou en Égypte* (Paris: Imprimerie de Urwand fils, 1955), 46.
- 92 Bret, “L’utopie ‘coloniste’ du général Menou,” 167–8; Borel d’Hauterive, *Preuves de l’histoire de la maison Menou*, 90.
- 93 Bahgat, “Acte de mariage du Général Abdallah Menou,” 39–40.
- 94 Borel d’Hauterive, *Preuves de l’histoire de la maison Menou*, 91.
- 95 Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, vol. 3, bk. 7 (Leipzig: Berhne, 1851), 396–402.
- 96 C.-G. Heulhard-Montigny, ed., *Précis ou tableau chronologique des événements et de la législation de la Révolution* (Paris: Rondonneau, 1803), 147–52.
- 97 Robert Richardson, *Larrey: Surgeon to Napoleon’s Imperial Guard* (London: Quiller Press, 2000), 46.
- 98 Ré Khoury, “Le mariage musulman du général Abdallah Menou d’après sa correspondance: Qui était Zobaïdah,” *Egyptian Historical Review* 25 (1978): 65–93; Maurice Mejan, “Mariage d’un général français avec une Égyptienne,” dans *Recueil des causes célèbres et des arrêts qui les ont décidées* (Paris: O. Plisson, 1808), 233–48.
- 99 Khoury, “Le mariage musulman,” 73–8; Bahgat, “Acte de mariage,” 44.
- 100 The city’s ulama gave Menou a special dispensation and did not require him to undergo circumcision during his conversion. This fact is not mentioned in the marriage certificate but was recounted by Menou in his letters to fellow officer Poussielgue in Cairo. The letters are transcribed and published in Maison Charavay, *Bulletin d’autographes à prix marqués*, 700, no. 27030 (October 1958): 39–40.
- 101 Menou à Poussielgue, 4 May 1799.
- 102 For more on French reactions (mostly negative) to Menou’s conversion and marriage, see Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Journal et Souvenirs sur l’expédition d’Égypte 1798–1801* (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1809), 258–9; Ali Bahgat, “La famille musulmane du général Abdallah Menou,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien*, 4e Série, tome 1 (16 February 1900), 37–43; Laurens, *L’Expédition d’Égypte*, 283–4; Cole, *Napoleon’s Egypt*, 140–1.
- 103 Charles Mullié, *Biographie des célébrités militaires des armées de*

- terre et de mer de 1789 à 1850* (Paris: Poignavant et Compagnie, 1852), 875–6; Bahgat, “La famille musulmane,” 37–43.
- 104 For more on “colonial mimicry” in French and European imperial histories, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); James E. Genova, *Colonial Ambivalence, Cultural Authenticity, and the Limitations of Mimicry in French-Ruled West Africa, 1914–1956* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Hilcox (New York: Grove Press, 2008); Ananya Chakravarti, “The Many Faces of Baltasar da Costa: *Imitatio* and *Accommodatio* in the Seventeenth-Century Madurai Mission,” *Etnográfica* 18, 1 (2014): 135–58; Ricardo Roque, “Mimesis and Colonialism: Emerging Perspectives on a Shared History,” *History Compass* 13, 4 (2015): 201–11.
- 105 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 121–31.
- 106 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 2–3.
- 107 See, for example, V.S. Naipaul, *The Mimic Men* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1967); Said, *Orientalism*; Genova, *Colonial Ambivalence*; Wilder, *French Imperial Nation-State*; Spencer D. Segalla, *Moroccan Soul: French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912–1956* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 214–16; Shaden M. Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 33–9; Belmessous, *Assimilation and Empire*.
- 108 Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 127–128.
- 109 Tageldin, *Disarming Words*, 37. Key texts on “reverse” colonial mimicry include Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Fuchs, *Empire and Mimesis*; and Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); and Bertrand Taithe, “Losing Their Mind and Their Nation? Mimicry, Scandal and Colonial Violence in the Voulet-Chanoine Affair,” in *The French Colonial Mind*, vol. 2 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 26–51.

- 110 Huhndorf, *Going Native*, 1–13; Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 1–10.
- 111 Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire*, 3–4.
- 112 Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, 189–92, 210–15.
- 113 Ibid., 129–34; André Raymond, “Les Égyptiens et les lumières pendant l’expédition française,” dans *L'Expédition d'Égypte, une entreprise des lumières 1798-1801*, ed. Patrice Bret (Paris: Académie des Sciences, 1998), 111–12. See also “Ordre du Jour du général en chef Menou, sur la justice civile et criminelle en Égypte, du 10 Vendémiaire an 9 (2 October 1800),” in *Recueil général des lois et des arrêts*, tome 1, partie 2, ed. J.-B. Sirey (Paris: An X/1800), 359–60.
- 114 Al-Jabarti quoted in Raymond, “Les Égyptiens et les lumières,” 111.
- 115 Bret, “L’utopie ‘coloniste’ du général Menou,” 176–7.
- 116 Abdallah Menou, *Courier de l'Égypte*, N. 99, 9 Pluviôse IX / 26 January 1801, 2.
- 117 Abdallah Menou, “Ordre du Jour du 21 Messidor an VIII (10 July 1800),” SHD B6 122.
- 118 Bret, “L’utopie ‘coloniste’ du général Menou,” 176–7; Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, 400–6; Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt*, 198–201; al-Jabarti, *Chronicles*, 245.
- 119 Laurens, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, 417.
- 120 Abdallah Menou, Ordre du Jour printed in the *Courier de l'Égypte*, N. 91 (15 Frimaire IX / 6 December 1800), 3.
- 121 Al-Jabarti quoted in Raymond, “Les Égyptiens et les lumières,” 112.
- 122 Quoted in *ibid.*, 111.
- 123 Abdallah Menou, “Ordre du Jour de 30 décembre 1800,” SHD B6 59.
- 124 Napoléon Bonaparte, *Correspondance générale publiée par la Fondation Napoléon. II. – La campagne d'Égypte et l'avènement 1798-1799*, preface by Henry Laurens (Paris: Editions Fayard, 2005); and *Kléber et Menou en Égypte depuis le départ de Bonaparte* (Paris: Société d'histoire contemporaine, 1900).
- 125 “Général Menou – Correspondance et ordre, du 3 juillet – 15 septembre 1800,” SHD B6 122, pp. 354, 356–7. See also the “Correspondance de l'Armée d'Orient,” B6 53, 54, and 55.
- 126 “Menou a l'Armée, 18 Fructidor an VIII (5 Sept. 1800),” in *Kléber*

et Menou, 343–44. Also printed in the *Courier de l'Égypte* 78, 8 September 1800, 1–2.

127 Menou quoted in Yves Laissus, *L'Égypte, une aventure savante, 1798-1801* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 351.

128 “Abdallah Menou, Ordre du Jour, 17 Vendémiaire an 9 (8 October 1800),” SHD B6 123. Also printed in *Pièces Officielles de L'Armée D'Égypte, Seconde Partie* (Paris: L'Imprimerie de P. Didot L'Âiné, An IX/), 459–62.

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 Strathern, *Napoleon in Egypt*, 415–16.

132 “Général Menou, commandant au Caire – Lettres généraux à Kléber et Damas et aux agents de l'administration d'armée du 15 septembre 1800–13 janvier 1801,” B6, dossier 123; “Correspondances de Général Menou, January 1801–septembre 1801,” SHD B6 124–7.

CHAPTER THREE

1 M. Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur la dynastie des assassins et sur l'étymologie de leur nom (Lu le 19 May 1809),” *Histoire et mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, classe d'histoire et de littérature ancienne*, tome 4 (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1818), 55, 83. First published under the same title in *Moniteur* 210 (June 1809).

2 “Questions orales avec débat: Drogue – Séance de 24 October 1969,” *Journal officiel de la République française: Débats parlementaires – Asssemblée Nationale, compte rendu des séances* 63 (Paris: 24 October 1969), 2945.

3 Sacy, “Mémoire,” 55, 83.

4 Jean de Mandeville translated and published the first French edition of Marco Polo's travel adventure, *Livre des merveilles du monde*, in Liège between 1355 and 1357; Simon Gaunt, “Travel and Orientalism,” in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, ed. William Burgwinkle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129–31.

5 Sacy, “Mémoire,” 56–60; Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, trans., ed., Sir Henry Yule, (London: J. Murray, 1903), 139–43.

6 Denis Lebey de Batilly, *Traicté de l'origine des anciens assassins portecouteaux* (Lyon: Vincent Vaspaze, 1603); Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale ou Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des*

- peuples de l'Orient* (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1697); M. Camille Falconet, "Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple d'Asie, Partie 1 et 2," *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xvii (Paris, 1751), 127–70.
- 7 See chap. 2.
 - 8 Sacy, "Mémoire," 83.
 - 9 Henri Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy et ses correspondants, Extrait du Journal des Savants* (Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1919); and *Silvestre de Sacy, 1758–1838, ses contemporains et ses disciples* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 123–30; Robert Irwin, "Orientalism and the Early Development of Crusader Studies," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 1, ed. Peter Edburly and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 219–22; Sylvette Larzul, "Sacy, Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de," dans *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2008), 897–8.
 - 10 Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 87.
 - 11 Farhad Daftary, *Ismailis: Their History and Doctrines*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 10–11, and *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismailis* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co., 1994), 213–15; Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), 24–5.
 - 12 "Extrait du *Moniteur* de 1809," dans *Dictionnaire des découvertes en France de 1789 à la fin de 1820*, tome 1 (Paris: L. Colas, 1822), 447–8. See also Sacy's rebuttal, in which he refutes the opposing etymology and simply restates his own: "Lettre de M. Silvestre de Sacy, au rédacteur du 'Moniteur,' sur l'étymologie du nom des Assassins," *Moniteur* 359 (1809): 1–6.
 - 13 Christian Makarian, "Tobie Nathan: 'Pour Daech, les temples sont des idoles modernes,'" *L'Express*, 9 October 2015, <https://sfrpresse.sfr.fr/article/004b13b0-05ca-42af-80f3-e930c4be6997>; Christopher Brooks, "BBC Censures Itself for Telling the Truth about 'Global Warming' – Christopher Brooks Examines a Case of BBC Groupthink and a Curious Silence over Cannabis and Violence," *Telegraph*, 12 December 2015,

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/12047679/BBC-censures-itself-for-telling-the-truth-about-global-warming.html#disqus_thread;
Dr Reuven Berko, “Beer, Drugs and Sex,” *Israel Hayom*, 19 February 2016.

- 14 Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth-Century England*, rev. ed. (London: Free Association Books, 1998); Jean-Jacques Yvarel, *Les poisons de l'esprit: Drogues et drogués au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Quai Voltaire: 1992); James H. Mills, *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade, and Prohibition 1800–1928* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003); James H. Mills and Patricia Barton, eds., *Drugs and Empires: Essays in Modern Imperialism and Intoxication, c. 1500– c. 1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Howard Padwa, *Social Poison: The Culture and Politics of Opiate Control in Britain and France, 1821–1926* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Mike Jay, *Emperor of Dreams: Drugs in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Columbia, MD: Dedalus Books, 2012).
- 15 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).
- 16 Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 37.
- 17 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 28.
- 18 Said, *Orientalism*, 123, 130.
- 19 Notable studies of Silvestre de Sacy include J. Reinaud, “Notice historique et littéraire sur M. le baron Silvestre de Sacy,” *Journal Asiatique* séries 3, vol. 6 (1838): 113–95; Pierre Claude François Daunou, «Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy,» *Mémoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 12, 1 (1839): 507–31; Hartwig Derenbourg, *Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838)* (La Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français, 1905); Henri Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy et ses correspondants* (Paris: Hachette, 1919); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, “La vie de Silvestre de Sacy,” dans *Comptes rendus séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 82, 1 (1938): 64–73; Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa, Bis in den Anfang des 20 Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954); Said, *Orientalism*, 94–130; Robert Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's*

- Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680–1880*, trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Viktor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Daniel Reig, *Homo orientaliste: La langue arabe en France depuis le XIXe siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose, 1988); Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London: Penguin, 2007); and Michel Espagne, “Silvestre de Sacy et les orientalistes allemands,” *Revue germanique internationale* 7 (2008), <https://rgi.revues.org/398>; M. Espagne, N. Lafi, and P. Rabault-Feuerhahn, eds., *Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838): Le projet européen d’une science orientalist* (Paris: Cerf, 2014); Alain Messaoudi, *Les Arabisants et la France coloniale, 1780–1930: Savants, conseillers, médiateurs* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015), 25–82.
- 20 In 1801, Sacy edited and published a collection of Berthereau’s manuscripts as *Notice des Manuscrits laissés par Dom Berthereau, religieux bénédictin de lac de S. Maur, mort en 1794* (Paris: n.p., 1801). In the introduction Sacy credits Berthereau with amassing Europe’s first substantial archive of Oriental manuscripts: “Berthereau gave himself with all the ardour and diligence he was able to the preliminary studies that gave us all access to the monuments of the history of Oriental dynasties.”
- 21 Messaoudi, *Les Arabisants et la France coloniale*, 33–4.
- 22 Sacy defied the Convention’s ban on Catholic worship passed in October 1793 and conducted illegal Sunday mass in his cottage in Nanteuil-le-Haudouin. See Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, 45; Messaoudi, *Les Arabisants et la France coloniale*, 44.
- 23 Louis Bazin, “L’École des Langues Orientales et L’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1795–1995),” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139, 4 (1995): 983–96.
- 24 Sacy eventually accepted a seat in the Institut in 1803 after receiving a personal invitation from First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte imploring him to join the association. He went on to serve five times as the association’s president and participated in its activities until his death in 1838. See René Dussaud, “L’activité académique de Silvestre de Sacy,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 82, 1 (1938): 101.
- 25 Historians often criticize Sacy for never travelling to the Middle East and for his resulting inability to speak many of the languages he

could translate. However, I question the absolutism of these claims as his works and personal letters are replete with discussions of pronunciation, dialect, and culture. See Silvestre de Sacy, *Lettres d'Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy*, Manuscrits de l'Institut de France, Château de Chantilly, cote 2375-2377; *Correspondance d'Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy: Lettres de correspondants avec minutes ou copies de lettres de réponse de Silvestre de Sacy*, Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Paris – MS 1896.

