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Elizabeth Heath, *Wine, Sugar, and the Making of Modern France: Global Economic Crisis and the Racialization of French Citizenship, 1870-1910*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2014. xii + 312 pp. Maps, figures, bibliography, and index. \$99.00 U.S. (hb). ISBN 978-1107070585; \$79.00 U.S. (eb). ISBN: 1107070589.

Review by Lorelle Semley, College of the Holy Cross.

Turning our romance with French wine and all things sweet on its head, Elizabeth Heath reveals the unexpected intersection between citizenship and trade globalization at the turn of the twentieth century. Even with the surge of interest and publications in race and empire in French studies in recent years, Heath presents an innovative comparative study of French empire on several counts. First, Heath's study predates the common focus on the interwar period and Paris in so much of the scholarship. Second, she takes very seriously the charge of placing the colony and the metropole in a "single analytical field" (p. 4-5). Most importantly, her approach is unique because her sites of empire are on the periphery both in the Caribbean and in France itself. Her examination of the wine region of Aude in south central France and the sugar-producing island of Guadeloupe suggests that two marginal places, seemingly so distant in space and culture, were linked by their experience of economic and political change during the pivotal turn of the twentieth century.

Heath adeptly manages the disparate stories of the French department of Aude with the Antillean island colony of Guadeloupe by tracing how populations in both places similarly handled economic downturn and production crises through political activism on the part of landowning elites, smallholders, and laborers. The results in each place turned out to be markedly different, even as a new social citizenship that presaged the welfare state emerged. While the French inhabitants of the wine-producing region eventually earned protections through reforms, the people working the sugar cane fields, many of them formerly enslaved, only saw their political rights and privileges dissipate over time. This new "active" citizenship may have included rural and urban France but exclusion and inequality remained a "building block" of this new notion of national belonging (pp. 2 and 4).

Heath sets up her narrative carefully by placing each region and its primary export commodity within a global economic framework. It mattered that wine produced in regions like the Aude was seen as central to a French cultural identity by the nineteenth century. Conversely, sugar, even though it was grown in the old French colony of Guadeloupe and had become commonly consumed across different socioeconomic classes, was not unique to France or "Frenchness." Instead the cultivation of sugar across the Antilles, a process long drenched in the blood and sweat of slavery, made it the "quintessential colonial product" (p. 9). The three parts of the book then, in turn, explore the political and economic dynamics that drew French and Guadeloupean producers into worldwide capitalist markets in different ways. The book is as much, if not more, a study of economics, as it is one of citizenship.

The two chapters in the first part of the book frame how crucial agricultural products like wine and sugar were to the definition of the new French republic and ideas about citizenship. The regions shared

in the intensification of monoculture in a fledgling republic seeking to consolidate its power and the sense of the nation via rural populations. But from the outset, the significance of focusing on a single export crop differed. In Guadeloupe, sugar cultivation reflected the exploitative past of slavery and even foretold the cash cropping economies that would proliferate in the new colonies in Africa a few decades later. For the expanding wine production in the Aude, viticulture offered new opportunities for trade and globalization, but also created a new rural labor force. Ironically for both regions, the competition from the sugar beet industry as a sweetener and as a base for cheap, hard alcohol affected prices and wages. Immediately, this economic pressure began to inspire protest, but the initial response of government officials was to promote the idea of a liberal citizenship that emphasized the duties and responsibilities of the citizen. Still the emphases were already different and perhaps best exemplified by the way in which the ideal of the family was used. In Aude, policies and rhetoric focused on the citizen in Aude as a father and head of household responsible for providing for his family. In Guadeloupe, the idealized image was that of the citizen as an industrious worker aspiring to secure a place in *la grande famille* of the French nation following emancipation and French citizenship in 1848.