- 26 Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe, ou Extraits de divers écrivains arabes tant en prose qu'en vers à l'usage des élèves de l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, tome 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1806), ix.
- 27 Antoine Carrière, *Notice Historique sur l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883); Michel Espagne, "Silvestre de Sacy et les orientalistes allemands," *Revue germanique internationale* 7 (2008): 21, <https://rgi.revues.org/398>.
- 28 Jaubert went on to work as an interpreter for numerous French ambassadors in Persia, Egypt, and Turkey, and after 1830 became a professor of Persian at the Collège de France. Jaubert later gave the eulogy at Sacy's funeral in February of 1838 and took over as third director of the École Spéciale that same year. See Carrière, *Notice Historique sur l'École Spéciale*, 55–6.
- 29 Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, tome 2, 115–55.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 119.
- 31 Hassan bin-Ahmed wrote "Praise of Cannabis" sometime around 1260 AD, and he claimed personally to have received his information from a meeting with Sheikh Djafar bin-Muhammad Schirazi, a Sufi devotee of Haydar. See Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, tome 2, 120.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 122.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 34 Tadj-eddin Ismuil, son of Abd-alwahhah, quoted in *Ibid.*, 131.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 132.
- 36 Farhad Daftary, ed. *Mediaeval Ismaili History and Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 10–11; Robert Irwin, "An Orientalist Mythology of Secret Societies," *Orientalism and Conspiracy: Politics and Conspiracy Theory in the Islamic World*, ed. Arndt Graf, Schirin Fathi, and Ludwig Paul, 101–34 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

- 37 Irwin, “Orientalist Mythology of Secret Societies,” 130–4. Similar critiques of Sacy’s work can be found in Vladimir Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948).
- 38 Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, tome 2, 134.
- 39 Ibid., 154.
- 40 Louis Millin, *Magasin encyclopédique, ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, 6 Année, tome 5 (Paris: Chez Fuchs, 1801): 111–12. The ban also appeared in René Nicolas Dufriche Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale de l’Armée d’Orient* (Paris: Chez Croullebois, An X/1802): 184–5; Citoyen Mongez, “Recherche sur l’emploi du chanvre dans l’antiquité de moyen age,” *Mémoires de l’Institut national des sciences et arts ... Littérature et beaux-arts* (Paris: Baudouin, 1804): 477.
- 41 Said, *Orientalism*, 123.
- 42 Ibid., 123–30.
- 43 Malcolm Kerr, “Review of Edward Said’s *Orientalism*,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 12 (December 1980): 544–7; Ernest Gellner, “The Mightier Pen? Edward Said and the Double Standards of Inside-Out Colonialism,” *Time Literary Supplement*, 19 February 1993, 3–4; Bernard Lewis, “The Question of Orientalism,” *New York Review of Books*, 24 June 1982; Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said’s Orientalism* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2007), 5–11.
- 44 Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo’s Le Devisement Du Monde: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2013), 1–12.
- 45 Notable early studies of the Ismaili Assassins in Europe include Barthélémy d’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* (Paris: La Compagnie des Libraires, 1697); T. Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1700), 36, 493; J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana V. II* (Rome: P.F. Gregorius, 1723), 214–15, 318–20; M. Falconet, “Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple d’Asie, second partie, *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l’Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 17 (1751): 127–70; Anonymous, “Éclaircissements sur quelques circonstances de l’histoire du Vieux de la Montagne, Prince des Assassins,” *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l’Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 16 (1751): 155–65; M.J.

Mariti, *Memorie istoriche del popolo degli Assassini e del vecchio della montagna, loro capo-signore* (Livorno: Appresso Carlo Giorgi, 1787); S. Assemani, “Ragguaglio storico-critico sopra la setta Assissana, detta volgarmente degli Assassini,” *Giornale dell’Italiana Letteratura* 13 (1806), 241–62.

46 Sacy, “Mémoire,” 55, 83.

47 On the central role of philology in academia in nineteenth-century Europe, see Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans M.B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); 30–45; Karla Mallette, *European Modernity and the Arab Mediterranean: Toward a New Philology and a Counter-Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 56–93; and James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 123–210.

48 A subsect of Shia Islam, Ismailism first developed in Syria in the mid-eighth century around the figure of Ismail ibn Jafar (719–755 CE), the eldest son of Jafar al-Sadiq (702–765 CE), the sixth Shia imam and direct descendant of Ali Ibn Abi Talib. When the eighth Shia Caliph, al-Mustansir, died in 1094 CE, a crisis of succession ensued; some Ismaili supported the succession of al-Mustansir’s eldest son, al-Nizar, while others supported that of al-Nizar’s younger brother, al-Mustali. The majority of Ismaili in Syria, Persia, and the Arabian Peninsula refused to acknowledge al-Mustali as the ninth imam and instead proclaimed their loyalty to al-Nizar’s son, Al-Hadi ibn Nizar. And this Nizari subsect of Ismailism produced the *da’ia*, or missionary, Hassan-i Sabbah, who in 1090 CE founded the infamous “assassins” cult at Alamut castle in the Alborz Mountains of northern Persia. See Marshall Hodgson, *The Secret Order of Assassins* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 73–5; Daftary, *Ismailis*, 31–314; Lewis, *Assassins*, 36–49.

49 Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, 139–43.

50 Arnold of Lübeck is believed to be the first to mention the “hashish legend” in his description of the Nizari Assassins in his *Chronica Slavorum*, book 4, chapter 16, first published in 1168. See Daftary, *Ismailis*, 12, and *Assassins Legend*, 49–87.

51 Daftary, *Ismailis*, 12.

52 Abu-Shama, *Kitab al-rawdatayn* (History of Nur al-Din and Saladin)

Arabic Manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, no. 707 A, year 570 (1174 CE), fol. 127v.

- 53 Sacy, “Mémoire,” 45.
- 54 Quotation from Daftary, *Ismailis*, 10, 24. See also Lewis, *Assassins*, 11–12; and Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*, 133–7.
- 55 Sacy, “Mémoire,” 54.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 57 Carsten Niebuhr, *Description de l’Arabie faite sur des observations propres et des avis recueillis dans les mêmes*, 2 tomes, trans. Ferdinand-Louis Mourier (Amsterdam: S.J. Baalde, 1774); Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte: Fait par ordre de l’ancien gouvernement et contenant des observations de tous genres*, 4 tomes (Paris: F. Buisson, 1798); Guillaume Antoine Olivier, *Le Voyage dans l’empire Othoman, l’Égypte et la Perse* (Paris: Chez H. Agasse, 1807); Sacy, “Mémoire,” 50–1, 64, 84.
- 58 Sacy only cites Article I of the October 1800 ban and, as he did in *Chrestomathie arabe*, fails to mention Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou, the general who passed the measure, or the nuanced colonial context that produced the ban. See Sacy, “Mémoire,” 63–4.
- 59 Early refutations of Sacy’s claims included “Extrait du *Moniteur* de 1809,” *Dictionnaire des découvertes en France de 1789 à la fin de 1820*, tome 1 (Paris: L. Colas, 1822), 447–8; François-Joseph-Michel Noël *Nouveau dictionnaire des origines, inventions et découvertes dans les arts, les sciences, etc.*, tome 1 (Paris: Janet et Cotellet), 74–5.
- 60 As Charles Baudelaire, one of France’s most famous and controversial poets of the nineteenth century, wrote in his 1860 work *Les Paradis artificiels*: “The stories of Marco Polo ... have been verified by scholars and deserve our gratitude. I don’t need to tell you about how the Old Man of the Mountain locked, after intoxicating them with hashish (hence, Hachichins or Assassins), in a garden full of delights, the younger disciples to whom he wanted to give an idea of paradise, an anticipated reward, so to speak, for passive and unthinking obedience. The reader may, with respect to the secret society of the Hachichins, consult the books of M. de Hammer and M. Sylvestre de Sacy, contained in Volume XVI of the *Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and, regarding the etymology of the word assassin, his letter to the editor of the

Moniteur, inserted in Number 259 of the year 1809.” See Charles Baudelaire, *Les Paradis artificiels* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, [1860] 1966), 31.

- 61 Ken Hyland, “Academic Attribution: Citation and the Construction of Disciplinary Knowledge,” *Applied Linguistics* 20, 3 (1999): 341–67; B. Ott and C. Walter, “Intertextuality: Interpretive Practice and Strategy,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 17 (2000): 429–66. For more on the history of the term for linguistics, from which it first emanated in the 1960s, see María Jesús Martínez Alfaro, “Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept,” *Atlantis* 18, 1–2 (1996): 268–85.
- 62 Hyland, “Academic Attribution,” 344. See also Karin Knorr Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How Sciences Makes Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1–10.
- 63 Karim H. Karim, “The Legends of the ‘Assassins’ in the News Coverage of Muslims,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American News Media*, ed. Diane Winston, 230–1 (Oxford University Press, 2012).
- 64 Silvestre de Sacy, “Des préparations enivrantes faites avec le chanvre: Mémoire lu à l’Institut par M. Silvestre de Sacy, le 7 juillet 1809,” *Bulletin des sciences médicales* 4 (September 1809): 201–6; See also in *Bulletin de pharmacie* 1 (November 1809): 523–6.
- 65 Sacy, “Des préparations enivrantes,” 526.
- 66 Pierre Charles Rouyer, “Notice sur les médicaments usuels des Égyptiens,” *Description de l’Égypte, État moderne* 1 (Paris, 1809): 217–32, also published in the *Bulletin de pharmacie* 2, 9 (1810): 385–415; J.J. Virey, “Du Népentès, Remède exhilarant, donné par la belle Hélène à Télémaque, selon Homère,” *Bulletin de pharmacie* 5 (1813): 49–60; G.B. Gastinel, “Nouvelle préparation de hachich (lettres à l’Académie de Médecine),” *Bulletin de l’Académie Royale (Nationale) de Médecine* 13 (1848), 675–8, 827–9, 1386–7; Edmund De Courtive, E. “Haschisch, étude historique, chimique et physiologique,” [Thèse, École de Pharmacie de Paris, 1848].
- 67 The most complete and up-to-date bibliography of these publications can be found in Jacques Arveiller, “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle: une histoire médicale,” *L’Évolution psychiatrique* 78 (2013): 451–84.
- 68 Louis Aubert-Roche, *De la peste ou typhus d’Orient: Documens et*

observations recueillies pendant les années 1834 à 1838, en Égypte, en Arabie, sur la Mer Rouge, en Abissynie, à Smyrne et à Constantinople: Suivis d'un essai sur le hachisch et son emploi dans le traitement de la peste (Paris: Just Rouvier, 1840), 210–49, esp. 212; Apollinaire Bouchardat, *Nouveau Formulaire magistral (avec les poids nouveaux et anciens en regard), précédé d'une notice sur les hôpitaux de Paris, de généralités sur l'art de formuler*, édition 16 (Paris: Germer Baillièrre, 1840), 87–9; Antoine Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, tome 2 (Paris: Fortin, Masson, 1840), 9–11; Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, *Du hachisch et de l'aliénation mentale: études psychologiques* (Paris: Collection Esquirol, 1845), 10–11.

- 69 The Club des Hachichins met monthly from 1843 to 1849 at the Hôtel de Lauzun, today called Hôtel Pimodan, on Ile-St Louis in central Paris. Its members included French notables, such as Victor Hugo, Charles Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, Eugène Delacroix, Alexandre Dumas, and the host, Dr Jacques-Joseph Moreau du Tours. While at the Hôtel de Lauzun, these French literati, intellectuals, artists, and scientists dressed in Oriental garb and ate hashish-laced confections, while Dr Moreau controlled and observed the experiment. Moreau believed that hashish use granted one access to the “inner recesses of the primordial mind.” Through these hashish-induced incantations of the Orient on the banks of the Seine, Moreau hoped to gain greater insight into the origins and dynamics of insanity. See Moreau de Tours, *Du Hachisch*, 3–23.
- 70 In his first chapter on the history of hashish, Moreau cites a large portion of Marco Polo’s legendary stories about the Nizari Ismailis, which he frames with references to Sacy’s paper on the assassins. See Moreau de Tours, *Du Hachisch*, 34–5.
- 71 Aubert-Roche, *De la peste*, 212; A.-B. Clot-Bey, “Quelques réflexions sur les effets du Haschich,” *L’Abeille Médicale* 1 (January 1848), 93–4.
- 72 A. Brière de Boismont, “Au rédacteur,” *Journal des débats*, 17 November 1837, 3; and “Expériences toxicologiques sur une substance inconnue,” *Gazette médicale de Paris* 8, 18 (1840): 278–9.
- 73 Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon, *Histoire médicale des Marais et traité des fièvres intermittentes causées par les émanations des eaux stagnantes*

- (Paris: Béchét Jeune, 1826), 164.
- 74 In fact, the active ingredient of cannabis, then called cannabitol, was not extracted and isolated in pure form until 1896, when a group of scientists named Wood, Spivey, and Easterfield at Cambridge first accomplished the feat. See C.R. Marshall, “The Active Principle of Indian Hemp: A Preliminary Communication,” *Lancet* 75, 4 (1897): 235–8.
- 75 François-Pierre Chaumeton, Jean-Louis-Marie Poiret, Joseph Tyrbas de Chamberet, and Ernest Panckoucke, eds., *Flore médicale*, tome 2 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1833), 111–12.
- 76 *Ibid.*, T. II, 112.
- 77 During the Restoration and July Monarchy, royalist and Catholic historians in France looked to the era of the Crusades, and principally to the Seventh Crusade (1248–54) of French King Louis IX, as the first great Christian achievement of the French nation. And after the French expanded their imperial interests into North Africa after 1830, French historians increasingly looked to the crusades as the nation’s first great civilizing mission in the Arabo-Islamic world. See Jonathan Phillips, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (London: Vintage Books, 2010), 317–19; John V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–4.
- 78 “Lettre à M. Michaud, sur les Assassins, par M. Am. Jourdain,” in Joseph-François Michaud, *Histoire des croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris: Chez L.G. Michaud, 1818), 529–2.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 543.
- 80 Gary Dickson, *The Children’s Crusade: Medieval History, Modern* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 23–7; Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 3–4, 279–81; Giles Constable, “The Historiography of the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, 1–22 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001).
- 81 In a footnote attached to the word “assassin” in his translation of William of Tyre’s *History of the Crusades*, famed historian and editor François Guizot wrote: “M. Silvestre de Sacy proved that this name was a corruption of the word *hachichins*, which was given to the Ismailis, true name of this unique tribe, because they used a

liquor called hashish, extracted from a preparation of flowers of cannabis. One can find in *Histoire des croisades* by M. Michaud (t. II, p. 529–562) a letter from M. Jourdain that contains the most exact and curious details on the Ismailis.” See François Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires Relatifs à l’Histoire de France* (Paris: Chez J.-L.-J. Brière Libraire, 1824), 297.

- 82 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Geschichte der Assassinen, aus morgenländischen Quellen* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1818), published in France as *Histoire de l’ordre des assassins*, trans. J.J. Hellert and Prosper-Alexis de La Nourais (Paris: Paulin, 1833). Oswald C. Wood published an English translation in 1835, *The History of the Assassins*, trans. Oswald C. Wood (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1835), which contains the first English translation of an excerpt of Silvestre de Sacy’s essay on the assassins. In 1818, Sacy published a favourable review of Hammer’s work in Paris and offered only minor critiques. See *Journal des savans* (July 1818): 412–17.
- 83 Daftary, *Ismailis*, 26–7, and *Assassins Legends*, 5–7, 118–26.
- 84 von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l’ordre des assassins*, 236.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 1–2, 236–7.
- 86 Louis Colas, ed., *Dictionnaire chronologique et raisonné des découvertes, inventions, innovations, perfectionnemens, observations nouvelles et importations, en France, dans la littérature, les arts, l’agriculture, le commerce et l’industrie de 1789 à la fin de 1820*, tome 1 (Paris: Chez Louis Colas, 1822), 445–9.
- 87 Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue françoise, où les mots sont classés par familles*, tome 1 (Paris: Decourchant, 1829), 46.
- 88 Treuttel and Würtz, eds, *Encyclopédie des gens du monde, répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, tome 2 (Paris: Libraire de Treuttel et Würtz, 1833), 403.
- 89 Similar uncited references to Sacy’s etymology and of the Assassins can be found in the following dictionaries and their entries for “assassin”: C. Gaillardin, “Assassins,” in *Encyclopédie du dix-neuvième siècle: Répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts, avec la biographie de tous les hommes célèbres*, tome 4 (Paris: Au Bureau de l’Encyclopédie du XIXe Siècle, 1838), 45–7; L. Gaudeau, L. Plée, A. Péan, F.-C. Gérard, and H.-G. Cler, *Glossaire français polyglotte, dictionnaire historique, étymologique raisonné et*

usuel de la langue française et de ses noms propres (Paris: Au Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1846), 340; M.J.-P. Houzé, ed., *Encyclopédie nationale des sciences, des lettres et des Arts ou Résumé complet des connaissances humaines* (Paris: J. Berry, 1851), 375; Eustache-Marie-Pierre-Marc Courtin, *Encyclopédie moderne: Dictionnaire abrégé des sciences, des lettres, des arts, de l'industrie, de l'agriculture et du commerce*, tome 6, partie 1 (Paris: MM. Firmin Didot frères, 1857), 571–2.

- 90 After a two-year propaganda campaign against marijuana, Harry J. Anslinger successfully pushed the Marijuana Tax Act through Congress in August 1937, marking the first federal anti-cannabis law in the United States. See “Statement of H.J. Anslinger to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, Seventy-Fifth Congress, First Session on H.R. 6385,” 27 April 1937, <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/hemp/taxact/anslng1.htm>; and Harry J. Anslinger, “Marijuana: Assassin of Youth,” *American Magazine* 124, 1 (July 1937): 8–15.
- 91 The most alarming example of this is the infamous propaganda film *Reefer Madness* (1936). The film, co-produced by George Hirliman in quiet collaboration with Anslinger’s bureau, employed all three themes (Oriental barbarity, anti-immigration xenophobia, and anti-black racism) when depicting the dangers of marijuana for America’s white youth. Several quotations from the movie also reflect this trinity of racism at the heart of *Reefer Madness*. At one point the narrator states: “There are 100,000 total marijuana smokers in the U.S., and most are Negroes, Hispanics, Filipinos and entertainers. Their Satanic music, jazz and swing result from marijuana use. This marijuana causes white women to seek sexual relations with Negroes, entertainers and any others.” And another character quickly retorts, “Reefer makes darkies think they’re as good as white men!”
- 92 Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010).
- 93 “Questions orales avec débat: Drogues – Séance de 24 octobre 1969,” *Journal officiel de la République française: Débats Parlementaires – Asssemblée Nationale, Compte Rendu Des Séances* 63 (Paris: 24 October 1969), 2945
- 94 *Ibid.*, 2935–45.
- 95 The law called for a minimum penalty of five years in prison and

finances amounting to no more than 50 million francs for all those convicted of drug trafficking and distribution. Then known as Public Health Code L. 627, the law also allowed police forces to enter private residences (though not at night) without warrant if sufficient evidence of drug trafficking or distribution existed, and it also strengthened the power of the state to exile and deport suspected traffickers. See *ibid.*, 4 (Paris: 18 December 1970): 6704.

- 96 Sihem Souid, “La guerre aux drogues, une guerre contre les minorités ethniques?” *Le Point*, 11 July 2014, http://www.lepoint.fr/invites-du-point/sihem-souid/la-guerre-aux-drogues-une-guerre-contre-les-minorites-ethniques-07-11-2014-1879530_421.php; “Kim Hullot-Guiot and Cécile Bourgneuf, “La lutte contre les drogues, une ‘guerre raciale?’” *Libération*, 15 April 2015, https://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/15/la-lutte-contre-les-drogues-une-guerre-raciale_1240975.
- 97 A 2015 study conducted by the Association Française pour la Réduction des Risques (AFR) also concluded that black and Arab communities in France are systematically targeted by police and nearly ten times more likely than white French citizens to be stopped by police for random identity checks that often lead to drug arrests. See Hullot-Guiot and Bourgneuf, “La lutte contre les drogues.”

CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Alexandre Willemin, “Note sur l’épidémie de choléra observée au Caire en 1848, et sur les effets salutaires du principe actif du cannabis indica dans le traitement de cette maladie,” *Bulletin générale de thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale* 35 (1848): 337–42.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 338.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 342.
- 4 René-Nicolas Dufriche Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale de l’Armée d’Orient*, seconde partie (Paris: Chez Croullebois, An X/1802), 12.
- 5 Eric Sartori, *L’Empire des sciences – Napoléon et ses savants* (Paris: Ellipses, 2003), 12–14.
- 6 Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale*, partie 1, 12.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 52–3.
- 8 For more on Abdallah Menou and the hashish ban of October 1800, see chapter 2.
- 9 Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale*, partie 1, 184.
- 10 Abdallah Menou, *Ordre du Jour*, 17 Vendémiaire an 9 (8 October

1800), SHD B6 123.

- 11 Ibid.
- 12 See also Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971).
- 13 Ceresole, “Des observations du citoyen CERESOLE, médecin ordinaire de l’armée, dans un voyage, sur la rive occidentale du Nil, du Kaire à Syouth,” in Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale*, seconde partie, 45.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Pierre Charles Rouyer, “Notice sur les médicaments usuels des Égyptiens,” in *Description de l’Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l’expédition de l’armée française*, 2e éd. (Paris: L’Imprimerie Impériale, 1809), 430–49. Rouyer also published this article in the *Bulletin de pharmacie* 2, 9 (1810): 345–415.
- 16 Rouyer, “Notice sur les médicaments usuels des Égyptiens,” 430–1.
- 17 Ibid., 433.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur la dynastie des assassins et sur l’étymologie de leur nom (read on 19 May 1809),” *Histoire et mémoires de l’Institut Royal de France, Classe d’histoire et de littérature ancienne*, tome 4 (Paris: L’Imprimerie Royale, 1818): 1–83.
- 20 “Des préparations enivrantes faites avec le chanvre: Mémoire lu à l’Institut par M. Silvestre de Sacy, le 7 juillet 1809,” *Bulletin de pharmacie* 1, 1 (November 1809): 523–50.
- 21 Jonathan Simon, *Chemistry, Pharmacy and Revolution in France, 1777–1809* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- 22 Ibid., 21–48. For more on the interrelationship between the Enlightenment and the Scientific Revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see William Clark, Jan Golinski, and Simon Schaffer, eds, *The Sciences in Enlightenment Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999), 3–31; and Thomas L. Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1–16.
- 23 Simon, *Chemistry*, 160–4; Georges Dilleman, Henri Bonnemain, and André Boucherle, *La Pharmacie française: Ses origines, son histoire, son évolution* (Paris: Tec & Doc Lavoisier, 1992), 30–9.
- 24 T.S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago:

- University of Chicago Press, 1970); W.H. Brock, *The Norton History of Chemistry* (New York: Norton, 1993); I. Bernard Cohen, *Revolution in Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); Paul Hoyningen-Huene, “Thomas Kuhn and the Chemical Revolution,” *Foundations of Chemistry* 10 (2008): 101–15.
- 25 Mario Vegetti, “Between Knowledge and Practice: Hellenistic Medicine,” in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Mirko D. Grmek, trans. Antony Shugaar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 72–104; Danielle Gourevitch, “The Paths of Knowledge: Medicine in the Roman World,” in *ibid.*, 104–38.
- 26 Cohen, *Revolution in Science*, 231–6.
- 27 Simon, *Chemistry*, 129–66.
- 28 Julien-Joseph Virey, “DU NÉPENTHÉS Remède exhilarant, donné par la belle Hélène à Télémaque, selon Homère,” *Bulletin de pharmacie* 11 (February 1813): 49–60. Interestingly enough, a seventeenth-century painting by Simon Vouet of Helen taking nepenthe to relieve her sorrows after the fall of Troy adorned (and still adorns) the fireplace of the Salles des Actes at the École de Pharmacie in Paris. See Olivier Lafont, “Hélène de Troie et les médicaments, à partir d’un tableau de la Salle des Actes,” *Revue d’histoire de la pharmacie* 373 (2012): 7–16.
- 29 Virey, “DU NÉPENTHÉS,” 56.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 *Ibid.*, note 17.
- 32 “Recueil des pièces relative à la procédure et au jugement de Soleyman êl-Hhaleby, assassin du général en chef Kléber,” in *Pièces diverses relatives aux opérations militaires et politique du Général Bonaparte*, seconde partie (Paris: P. Didot, 1801), 275–333. In his famous chronicle of the brief French occupation of Egypt between 1798 and 1801, Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti devoted several pages to the trial and execution of al-Halabi and does not once mention hashish. See *Napoleon in Egypt: Al-Jabarti’s Chronicle of the French Occupation, 1798*, trans. Shmuel Moreh (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2004), 196–7.
- 33 “Recueil des pièces relative à la procédure,” 281.
- 34 Notable examples include Georges Touchard-Lafosse, *Dictionnaire chronologique et raisonné des découvertes, inventions ... de 1789 à*

la fin de 1820 (Paris: Chez Louis Colas, 1821); Joseph-François Michaud, *Histoire des croisades*, tome 2 (Paris: Michaud Jeune, 1825), 560–5; François-Joseph-Michel Noël, *Nouveau dictionnaire des origines, inventions et découvertes dans les arts, les science, etc.*, tome 1 (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1827); C. de Méry, *Histoire générale des proverbes, adages, sentences, apophtegmes ...* tome 2 (Paris: Delongchamps, 1829), 6–7; Jean-Baptise Roquefort-Flaméricourt, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française, où les mots sont classés par familles* (Paris: Decourchant, 1829); Eusèbe de Salle, *Ali le Renard, ou la Conquête d’Alger*, tome 2 (Paris: G. Gosselin, 1832); J.J. Virey, “Pharmacon Hiéron, Ou botanique sacrée; notice des plantes saintes, servant au culte de diverse religions, et à des pratiques d’exorcisme,” *Journal de pharmacie et des sciences accessoires*, 18 April 1832; François-Pierre Chaumeton, Jean-Louis-Marie Poiret, Joseph Tyrbas de Chamberet, and Ernest Panckoucke, eds, *Flore médicale*, tome 2 (Paris: Panckoucke, 1833); Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l’ordre des assassins*, trans. J.J. Hellert (Paris: Paulin, 1833); C. Famin, “Histoire: L’Ordre des Assassins,” *La France littéraire* tome 11 (Paris: Au Bureau de la France Littéraire, 1834), 365-85.

- 35 Recent research at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada, has convincingly demonstrated that *Cannabis sativa* and *Cannabis indica*, as well as the third “species” *Cannabis ruderalis*, actually share the same genetics and are thus the same species. Therefore, one can argue that the *indica* versus *sativa* debate of today is a byproduct of the nineteenth-century racial and civilizational division crafted by Europeans to differentiate themselves from “Orientals.” See J. Sawler et al., “The Genetic Structure of Marijuana and Hemp,” *PLoS One* 10, 8 (2015): <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26308334>; and John M. McPartland, “*Cannabis sativa* and *Cannabis indica* versus ‘Sativa’ and ‘Indica,’” in *Cannabis sativa L. – Botany and Biotechnology*, ed. S. Chandra, H. Lata, and M. ElSohly (Cham: Springer, 2017), 101–22.
- 36 Chaumeton et al., *Flore médicale*, 111.
- 37 Ibid., 114.
- 38 Chaumeton et al., *Flore médicale*, 115.
- 39 Ronald K Siegel and Ada E. Hirschman, “Edmond de Courtive and

- the First Thesis on Hashish: A Historical Note and Translation,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 32 (1991): 85–6; Stephen Snelders, Charles Kaplan, and Toine Pieters, “On Cannabis, Chloral Hydrate, and Career Cycles of Psychotropic Drugs in Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80, 1 (2006): 95–114; Jacques Arveiller, “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle: Une histoire médicale,” *L’Évolution psychiatrique* 78 (2013): 451–84.
- 40 Arveiller, “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle,” 461.
- 41 François Laurent Marie Dorvault, *L’Officine, ou Répertoire général de pharmacie pratique* (Paris: Labé, 1850).
- 42 Ibid., 187, 369. For comparison, the average cost of two litres of red wine in Paris in 1850 was around forty centimes.
- 43 “Note sur le hatchi,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie et de toxicologie* 2, 4 (1838): 61–2. It should be noted that dawamesk was called “Madjonne” or “madjaun” in French Algeria. See Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon, “Du haschis, préparation en usage parmi les Arabes de l’Algérie et du Levant,” *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l’Académie des sciences* 14 (January 1842): 517–18.
- 44 Gautier describes taking the dawamesk from a “Dr. X,” who is Moreau, in Théophile Gautier, “Description des effets du hachich, par un feuilletoniste de la Presse,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 2 (1843): 490–3, and in the famous piece “Le Club des Hachichins,” in *Revue des deux mondes* (January 1846); Emanuel J. Mickel, *The Artificial Paradises in French Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).
- 45 Dorvault, *L’Officine* (1850), 187.
- 46 James H. Mills, *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade, and Prohibition, 1800–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 35–55.
- 47 Ibid., 39. Quotation from W.B. O’Shaughnessy, “On the Preparations of the Indian Hemp, or Gunjah (Cannabis Indica),” in *Transactions of the Medical Society at Calcutta* (1839), reprinted in *Provincial Medical Journal and Retrospect of the Medical Sciences* 123 (4 February 1843): 363–9.
- 48 Thomas Smith and Henry Smith, “On the Resin of Indian Hemp,” *Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions* 6 (1847): 171–3.
- 49 François Dorvault (trans.), “Préparation de la cannabine, principe actif du hachisch,” *Bulletin général de thérapeutique médicale et*

- chirurgicale* 33 (1847): 135–6. See also Pelletier, “Sur la résine du cannabis indica,” *Journal de pharmacie et de chimie* 11 (1847): 278.
- 50 Dorvault, *L’Officine* (1850), 187.
- 51 Henry Smith and Thomas Smith, “Process for Preparing Cannabine, or Hemp Resin,” *Pharmaceutical Journal* 6 (1846): 171–3; Henry and Thomas Smith., “Préparation de la cannabine, principe actif du haschich, [C.T. par Dorvault],” *Bulletin général thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale* 33 (1846): 135-6.
- 52 Smith and Smith, “Process for Preparing Cannabine,” 173.
- 53 Dorvault, *L’Officine* (1850), 187.
- 54 “Obituary: Dr. Louis Rémy Aubert-Roche,” *Medical Times and Gazette*, 9 January 1875, 51–2.
- 55 Lester K. Little, “Plague Historians in Lab Coats,” *Past and Present* 213, 1 (2011): 267–90; E.A. Heaman, “The Rise and Fall of Anticontagionism in France,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 12, 1 (1995): 3–25.
- 56 Erwin H. Ackerknecht, “Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 22 (1948): 562–83; Heaman, “Rise and Fall of Anticontagionism in France,” 4; Andrew Robert Aisenberg, *Contagion: Disease, Government and the ‘Social Question’ in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); and Frank N. Snowden, *Naples in the Time of Cholera, 1884–1911* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Anne Marie Moulin, “The Construction of Disease Transmission in Nineteenth-century Egypt,” in *The Development of Modern Medicine in Non-Western Countries: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Hormoz Ebrahimnejad (London and New York: Routledge, 2009): 42–58.
- 57 Louis Rémy Aubert-Roche, *De la peste ou typhus d’Orient: Documens et observations recueillis pendant les années 1834 à 1838, en Égypte, en Arabie, sur la Mer Rouge, en Abyssinie à Smyrne et à Constantinople* (Paris: Just Rouvier, 1840).
- 58 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 59 The struggle between Aubert-Roche and the authorities in Alexandria was real. In 1835, the Egyptian government removed Aubert-Roche as the head of the marine’s hospital in Alexandria for refusing to implement a quarantine. See LaVerne Kuhnke, *Lives at Risk: Public Health in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 1990), 88.

- 60 Aubert-Roche, *De la peste*, 44–5.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 275–6.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 271.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 212–13.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 214.
- 65 Aubert-Roche believed that the plague primarily attacked the central nervous system as evidenced by the damage done to the thoracic and cervical glands, and while he observed the damage done by the disease to the lymphatic system – which we now know is the primary system of the body attacked by the *Yersinia pestis* bacterium, leading to infection, liver and spleen damage, immune system shut down, and the formation of lesions or buboes – he explained the engorged lymph nodes and lesions as a side effect most likely caused by the miasma itself. “If the lymphatic system was, as many wish to advance, the seat of the disease, it would be, it seems to me, primarily and not secondarily attacked.” See *ibid.*, 275–6.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 217.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 241–2.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 241–3.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 247.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 249.
- 71 Heaman, “Rise and Fall of Anticontagionism in France,” 23–5.
- 72 “Note Sur Le Hachisch,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie et de toxicologie*, 7, 2 (1840): 447–50.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 450.
- 74 Louis Aubert-Roche, “De la prophylaxie générale de la peste,” *Revue médicale de Paris* (Paris: Moquet et Hauquelin: 1843); Louis Aubert-Roche, “De la peste ou typhus d’Orient, documens et observations recueillis pendant les années 1834 à 1838, en Égypte, suivis d’un essai sur le hachisch, [compte-rendu].” *Revue de l’Orient* 1 (January 1843): 479–83.
- 75 French physician and surgeon Antoine Clot-Bey (1793–1858), described by several historians as the founder of modern medicine in Egypt, worked for Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt from 1825 to 1849, during which time he established a medical school at Abou-zabel near Cairo and served as chief medical officer of the Egyptian army. Though an anticontagionist and believer in the efficacy of

hashish as a treatment for cholera, Clot-Bey was unconvinced by the eleven case studies presented in Aubert-Roche's *De la Peste*. Clot-Bey's critique of hashish can be found in A.-B. Clot-Bey, *De la Peste observée en Égypte: Recherches et considerations sur cette maladie* (Paris: Fortin et Masson, 1840), 129. For more on Clot-Bey, see Gerard N. Burrow, "Clot-Bey: Founder of Western Medical Practice in Egypt," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 48 (1975): 251–7; Henri Rug, "Antoine Barthélémy Clot-Bey: Un médecin marseillais fondateur de la médecine occidentale en Égypte," *Histoire des sciences médicales* 45, 1 (2011): 71–80; George Michael La Rue, "Treating Black Deaths in Egypt: Clot-Bey, African Slaves, and the Plague Epidemic of 1834–1835," in *Histories of Medicine in the Indian Ocean World*, ed. Anna Winterbottom and Facil Tesfaye (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 27–59.

- 76 Today's scientists tell us that cannabis is a psychotropic drug that contains chemicals – namely, tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) and cannabidiol (CBD) – that act upon the brain via a system of receptors and lipids called the endocannabinoid system (ECS). When THC and CBD flood the ECS, which operates within neural networks responsible for controlling mood, appetite, respiration, senses of pain, and general motor functions, it produces an intoxication that, depending on the dose taken and metabolism and constitution of the taker, can range in effect from pleasant and therapeutic to fatiguing, exasperating, and even hallucinatory. See Pál Pacher, Sándor Bátkai, and George Kunos, "The Endocannabinoid System as an Emerging Target of Pharmacotherapy," *Pharmacological Reviews* 58, 3 (2006): 389–462; Maria Grazia Cascia, Roger G. Pertwee, and Pietro Marini, "The Pharmacology and Therapeutic Potential of Plant Cannabinoids," in *Cannabis sativa L. – Botany and Biotechnology*, ed. S. Chandra, H. Lata, and M. ElSohly (Cham: Springer, 2017), 207–21.
- 77 Richard Keller, *Colonial Madness: Psychiatry in French North Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 1. See also Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 144–6.
- 78 Paolo Bellavite, Anita Conforti, Valeria Piasere, and Ricardo Ortolani, "Immunology and Homeopathy: An Historical

Background,” *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine* 2, 4 (2005): 441–52.

- 79 This growth in popularity of homeopathy in France was no doubt stimulated by Hahnemann’s marriage to a Parisian woman in 1835 and relocation to Paris. See Maurice Bariety and Jacques Poulet, “Les début de l’homéopathie en France,” paper presented at the Société Française d’Histoire de la Médecine in Paris, 22 February 1969, 80–1.
- 80 Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, *Du hachisch et de l’aliénation mentale* (Paris: Collection Esquirol, 1845), 34–5.
- 81 M. Ritti, “Éloge de J. Moreau (de Tours),” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 45 (1887): 112–45; René Semelaigne, *Les Pionniers de la psychiatrie française avant et après Pinel*, tome 1 (Paris: Ballière, 1930); H. Baruk, “La vie et l’oeuvre de Moreau de Tours,” *Annales Moreau de Tours*, ed. H. Baruk and J. Launay (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), 9–14; Bo Holmstedt, “Introduction to Moreau de Tours,” in *Hashish and Mental Illness*, ed. G.G. Nahas and H. Peters (New York: Raven Press, 1973), ix–xxi; Snelders, Kaplan, and Pieters, “On Cannabis, Chloral Hydrate,” 100–5.
- 82 “There is no fundamental difference,” Moreau argued, “between the individual struck with madness and another struck by pulmonary phthisis.” Quoted in Louis Tricot, “Les Moreau de Montrésor et Jacques Moreau de Tours,” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine* 41 (1986): 501–5. See also Baruk, “La vie et l’oeuvre de Moreau de Tours,” 9–10.
- 83 H. Baruk, “MOREAU DE TOURS, precursor in psychopathology and psychopharmacology,” *Bulletin de l’Académie nationale de médecine* 144 (1960): 852–6; François Ledermann, “Pharmacie, médicaments et psychiatrie vers 1850: Le cas de Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours,” *Revue d’histoire de la pharmacie* 76, 276 (1988): 67–76; Snelders, Kaplan, and Pieters, “On Cannabis, Chloral Hydrate,” 100–5; David Healy, *The Creation of Psychopharmacology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 175–80.
- 84 The most comprehensive study of the Club des Hachichins and the impact of hashish on French literature in the second half of the nineteenth century remains Emmanuel J. Mickel, *The Artificial Paradises in French Literature*. Martin Booth’s seventh chapter, “A

- La Mode du Hachisch,” in *Cannabis: A History* (New York: Macmillan, 2005) provides a more updated if truncated primer. See also John R. Barberet, “‘Un mets nouveau’: Hashish and Hashish Narratives in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” in *Beginnings in French Literature*, ed. Freeman G. Henry (Amsterdam: Editions Radopi, 2002), 79–89.
- 85 According to medical historian Jacques Arveiller, the Club first met in the early months of 1843 in the house of painter Boissard Boisdénier before moving the location to the Hôtel de Lauzun later that year. See Jacques Arveiller, “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle,” 472–3.
- 86 Théophile Gautier, “Le Hashisch,” *La Presse*, 10 December 1843, 1–4; “Le Haschisch,” *L’Almanach de France: Indiquant à tous les français qi savent lire leurs dévoirs, leurs droits, leur intérêts* (Paris: Imprimerie d’Everat, 1844), 177–9; and “Le Club des Hachichins,” in *Revue des deux mondes* (January 1846): 4–25.
- 87 Gautier, “Le Club des Hachichins,” 8–9.
- 88 Jacques Arveiller, “Hachich, romantisme et voyage initiatique,” *L’Information psychiatrique* 66, 5 (1990): 493–504; Tony James, *Dream, Creativity, and Madness in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 98–129; Dušan I. Bjelić, *Intoxication, Modernity and Colonialism: Freud’s Industrial Unconscious, Benjamin’s Hashish Mimesis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 100–27.
- 89 Hashish is mentioned in all of the following staples from the era: Alexandre Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (released in serial 1844–45); Charles Baudelaire, *Les Paradis Artificiels* (Paris: Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 1860); Gerard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient* (Paris: Charpentier, 1851) and Gustave Flaubert, *La tentation de Saint-Antoine* (Paris: Charpentier, 1874). For more on the relationship between hashish and French Romanticism see Barberet, “Un mets nouveau,” 79–89; and Mickel, *Artificial Paradises*, 1–45.
- 90 Over a dozen prominent medical and scholarly journals in France and abroad quickly published reviews of Moreau’s 1845 work, and the study obtained honourable mention in the Concours pour le Prix de Médecine et de Chirurgie in Paris in 1846. Especially favourable reviews include “Moreau (de Tours) J. Du haschisch [C.R. par J.H. Réveillé-Parise],” *Gazette médicale de Paris* 2, 13 (1845): 725–9;

- [C.R. par A. Brigham], *American Journal of Insanity* 2 (1846): 275–81; “C.R. de Moreu par C. Lasègue,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 7 (1846): 459–63. Unfavourable reviews were much fewer, but an important example is A. Brière de Boismont, *Des hallucinations ou histoire raisonnée des apparitions, des visions, des songes, de l’extase, du magnétisme* (Paris: Germer-Baillière, 1845), 371–83; F.S. Barrière, “Variétés. Du hachisch et de l’aliénation mentale, étude psychologique, par M. Moreau (de Tours), “Médecin de l’Hospice de Bicêtre, membre de la Société orientale de Paris,» *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (4 October 1845): 3.
- 91 Claude-François Lallemand, “Le haschich” (Thèse médicale, École de médecine de Paris, 1839); Antoine Liautaud, “Mémoire sur l’histoire naturelle et les propriétés médicales du chanvre indien” (Thèse, École de pharmacie de Paris, 1844); Edmond de Courtive, E. “Haschisch, étude historique, chimique et physiologique” (Thèse, École de pharmacie de Paris, 1848); Jean-Baptiste-Pol-Victor Mabillat, “Des effets physiologique du chanvre” (Thèse médicale, Université de Strasbourg, 1858).
- 92 Aubert-Roche and Moreau both complained of this inability to ensure standardized doses in dawamesk, and Clot-Bey used this fact to argue that hashish was too dangerous to employ as a medicine. See Aubert-Roche, *De la peste*, 243, 246; Clot-Bey, *De la peste observée en Égypte*, 129–30, and “Quelques réflexions sur les effets du haschisch,” *L’Abeille médicale* (April 1848): 93–4; Moreau de Tours, *Du Hachisch*, 14–15.
- 93 “Nouvelle préparation de hachich, par M. Gastinel, pharmacien au Caire. Rapport de MM. Mérat, Centou et Guibort, rapporteur,” *Bulletin de l’Académie nationale de médecine* (Paris: J.B. Baillière, February 1848): 675–8. Also published in *L’Abeille médicale* 3 (March 1848): 70–1.
- 94 “Nouvelle préparation de hachich,” 678.
- 95 See Arveiller, “Le cannabis en France au XIXe siècle,” 471–2; and Efraim Karsh and Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789–1923* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 16–35.
- 96 “Biographies égyptiennes: Gastinel Pacha,” *Revue d’Égypte: recueil mensuel de documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à l’Égypte et aux pays voisins: Soudan, Arabie, Palestine, Syrie, etc.* 3

(1896): 376.

- 97 The upstart student was Edmond de Courtive and his thesis, *Haschisch. Étude historique, chimique et physiologique* (Paris: Édouard Baurtruche, 1848).
- 98 de Courtive, *Haschisch*, 9.
- 99 *Ibid.*, 44–5.
- 100 A physical copy of de Courtive’s thesis was unable to be located throughout much of the twentieth century. Then, in 1991, an antiquarian book dealer in Paris obtained a copy and allowed Ronald Siegel of UCLA to access and translate sections of the book for a short publication. This copy now resides in the archives of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé in Paris. Another copy of the thesis has since surfaced and is now a part of special collections at the medical library of Northwestern University. It is also available in digitized form through HathiTrust. See Ronald K. Siegel and Ada E. Hirschman, “Edmond de Courtive and the First Thesis on Hashish: A Historical Note and Translation,” *Journal of Psychiatric Drugs* 23, 1 (January–March 1991): 85–6; de Courtive, *Haschisch* on HathiTrust: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/ien.35558003945132>.
- 101 de Courtive, *Haschisch*, 16–17.
- 102 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 103 Even though the Smiths knew nothing of THC and the exact chemistry of Cannabis (which was not fully understood until the work of Raphael Mechoulam in the early 1960s), they got it right about sulphuric acid, which can be used effectively to stimulate the process of isomerization, that is, the conversion of tetrahydrocannabinolic acid (THCA) in cannabis into the psychoactive chemical tetrahydrocannabinol (THC).
- 104 Today scientists call this process decarboxylation, or the removal of carbon dioxide from THCA via heat (boiling, smoking, vaporizing, etc.), which converts the THCA in cannabis into the psychoactive chemical THC.
- 105 And it was through a process of isomerization that Mechoulam came to identify THC in 1964. See Y. Gaoini and R. Mechoulam, “Concerning the Isomerization of Δ^1 -to $\Delta^{1(6)}$ -Tetrahydrocannabinol,” *Journal of the American Chemical Society* 88, 23 (1966): 5673–5; Supaart Sirikantaramas and Futoshi Taura, “Cannabinoids: Biosynthesis and Biotechnological Applications,” in *Cannabis sativa*

- L.-Botany and Biotechnology*, ed. S. Chandra, H. Lata, and M. ElSohly (Cham: Springer, 2017), 103–206.
- 106 de Courtive, *Haschisch*, 24.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 108 Notable examples include: “Sur le haschisch, Extrait d’une thèse remarquable présentée par M. Edmond DeCourtive à l’École de Pharmacie de Paris, en septembre 1847,” *Journal de pharmacie et de chimie* 13 (1848): 427–41; “Du haschisch [compte-rendu],” *Archives générales de médecine* 4, 17 (1848): 245; Julien Larue du Barry, “Sur le haschich,” *Répertoire de pharmacie* 4 (1848): 358–61; “Étude historique, chimique et physiologique du haschisch,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie de toxicologie, et revue des nouvelles scientifiques nationales et étrangers*, tome 4, série 3 (Paris: Labé, 1848): 425–8; Apollinaire Bouchardat, “Quelques réflexions sur les effets du haschich,” *L’Abeille médicale* 4, 4 (1848): 93–4; Edmond de Courtive, “Note sur le haschisch,” *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l’Académie des sciences* 26 (1848): 509–10; Léon Foucault, “Feuilleton du Journal des débats du 14 May 1848: Académie des Sciences, Séances des 1 et 8 mai.” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (May 1848): 345–8; “Lecture de M. Al. Henrot: Observations sur le haschich, A propos d’une thèse de M. de Courtive, ancien intern en pharmacie de l’Hôtel-Dieu de Reims,” *Séances et travaux de l’Académie de Reims* (9 January 1849), 124–41; L. Lunier, “Quelques expériences faites avec le haschich [C.R. par L. Lunier],” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 1 (1849): 414–419.
- 109 “Extrait du procès-verbal de la séance de la Société de Paris, du 12 avril 1848,” *Journal de pharmacie et de chimie*, tome 3 (Paris: Victor Masson, 1848): 367–8; Léon Foucault, “Feuilleton du Journal des débats du 14 May 1848: Académie des Sciences, séances des 1 et 8 mai.” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (14 May 1848): 2; Edmond de Courtive, “Cannabine,” *L’Abeille Médicale* 12 (1848): 133.
- 110 “Lecture de M. Al. Henrot: Observations sur le haschich, A propos d’une thèse de M. de Courtive, ancien intern en pharmacie de l’Hôtel-Dieu de Reims,” *Séances et travaux de l’Académie de Reims* (9 January 1849): 141.
- 111 François Foy, “Note sur le hachych,” *Répertoire de pharmacie* 4 (1848): 332–4.

- 112 Bouchardat, “Quelques réflexions sur les effets du haschich,” 93–4, and “Accidens occasionnés par le hachisch,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 12, 1 (1848): 377–8; H. Rech, “Des effets du hachisch sur l’homme jouissant de sa raison et sur l’aliéné,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 12, 1 (1848): 1–37.
- 113 Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, “Lettre de M. Gastinel [...],” *Bulletin d’Académie nationale de médecine* 13 (1848): 1386–7.
- 114 Alexandre Willemin, “Note sur l’épidémie de choléra observée au Caire en 1848, et sur les effets salutaires du principe actif du Cannabis indica [...],” *Bulletin général de thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale* 35 (1848): 337–42. Also published in the *Bulletin de l’Académie national de médecine*, tome 14, an 13 (1848): 137–8.
- 115 “Nouvelles et Faits Divers,” *L’Abeille médicale* 11 (November 1847): 332.
- 116 Willemin, “Note sur l’épidémie de choléra observée au Caire en 1848,” 337–8. Numerous medical journals and newspapers covered Willemin’s talk on cholera and hashish tincture. See Alexandre Willemin, “De l’action du hachisch dans le choléra, compte-rendu,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 12 (1848): 286; Alexandre Willemin, “Choléra: Son traitement par le haschich,” *L’Abeille médicale* 1 (January 1848): 243.
- 117 Willemin “Note sur l’épidémie du choléra de 1848 en Égypte,” 137–8.
- 118 “Lecture,” *Bulletin de l’Académie national de médecine*, 14, 13 (1848): 137–8. See Ann Elizabeth Fowler La Berge, *Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth-Century French Public Health Movement* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4.
- 119 “Errata,” *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques et de pharmacologie* 1 (October 1848): 88.
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Cultural History (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996); Andrew Robert Aisenberg, *Contagion: Disease, Government, and the “Social Question” in Nineteenth-Century France* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); Peter Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); La Berge, *Mission and Method*; Frank Snowden, *Naples in the Time of Cholera, 1884–1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

- 121 See David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Christopher Hamlin, *Cholera: The Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Robert Peckham, “Symptoms of Empire: Cholera in Southeast Asia, 1820–1850,” in *The Routledge History of Disease*, ed. Mark Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 184–201.
- 122 Bourdelais and Raulot, *Une Peur bleue*, 2–5.
- 123 Snowden, *Naples in the Time of Cholera*, 1–11; Le Berge, *Mission and Method*, 184–210.
- 124 Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 1–5.
- 125 Auguste Ambroise Tardieu, *Du choléra épidémique. Leçons professes à la faculté de médecine de Paris* (Paris: G. Baillière, 1849), 135–6.
- 126 Alexandre-Auguste Millet, *Du Choléra-morbus épidémique* (Paris: Labé, 1851), 102–3.
- 127 *L’Abeille médicale* 7 (April 1849): 90, 93; “Bulletin de cholera,” *L’Union médicale* 79, 3 (3 July 1849): 313–14. Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 14–15.
- 128 *L’Abeille médicale* 7 (April 1849): 90.
- 129 *Ibid.*, 90, 93; François Foy, “Note sur le hachych,” *Répertoire de pharmacie* 4 (1848): 332–4.
- 130 “Bulletin de cholera,” *L’Union médicale* 79, 3 (3 April 1849): 313–14.
- 131 François Dorvault, “Remarque pharmacologiques sur la haschischine et sur l’emploi de cette substance dans le choléra,” *Bulletin général de thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale* 36 (1849): 548.
- 132 “De la haschischine dans le choléra,” *L’Abeille médicale* 13 (1 July 1849): 183–4.

- 133 Dorvault, “Remarques pharmacologiques sur la haschischine,” 548–53. Also published in “De la haschischine dans le choléra,” 184.
- 134 Alexandre Willemin, “De l’extrait de *cannabis indica* et de l’ammoniaque dans le traitement du choléra, Caire, ce 8 juin 1849,” *L’Union médicale* (3 July 1849): 314.
- 135 Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 14–15.
- 136 Heaman, “Rise and Fall of Anticontagionism in France,” 3–25; Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 215–18. But as Frank Snowden showed in *Naples in the Time of Cholera*, not all physicians and public health policy-makers abandoned the ideas of anticontagionism, especially its concentration on environmental factors in the spread of disease. Snowden shows how anticontagionist ideas guided much of the urban construction of public health policies in Naples well into the twentieth century. But in France the hygiene laws of 1848 and the urban development project of Baron von Haussmann in the 1850s were both heavily influenced by contagionist-leaning theories.
- 137 Hector Chomet, *Le Choléra-morbus: Ses causes, sa marche, ses symptômes et son traitement, d’après les faits observés en 1832 et 1849* (Paris: Germer-Baillièrre, 1849), 14.
- 138 “Chanvre Indien,” *Bulletin général de thérapeutique médicale et chirurgicale* 41 (1851): 467–8.
- 139 Antoine Liautaud, “Du haschisch ou chanvre indien,” *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société des Sciences, Belles-lettres et Arts du département du Var, séant à Toulon* (Toulon: J.M. Baume, 1850), 34.

CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 Excerpts of the original piece in *La Sémaphore* were reprinted in *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (14 November 1837), 2d.
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- 3 A. Brière de Boismont, “Au rédacteur,” Ibid., 3a, and “Expériences toxicologiques sur une substance inconnue,” *Gazette médicale de Paris* 8, 18 (1840): 278–9; M. Forget, “Accidens occasionnés par le haschich,” *L’Abeille médicale* (10 October 1847); L. Lunier, “Accidents occasionnés par le hachisch,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 12 (1848): 377–8; M. Jacobs, “Un cas d’empoisonnement par le hachisch,” *Répertoire de pharmacie* 2 (1848) 242–4; E. Isambert, “Délire singulier dû au hachisch,” *Gazette hebdomadaire de médecine et de chirurgie* 1, 9 (1862): 443–4.

- 4 Boismont, “Au rédacteur,” 3a.
- 5 Quoted in Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 244.
- 6 For the most comprehensive discussion of the debate in nineteenth-century French medicine between “psychologists” and “physiologists,” see *ibid.*, 240–75.
- 7 John E. Lesch, *Science and Medicine in France: The Emergence of Experimental Physiology, 1790–1855* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); and Ian Dowbiggin, *Inheriting Madness: Professionalization and Psychiatric Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- 8 Jacques Arveiller, “Hachich, romantisme et voyage initiatique.” *L’Information psychiatrique* 66, 5 (1990): 493–504; and “Le Cannabis en France au XIXe siècle: Une histoire médicale,” *L’Évolution psychiatrique* 78 (2013): 465.
- 9 Stephen Snelders, Charles Kaplan, and Toine Pieters, “On Cannabis, Chloral Hydrate, and Career Cycles of Psychotropic Drugs in Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80, 1 (2006): 104.
- 10 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 49–73.
- 11 Théophile Gautier, “Nouvelles,” *La Presse*, 6 January 1845, 1.
- 12 Théophile Gautier, “Le Club des Hachichins,” *Revue de deux mondes* (February 1846), 320.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 325.
- 14 Boismont, “Au rédacteur,” 3a.
- 15 Goldsetin, *Console and Classify*, 241–72; Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 196.
- 16 A. Brière de Boismont, “De l’influence de la civilisation sur le développement de la folie,” *Annales d’hygiène publique et de médecine légale* 21, 2 (1839): 241–95.
- 17 Boismont, “Au rédacteur,” 3a.
- 18 *Ibid.*; Richard Robert Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824, 1825, 1826, & 1827*, vol. 1 (London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co., 1833), 245–6.
- 19 Boismont, “De l’influence de la civilisation,” 249–50.
- 20 Louis Rémy Aubert-Roche, *De la peste ou typhus d’Orient:*

Documens et observations recueillis pendant les années 1834 à 1838, en Égypte, en Arabie, sur la Mer Rouge, en Abyssinie à Smyrne et à Constantinople (Paris: Just Rouvier, 1840).

- 21 Ibid., 271.
- 22 Boismont, “Expériences toxicologiques,” 278–9.
- 23 Ibid., 278.
- 24 Ibid., 279.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Goldstein, *Console and Classify*, 241–72.
- 27 Ibid., 266–9.
- 28 Ibid., 64–120.
- 29 Lesch, *Science and Medicine in France*, 13–15.
- 30 Esquirol quoted in Goldstein, *Console and Classify*, 248.
- 31 Ibid., 266.
- 32 Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, *Mémoire sur le traitement des hallucinations par le Datura Stramonium* (Paris: J. Rouvier et E. Le Bouvier, 1841).
- 33 Ibid., 15–16.
- 34 Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, *Du hachisch et de l’aliénation mentale* (Paris: Éditions Esquirol, 1845), 34–5.
- 35 Moreau de Tours, *Mémoire sur le traitement*, 15–16.
- 36 Ibid., 17.
- 37 The tale of “Aladdin and the Marvelous Lamp” first appeared in French in volumes IX and X of Galland’s *Les Nuits* first published in 1710.
- 38 Paul McMichael Nurse, *Eastern Dreams: How the Arabian Nights Came to the World* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2010), 124–6.
- 39 Sabir Badalkhan, “The Tale of ‘Aladdin and the Magic Lamp’ in Balochi Oral Tradition,” in *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2007), 131–7.
- 40 Jonathan Clements, *A History of the Silk Road* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 25–6; Anne Veronica Witchard, *Thomas Burke’s Dark Chinoiserie: Limehouse Nights and the Queer Spell of Chinatown* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 35–6; Antoine Galland, *Les Mille et Une Nuits*, tome 7 (Paris: Ledentu, 1832), 7.
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- 43 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 44 Moreau de Tours, *Du Hachisch*, 30.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 30–1, 34.
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- 47 R.P., “Feuilleton: Du Haschisch,” *Gazette médicale de Paris* 2, 13 (1845): 726.
- 48 Brigham, “Review,” 275–81.
- 49 “New Remedy for Insanity,” *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (29 October 1846): 3.
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- 51 Laurent Cérise (a socialist-minded physiologist who co-founded the *Annales médico-psychologiques* with Boismont) quoted in the preface to the English translation, Alexandre Brière de Boismont, *Hallucinations; or, the Rational History of Apparitions, Visions, Dreams, Ecstasy, Magnetism, and Somnambulism* (Philadelphia, PA: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1853), 9.
- 52 Boismont, *Des hallucinations*, vii.
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 *Ibid.*
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- 56 Boismont, *Des hallucinations*, 1–2.

- 57 The gathering was hosted by Ajasson de Gransagne, famed nineteenth-century translator of Latin and Greek. *Ibid.*, 192.
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- 59 Alexandre Brière de Boismont, “Histoire raisonnée des hallucinations,” *Revue des deux mondes* 14, 1 (1 October 1845): 324.
- 60 *Ibid.*
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- 63 E.A. Heaman, “The Rise and Fall of Anticontagionism in France,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 12, 1 (1995): 3–25; Catherine Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 215–18.
- 64 “LE HATSCHIS – DEUX DERVICHES FURIEUX,” *La Presse*, 22 June 1845, 3. For background info on *La Presse*, see Henri Avenel, *Histoire de la presse française, depuis 1789 jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1900), 364–89.
- 65 “LE HATSCHIS,” 3.
- 66 Alain Vaillant, Marie-Ève Thérenty, and Corinne Pelta, 1836, *L’An I de l’ère médiatique: Étude littéraire et historique de La Presse de Girardin* (Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2001), 124.
- 67 Key examples of reports include M. Jacobs, “Un cas d’empoisonnement par le haschich,” *Répertoire de pharmacie* 3, 1 (1848): 242–4; L. Lunier, “Accidents occasionnés par le haschisch,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 12 (1850): 377–8; M. Forget, “Accidents occasionnés par le haschich,” *L’Abeille médicale* (10 October 1847): 3; A. Bouchardat, “Quelques réflexions sur les effets du haschich,” *L’Abeille médicale* 4, 4 (1848): 93–4; Alexandre Brière de Boismont, “Un fumeur de haschich,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 2 (1850): 724–5.
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- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Nicole W. Jouve, *Baudelaire: A Fire to Conquer* (Cham: Springer, 1980); Claude Pichois and Jean Ziegler, *Baudelaire* (Paris: Julliard, 1987); Frank Hilton, *Baudelaire in Chains: A Portrait of the Artist as a Drug Addict* (London: Peter Owen, 2004); F.W.J. Hemmings, *Baudelaire the Damned: A Biography* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982).
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- 80 Baudelaire, “Du vin et du haschisch,” 367.
- 81 Ibid., 371.
- 82 Ibid., 377.
- 83 Ibid., 381.
- 84 Alistair Horne, *La Belle France: A Short History* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2007), 220; Andrew Hussey, *The French Intifada: The Long War between France and Its Arabs* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014), 198.
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- 87 Baudelaire, “De l’idéal artificiel – Le Haschisch,” 274–307.
- 88 Ibid., 276.
- 89 See chapter 3.
- 90 Baudelaire, “De l’idéal artificiel – Le Haschisch,” 296.
- 91 See, for example, Jean-Philippe Paul Jourdain’s *De la mythologie indienne de la côte de Malabar et de la péninsule de l’Inde* (Paris: Rignous, Imprimeur de la Société Orientale, 1845), 50.
- 92 Baudelaire, “De l’idéal artificiel – Le Haschisch,” 293.
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- 94 “Houris,” meaning “gazelle-eyed,” are spiritual beings in Islam that represent ideal human forms, often female forms.
- The French adopted the Arabic word into their own language in the mid-eighteenth century and almost always used it reductively to refer to a voluptuous, beautiful, and alluring woman from the Muslim world. See Baudelaire, *ibid.*, 307.
- 95 Kieran Flanagan, *Sociological Noir: Irruptions and the Darkness of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 200.
- 96 Charles Baudelaire, *Les Paradis artificiels* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1966 [c. 1860]).
- 97 “Charles Baudelaire to Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 1 May 1859,” in *Selected Letters of Charles Baudelaire: The Conquest of Solitude* (University of Chicago Press, 1986), 125–6.
- 98 In a letter to the editor of the *Revue contemporaine*, Alphonse de Calonne, on 8 January 1859, Baudelaire wrote to ask for a third advance of one thousand francs, “which may well suffice to help me flee Paris ... I’m horribly bored.” See *ibid.*, 120–2.
- 99 “M. le docteur GUYON adresse une notice ayant pour titre: Du haschis, préparation en usage parmi les Arabes de l’Algérie et du Levant,” *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l’Académie des Sciences* (January 1842): 517–18; Julien Larue du Barry, “Note sur l’usage du chanvre en Algérie,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie, et de toxicologie* 1 (1845): 31–4; Eugène Daumas and Ausone de Chancel, *Le Grand Désert, ou Itinéraire d’une caravane du Sahara au pay des Nègres* (Paris: N. Chaix, 1848), 397–405; H.A. Cauvain, “Algérie,” *Le Constitutionnel* 241 (1851): 1d; Émile-Louis Bertherand and Émile Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kif,” *Gazette médicale de Algérie* 1, 2 (1857): 154–6; Jules Duval, “Sur le

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- 100 Baudelaire, *Les Paradis artificiels*, 52.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 57.
- 102 George Ross Ridge, *The Hero in French Romantic Literature* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1959); Allan H. Pasco, *Sick Heroes: French Society and Literature in the Romantic Age, 1750–1850* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997).
- 103 Ridge, *Hero*, 115–40.
- 104 Anatole Broyard, “Reading and Writing; Translating Baudelaire,” *New York Times*, 22 August 1982.
- 105 Hilton, *Baudelaire in Chains*, 20.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 28–9.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 109 Carmen Mayer-Robin, “Alchemies of Modern Experimentation in Writing: Leopardi, Baudelaire, and the Distillation of Wine Symbolism,” *Romance Notes* 48, 2 (2008): 185–93.
- 110 François Meltzer, *Seeing Double: Baudelaire’s Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 1–5.
- 111 Alcide Dusolier, *Nos gens de lettres: Leur caractère et leurs oeuvres* (Paris: M. Dreyfous, 1878), 83.
- 112 Georges Montorgueil, “Chroniques – Actualités: Questions scientifiques, etc. Le Club des Hachichins,” *La Revue des journaux et des livres* (25 September 1887): 773–5.
- 113 Baudelaire died of complications resulting from a left hemispheric stroke, which was exacerbated by syphilis and an addiction to laudanum. Early medical reports, as well as letters from Gautier claiming Baudelaire only once used hashish, were reprinted in Eugène Crépet, *Oeuvres posthumes et correspondances inédites: Charles Baudelaire* (Paris: Quantin, 1887), XCIII, 145–50. For more on Baudelaire’s death, see Sebastian Dieguez, “Baudelaire’s Aphasia: From Poetry to Cursing,” *Frontiers of Neurology and Neuroscience* 22 (February 2007): 121–49.
- 114 See, for example, Étienne Charles, “Le monument de Baudelaire,” *La Liberté*, 21 March 1902, 2; Armand Dayot, “A la mémoire de

Baudelaire,” *Le Temps*, 27 October 1902, 2; Émile Laurent, *Sadisme et masochisme* (Paris: Vigot frères, 1905), 161.

115 Dayot, “A la mémoire de Baudelaire.”

116 Daniel M. Benoist, “Séance du vendredi 24 octobre 1969,” *Journal officiel de la République française: Débats Parlementaires – Asssemblée Nationale, compte rendu des séances* 63 (Paris: 24 October 1969): 2944.

117 Ibid., 2940–5.

118 Ibid., 2945.

CHAPTER SIX

1 Reported in “Art. 5417: Usage du haschich, ivresse furieuse, responsabilité,” *Journal de médecine et de chirurgie pratiques* 28, 2 (1857): 481–3.

2 Alphonse Bertherand and Émile Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kif,” *Gazette médicale de l’Algérie* 2, 9 (1857): 13–16.

3 “Art. 5417: Usage du haschich,” 481.

4 Ibid.

5 Records for the Gouvernement générale de l’Algérie from August 1857 through February 1860 are mostly missing in the Archives de France de l’Outre Mère (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence; therefore, I have been forced to reconstruct the trial of Soliman ben Mohammed and the resulting decree against hashish in Algeria from the correspondence of the Bureau d’Arabe, Subdivision Alger (ANOM, GGA 10 II/50), and contemporary newspapers and journals published by French medical experts and journalists covering the events in both Algeria and in metropolitan France. The most complete description of the decree passed by Randon that I have found is in Émile-Louis Bertherand, “Le kif en Algérie au point de vue de la consommation, de l’influence sur la santé, et de la réglementation administrative,” *Journal d’hygiène* 6, 5 (1880): 1–4.

6 Quotation from Julien Larue du Barry, “Note sur l’usage du chanvre en Algérie,” *Journal de chimie médicale* 1 (1845): 32.

7 For more on France’s conquest of Algeria and creation of French Algeria during the nineteenth century, see David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Benjamin Stora, *Algeria, 1830–2000*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

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- 8 Brower, *Desert Named Peace*, 15; Evans, *Algeria*, 9.
 - 9 Evans, *Algeria*, 10.
 - 10 Sessions, *By Sword and Plow*, 13–18.
 - 11 Martin Evans and John Phillips, *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 29–30.
 - 12 Bugeaud translated and quoted in Evans and Phillips, *Algeria*, 29.
 - 13 Jennifer Sessions, “‘Unfortunate Necessities’: Violence and Civilization in the Conquest of Algeria,” in *France and Its Spaces of War: Experience, Memory, Image*, ed. Patricia Lorcin and Danial Brewer (New York: Palgrave, 2009), 29–44. See also Thomas Rid, “Razzia: A Turning Point in Modern Strategy,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21 (2009): 617–35; and Marie-Cecile Thoral, “French Colonial Counter-Insurgency: General Bugeaud and the Conquest of Algeria, 1840-47,” *British Journal of Military History* 1, 2 (2015): 8–27.
 - 14 Antoine Clot-Bey, *De la Peste observée en Égypte*, 2 vols. (Paris: Fortin: Masson et Cie, 1840), 122–4; Louis Aubert-Roche, *De la Peste ou typhus d'Orient: Documens et observations recueillis pendant les années 1834 à 1838, en Égypte, en Arabie, sur la Mer Rouge, en Abyssinie à Smyrne et à Constantinople* (Paris: Just Rouvier, 1840).
 - 15 L.J.F. Walsin-Esterhazy, *De la Domination turque dans l'ancienne régence d'Alger* (Paris: Libraire de Charles Gosselin, 1840), 208.
 - 16 For a concise biography of L. Walsin-Esterhazy, see Saddek Benkada, “La création de Médina, Jdida, Oran (1845): Un exemple de la politique coloniale de regroupement urbain,” *Insaniyat / تاي ناس نإ* 5 (1998), <http://journals.openedition.org/insaniyat/11866>.
 - 17 Walsin-Esterhazy, *De la Domination*, 2.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, 3–4.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, 4.
 - 20 *Ibid.*

- 21 Dominique-Octave Mannoni, *Psychologie de la colonisation* (Paris: Éditions Du Seuil, 1950), translated in English by Pamela Powel as *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (New York: Praeger, 1964). The basis of my critique of Mannoni's work comes from Frantz Fanon's critique of Mannoni's thesis in *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Éditions Du Seuil, 1952), chap. 4.
- 22 Walsin-Esterhazy, *De la Domination*, 12–13.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 21, 70, 122.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 205–14.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 207–8.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 208–9.
- 27 The footnote reads: “The smoking habit of hashish is common among natives, especially among the inhabitants of Algiers. Hashish is smoked in small doses in small pipes made for this purpose; it produces a violent excitement, which is soon followed by a sort of annihilation of thinking. The use of hashish, either in powder or drink, ends up making the user cowardly and timid; it even shortens life. The poor hashish smokers of the Maghreb replace the rich Theriakis, the opium drinkers of the East. All these means of artificial excitation are proscribed by the Quran, which embraces in the same prohibition all that brings excitation to the brain.” *Ibid.*, 208.
- 28 Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon, “Du haschis, préparation en usage parmi les Arabes de l'Algérie et du Levant,” *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l'Académie des Sciences* 14 (1842): 517–18; “Haschis ou haschisch (Du) [compte-rendu],” *Archives générale de médecine* 14 (1842): 111.
- 29 Germain Sarrut and B. Saint-Edmé, *Biographie de M. Guyon (Jean-Louis-Geneviève). Docteur en Médecine, Chirurgien principal des Armées, Officier de la Legion d'Honneur, Chevallier de l'Ordre de Charles III, d'Espagne, etc.* (Paris: Chez Krabbe, 1841).
- 30 See chapter 4.
- 31 Sarrut and Saint-Edmé, *Biographie de M. Guyon*, 1.
- 32 An extensive bibliography of over one hundred of Guyon's publications up through 1841 can be found in *ibid.*, 68.
- 33 Jean-Louis-Geneviève Guyon, “Du haschis,” 517–18.
- 34 Guyon, “Haschis ou haschisch (Du),” 111.
- 35 In addition to Guyon and Barry, see Eugène Dumas and Ausone de

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- 36 Todd Shepard, “‘Something Notably Erotic’: Politics, ‘Arab Men,’ and the Sexual Revolution in Post-Decolonization France, 1962–1974,” *Journal of Modern History* 84, 1 (2012): 80–115; and *Sex, France, and Arab Men* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
- 37 Guyon, “Haschis ou haschisch (Du),” 112.
- 38 Julien Larue du Barry, “Note sur l’usage du chanvre en Algérie,” *Journal de chimie médicale*, 1 (1845): 31–4
- 39 *Ibid.*, 33.
- 40 Dr Jacobus X (*L’Art d’Aimer aux Colonies*, 1893) quoted in Robert Aldrich, “Homosexuality in the French Colonies,” in *Homosexuality in French History and Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibalís (New York: Routledge 2013), 204.
- 41 Dr Jacobus X (*L’Art d’Aimer aux Colonies*, 1893) quoted in *ibid.*, 205.
- 42 Barry, “Note sur l’usage du chanvre en Algérie,” 34.
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 Brower, *Desert Named Peace*, 54–7.
- 45 Quoted in *ibid.*, 88.
- 46 Annie Rey-Goldzeiguer, *Le Royaume Arabe: La politique algérienne de Napoléon III, 1861–1870* (Alger: Société Nationale d’Édition et de Diffusion, 1977); Daniel Rivet, “Le rêve arabe de Napoléon III,” *L’Histoire* 140 (January 2012): 26–32; Christina Carroll, “Defining ‘Empire’ under Napoleon III: Lucien-Anatole Prévost-Paradol and Paul Leroy Beaulieu,” *Journal of the Western Society for French History* 41 (2013): 1–15.
- 47 Napoleon III quoted in Carroll, “Defining ‘Empire’ under Napoleon III,” 3.
- 48 In 1850, the French government counted 125,963 among the “General European Population” residing in Algeria, which

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- 49 Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 74–96; Evans, *Algeria*, 10–15.
- 50 For more on the Assassins myth and its role in shaping popular and professional opinions of hashish in nineteenth-century France, see David A. Guba, Jr, “Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy and the Myth of the *Hachichins*: Orientalizing Hashish in 19th-century France,” *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 30 (2016): 50–74.
- 51 Henry A. Cauvain, “Algérie,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 7 September 1851, 1; and “Algérie,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 4 January 1852, 1.
- 52 Cauvain, “Algérie,” 1.
- 53 This enthusiasm for hashish-based medications in the 1840s and 1850s spread from France into Belgium and the German and Italian states, where dozens of physicians used hashish for medical research and treatments well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Several physicians in the United States of America, such as Amariah Brigham, likewise read this research coming out of France and were convinced to produce hashish-based medications and use them in the treatment of the insane
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- 55 Cauvain, “Algérie,” 1.
- 56 Xavier Yacono, *Les Bureaux Arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérois* (Paris: Larose, 1953); Kenneth J. Perkins, *Quaids, Captains, and Colons: French Military Administration in the Colonial Maghrib 1844–1934* (New York: Africana, 1981); Quotation from Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 80.
- 57 Benkada, “La création de Médina,” 53.
- 58 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 78–80.
- 59 The tax rate is unspecified in the correspondence. See ANOM – Bureau Arabe du Constantinois, “Circulaire, avril-juin 1852,” GGA 1 KK 282.
- 60 *Ibid.*

- 61 Cauvain, “Algérie,” 2.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Chantal Decours-Gatin, *Quand l’opium finançait la colonisation en Indochine: L’élaboration de la régie générale d’opium, 1860–1914* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992).
- 64 Soliman ben Mohammed’s formal arrest record and charge are listed in the 1857 “amendes” handed down by the Bureau d’Arabe, Subdivision d’Alger, ANOM GGA 10 II/23. The most complete report of the events is found in Bertherand and Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kiff,” 13–16.
- 65 “Art. 5417: Usage du haschich,” 481; “COUR D’ASSISES D’ALGER, Audience du 22 septembre, LE HASHICH – Coups et Blessures,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 30 September 1857, 3.
- 66 Allan Christelow, *Muslim Law Courts and the French Colonial State in Algeria* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 149.
- 67 For a detailed study of the French and Muslim legal systems in nineteenth-century French Algeria, see *ibid.*, 1–149. See also Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 72–8.
- 68 Bertherand and Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kiff,” 13–16. See also “Art. 5417: Usage du haschich,” 481; and “COUR D’ASSISES D’ALGER,” 3.
- 69 Bertherand and Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kiff,” 13.
- 70 “COUR D’ASSISES D’ALGER,” 3. See also “Faits divers,” *L’Ahkbar*, 25 August 1857, 1.
- 71 Bertherand and Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kiff,” 14–15.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 73 “Art. 5417: Usage du haschich,” 482.
- 74 Bertherand and Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kiff,” 15.
- 75 “Faits divers,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (1 September 1857): 1; “COUR D’ASSISES D’ALGER,” 3; “Art. 5417: Usage du haschich,” 482. The piece in the *Journal de médecine* was supplied verbatim from Bertherand and Latour, “De l’ivresse produite par le kiff,” 13–16.
- 76 “COUR D’ASSISES D’ALGER,” 3.
- 77 *Ibid.*
- 78 “Faits divers,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (1

September 1857): 1.

- 79 ANOM, Gouvernement général de l'Algérie, Législation, assemblé et conseils, «Au ministre de justice, 13 décembre 1857,” GGA 1EE26. The decree was later printed in Émile-Louis Bertherand, “Le kif en Algérie au point de vue de la consommation, de l'influence sur la santé, et de la réglementation administrative,” *Procès-verbaux des séances de la Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron* 13 (29 June 1880): 7–11.
- 80 Émile-Louis Bertherand, “Le kif en Algérie,” 10–11.
- 81 ANOM, Série E, Correspondance, Ministère de l'Algérie et des Colonies, GGA1E248; Bureaux arabes d'Algérois, Correspondance avec le gouverneur générale, GGA 1 II/6 1-556 (18 February to 16 December 1857) and II/7 1-1218 (21 December 1857 to 6 September 1858).
- 82 Osama Abi-Mershed, *Apostles of Modernity: Saint-Simonians and the Civilizing Mission in Algeria* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 12–16.
- 83 Alexandre Brière de Boismont, “Un fumeur de haschich,” *Annales médico-psychologiques* 2 (1850): 724–5. Boismont's first public warning about hashish appeared in 1837 in “Au rédacteur,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (17 November 1837): 3a. I have found no duplicates of this story in the archives or in print. There is no mention of the piece in the correspondence of the Bureau Arabe de Constantinois during the months of May, June, and July of 1850 (GGA 30KK/45 18-32). Coverage during the same period in the newspapers *L'Akhbar*, *Journal de l'Algérie* (Algiers), *La Presse* (Paris), *Le Constitutionnel* (Paris), *Journal des débats* (Paris), and *Le Siècle* (Paris) makes no mention of the event described in Boismont's journal.
- 84 Boismont, “Un fumeur de haschich,” 725.
- 85 Notable examples include Benjamin Gastineau, “Odyssées Algériennes: Africains et Européens, femmes enlevées par les Arabes,” *La Presse*, 5 December 1859, 1–2; “Sur les dangers qui résultent de l'usage du hachich,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie, et de toxicologie* 6, 4 (1860): 402–3; L. Delasiauve, “Délire singulier dû au hachisch [C.R. par E. Isambert],” *Gazette hebdomadaire de médecine et de chirurgie* 9 (1862): 443–4; “Chronique,” *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques et de*

- pharmacologie* 31 (January 1864): 141; “Nouvelles du Jour,” *La Presse*, 26 August 1863, 2; Émile-Louis Bertherand, “Étude sur la médecine légale en Algérie,” *Gazette médicale de l’Algérie* 1, 6 (1868): 60–1.
- 86 “Sur les dangers qui résultent de l’usage du hachich,” 402. The event was also covered in *L’Akhbar: Journal de l’Algérie*, 27 May 1860; *Journal des débats*, 12 July 1860; and Émile Auguste Etienne Martin Deschanel, *Causeries de quinzaine* (Paris: M. Lévy, 1861), 162–72.
- 87 “Note sur le hachisch,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie et de toxicologie* 7, 2 (1840): 447–50. For more on “career cycles,” see Stephen Snelders, Charles Kaplan, and Toine Pieters, “On Cannabis, Chloral Hydrate, and Career Cycles of Psychotropic Drugs in Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 80, 1 (2006): 95–114.
- 88 Cauvain, “Algérie,” 1. Further research into the records of the Hôpital Civil d’Alger (FR ANOM 2DPPC1-132) as well as the records of the prisons (FR ANOM 93/2Y 1-309) are needed to verify these reported statistics.
- 89 “Sur les dangers qui résultent de l’usage du hachich,” 403–4.
- 90 The most comprehensive study of the contentious and complex history of hashish in Ottoman-controlled North Africa is Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971).
- 91 Notable articles that applauded Ottoman hashish prohibitions include: “Nouvelles du Jour,” *La Presse*, 26 August 1863, 2; M. Caffé, “PROHIBITION OFFICIELLE DU HASCHISCH,” *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques* (10 January 1864): 14; Isaac Dukerley, “Note sur les différences que présente avec le chanvre ordinaire la variété de cette espèce connue en Algérie sous les noms de ‘kif’ et de ‘tekrouri,’” *Bulletin de la Société Botanique de France* 13 (1866): 401–6; Émile-Louis Bertherand, “Étude sur la médecine légale en Algérie,” 60–1; “Chapitre XXVII: Chanvre,” *Gazette médicale de l’Algérie* 18 (1873): 118; Émile-Louis Bertherand, “A PROPOS DE LA PROHIBITION DU HASCHISCH EN TURQUIE,” *L’Abeille médicale* 37 (11 September 1876): 1.
- 92 Isaac Campos, *Home Grown: Marijuana and the Origins of Mexico’s War on Drugs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), esp. 203–23.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 223.

- 94 Caffè, “PROHIBITION OFFICIELLE DU HASCHISCH,” 14.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 96 Bertherand, “Le kif en Algérie,” 1–4.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 98 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 167–216.
- 99 Brock William Cutler, “Evoking the State: Environmental Disaster and Colonial Policy in Algeria, 1840-1870” (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2011); Stora, *Algeria*, 6–12.
- 100 Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 1–16.
- 101 “Lettre de le général commandant de la province de Constantine, 7 janvier 1871,” *JORF* 7:108 (20 April 1875): 2847.
- 102 Notable mentions in the National Assembly of hashish-fuelled insurrection in French Algeria during the 1870s include “Les consommateurs d’opium et de hashchich,” *JORF* 7:140 (24 May 1875): 2686; Dr E. Bouchet, “Variétés Philosophiques,” 9, 218 *JORF* (10 August 1877): 5715; “Lettre de M. le docteur de Pietra sur les résultats d’une enquête faite sur le kif ou haschich, en Algérie,” *JORF* 12, 90 (1 April 1880): 3767.
- 103 Charles Baudelaire, “Du vin et du haschisch,” in *Oeuvres complètes de Charles Baudelaire* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1869), 355–6. See also chapter 5.

CONCLUSION

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- 2 Mona Zhang, “The Global Marijuana Market Will Soon Hit \$31.4 Billion, But Investors Should Be Cautious,” *Forbes*, 7 November 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/monazhang/2017/11/07/global-marijuana-market-31-billion-investors-cautious/#62998c007297>.
- 3 Debra Borchardt, “Marijuana Sales Totaled \$6.7 Billion in 2016,” *Forbes*, 3 January 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/debraborchardt/2017/01/03/marijuana-sales-totaled-6-7-billion-in-2016/#2ab7482275e3>; Trey Williams, “Marijuana Tax Revenue Hit \$200 Million in Colorado as Sales Pass \$1 Billion,” *MarketWatch*, 12 February 2017, <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/marijuana-tax-revenue-hit-200-million-in-colorado-as-sales-pass-1-billion-2017-02-10>.
- 4 Slovenia, Belgium, Italy, and Ireland are among the most recent and committed participants in this European movement. See European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, *Cannabis*

- Legislation in Europe: An Overview* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2017); Yardena Schwartz, “The Holy Land of Medical Marijuana: How a Country the Size of New Jersey Became the Epicenter of Medical Marijuana,” *U.S. News*, 11 April 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2017-04-11/israel-is-a-global-leader-in-marijuana-research>.
- 5 Yardena Schwartz, “How the Booming Israeli Weed Industry Is Changing American Pot,” *Rolling Stone*, 24 August 2017, <http://www.rollingstone.com/culture/features/how-booming-israeli-weed-industry-is-changing-american-pot-w499117>.
 - 6 According to a 2016 study by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 11 per cent of all French citizens ages fifteen to sixty-four, some 700,000 people, regularly (and illegally) consume cannabis. A 2014 World Health Organization study of cannabis use among fifteen-year-olds in Europe, Israel, and North America likewise revealed that France had the highest per centage of consumption (15 per cent) among forty-two nations polled on both sides of the Atlantic. And a 2016 Ipsos poll revealed that 80 per cent of French citizens believe that current drugs laws in France are ineffective, and 52 per cent support some level of decriminalization. See Cecilia Rodriguez, “Marijuana Legalization in Europe: Is France Next?” *Forbes*, 6 January 2017, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ceciliarodriguez/2017/01/06/marijuana-legalization-in-europe-is-france-next/#47596c94c96e>; “Prevalence of Drug Use in Europe – 2016,” European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction, <http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/countries/prevalence-maps>; “France Tops Teen Cannabis Use Survey: WHO,” *France 24*, 15 March 2016, <http://www.france24.com/en/20160315-france-highest-rate-cannabis-use-teens-who-report-drugs>.
 - 7 The study concluded that “black” and “Arab” Parisians were, respectively, six and eight times more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession than their white counterparts. See Sihem Souid, “La guerre aux drogues, une guerre contre les minorités ethniques?” *Le Point*, 11 July 2014, http://www.lepoint.fr/invites-du-point/sihem-souid/la-guerre-aux-drogues-une-guerre-contre-les-minorites-ethniques-07-11-2014-1879530_421.php; and Kim Hullot-Guiot and Cécile Bourgneuf, “La lutte contre les drogues, une ‘guerre raciale?’”

- Libération*, 15 April 2015, http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/15/la-lutte-contre-les-drogues-une-guerre-raciale_1240975; Fabrice Olivet, Samuel Roberts, Jean-Maxence Granier, Virgil Blanc, and Marie Jauffert-Roustide, “Guerre à la drogue, guerre raciale?” *Esprit* (February 2017): 85–93.
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 - 9 Gaspard Glanz, “France’s First Cannabis E-Cigarette Is Completely Legal,” *Vice*, 16 December 2014, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/kanavape-antonin-cohen-interview-france-cannabis-e-cigarette-legal-876.
 - 10 Lise Loumé, “Cannabis thérapeutique: Pourquoi le Sativex n’est-il toujours pas vendu en France?” *Science et Avenir*, 5 April 2016, https://www.sciencesetavenir.fr/sante/cannabis-therapeutique-pourquoi-le-sativex-n-est-il-toujours-pas-vendu-en-france_30163.
 - 11 Benjamin Derveaux, “Paris: Une marche pour la dépénalisation du cannabis entre Bastille et République,” *Le Parisien*, 29 April 2017, <http://www.leparisien.fr/paris-75/paris-75003/paris-iiiie-une-marche-entre-bastille-et-republique-pour-la-depenalisation-du-cannabis-29-04-2017-6902247.php>.
 - 12 Notable positive reviews of Moreau’s work in international medical journals include: Robley Dunglison, *New Remedies* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1846), 147–53; “Bibliographical Notice: Moreau on Indian Hemp in Mental Alienation,” *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 11 (April 1846): 423–9; “New Remedy for Insanity,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 33 (1845–46): 264; M. Brière de Boismont, “On the Nature of Insanity, and Its Treatment by Irrigation and Prolonged Baths,” *Medico-chirurgical Review and Journal of Practical Medicine* 50 (1846–47): 281–2; John Forbes, “Dr. Moreau’s Psychological Studies &c.,” *British and Foreign Medical Review or, Quarterly* 23 (January–April 1847): 217–30; “Brunner, Sohn, Über die Wirkung, welche verschiedene Substanzen durch Berührung auf nervenkrankte Persen ausüben,” *Mittheilungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern* 116–20 (April 1848): 64;

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- 13 “M. le docteur GUYON adresse une notice ayant pour titre: Du Haschis, préparation en usage parmi les Arabes de l’Algérie et du Levant,” *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l’Académie des sciences* (January 1842): 517–18; Julien Larue du Barry, “Note sur l’usage du chanvre en Algérie,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie, et de toxicologie* 1 (1845): 31–4; Eugène Daumas and Ausone de Chancel, *La grand désert, ou Itinéraire d’une caravane du Sahara au pay des Nègres* (Paris: N. Chaix, 1848), 397–405; H.A. Cauvain, “Algérie,” *Le Constitutionnel* 241 (1851): 1d; Émile-Louis Bertherand, “Étude sur la médecine légale en Algérie,” *Gazette médicale de l’Algérie* 1, 6 (1868): 60–1; Jules Duval, “Sur le Hachich,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie, et de toxicologie* 1 (1857): 755–6; “Sur les dangers qui résultent de l’usage du hachich,” *Journal de chimie médicale, de pharmacie, et de toxicologie* 3 (1860): 76–7.
- 14 Bertherand quoted in Ellen J. Amster, *Medicine and the Saints: Science, Islam and the Colonial Encounter in Morocco, 1877–1956* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), 60–2.
- 15 Émile-Louis Bertherand, «Étude sur la médecine légale en Algérie,» 61. In addition to the term “madjaun,” kif is/was another common name for hashish in North Africa, particularly in Algeria. This term is the etymological root of the verb “kiffer” in French, which is widely

used as slang meaning “to like something” and “to feel good.” And the terms “kiffer” and “kiffen” are also used in contemporary German slang to designate a “hashish smoker” and “hashish smoking,” respectively.

- 16 Émile-Louis Bertherand, “A PROPOS DE LA PROHIBITION DU HASCHISCH EN TURQUIE,” *L’Abeille médicale* 37 (1876): 364–5; “Le kif en Algérie au point de vue de la consommation, de l’influence sur la santé et de la réglementation administrative,” *Journal d’hygiène* 6, 5 (15 April 1880): 181–4.
- 17 Antoine Marie, “Note sur la folie haschichique (à propos de quelques Arabes aliénés par le haschich),” *Nouvelle Iconographie de la Salpêtrière* 20 (1907): 252–7.

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