The second set of chapters comprising the heart of the book examines reactions to the depression of the 1870s and 1880s from the perspective of elites, small-scale producers, workers, and government officials. One of the most significant developments was the rise of socialist politics among workers and smallholders in both regions in response to economic strain and global competition. Socialists put forward a new ideal of a social citizenship coupled with an interventionist state that would open up citizenship to a wider population of rural and urban workers, as well as to people of color and women. But Heath emphasizes how much the social vision was just that, an ideal more than a reality. Socialist political platforms certainly opened a conversation but rarely delivered, especially for workers in the colonies. In the Aude region, socialist politics became influential, but remained divided. However, in Guadeloupe, supporters of socialist politicians faced other challenges from government officials who even sought to punish socialists by withholding aid to women and families of party supporters following the devastating hurricane of 1899. Again, government officials animated rhetoric about men as dubious heads of household or remiss breadwinners, in order to define citizenship or suggest that people of color may be less deserving of such rights. Continuing on that theme, the fifth chapter on smallholders in the Aude and Guadeloupe showed how the image of smallholders as the backbone of a rural democracy thereby became a problematic vision. While the ideal of the small-scale property owner offered new opportunities to redefine oneself as a member of society, the smallholding rural democratic conceptualization reinforced the liberal ideal of the self-sufficient rural household headed by the father who, in fact, depended on the labor and even the income generated by wives and children. One of the strengths of Heath's work in the first two sections of her book is her ability to weave in seamlessly analyses of gender, masculinity, and the politics of the family as part of her history of agriculture, economy, and citizenship.

The two culminating chapters in the final section take on a slightly different form, as Heath presents the response "from below" as workers and smallholders used strikes and collective action to demand protections as fundamental aspects of their rights as citizens. The growth of unions in both locations brought together diverse populations of workers and property owners. Worker-activists in Guadeloupe, in particular, endeavored to achieve economic and political economy by tying their concerns about sugar production and labor to the exercise of democracy and "universal suffrage...respected as it is in France" (p. 215). However, the response by government officials explicitly rejected colonial populations and their concerns by envisioning another type of republican citizenship that instead emphasized a distinction between citizens in the metropole and the colony. While Third Republic officials put forward policies that offered protections and assurances to rural and urban populations in the metropole, the citizens in the colonies were redefined as not "French" and in need of "civilizing" in order to achieve Frenchness and full citizenship in some undefined future. Political scandal further undermined Guadeloupe's standing as a location of rights-bearing citizens and reinscribed it as a land of colonial subjects. There were economic implications as the welfare state policies extended to rural France were not implemented

in colonies like Guadeloupe where the focus moved to production rather than protections like minimum wage, the right to safe work conditions, and accident laws. For Heath, the welfare policies in France became the other side of the coin in terms of exploitative work conditions, justified by narratives of cultural and racial inferiority in the Caribbean and later in Africa and Asia. Using a tightly argued piece incorporating economics and politics, Heath convincingly demonstrates how the fraught relationship between republican ideals of equality could exist alongside profound exclusions.

Heath's argument is impressive in its range, complexity, and readability. She also punctuates her text with personal stories like that of André Jenair who identified as a citizen who had also been formerly enslaved. Jenair's story included in his letter to the French Minister of the Colonies introduces the text and reappears at the end of the book, so that the reader understands how the arc of his life went from hopefulness to frustration by the very beginning of the twentieth century. While he remained avowedly loyal to the Republic, by 1908 Jenair saw the rights he had fought for and held so dear slipping through his fingers. Meanwhile, economic policies abandoned the sugar industry but allowed food prices to soar, forcing poverty and hunger onto large swaths of the population. It was poignant that Jenair evoked language similarly gendered and problematic to that which had circulated in various forms throughout this period in order to implore the French government not to "abandon its children" (p. 1). The small glimpse into the life of someone like Jenair is a crucial strength of the book; Heath is interested in revealing how "abstract" colonial policies had real consequences in the daily lives of people trying to live, prosper, and maintain their families (p. 2). Yet Heath sometimes has trouble keeping "the Republic" from appearing like an all-knowing, unified and conscious actor interacting with living individual activists, farmers, and workers. As a result, some of the most marginal actors in Guadeloupe--former enslaved and women--sometimes only seem to react, rather than act to try and affect change.

For example, since the socialist politics seemed to extend from the metropole out, people in Guadeloupe could only take up and adapt what is given to them. However, there were moments when the incisive thinking of Guadeloupean politicians and ordinary people suggested that they had different ideas about an "active" citizenship or perhaps a "full" citizenship, even before the socialists arrived on the scene. For example, Gaston Gerville-Réache, an educated free man of color with a law degree from the Sorbonne and his own local newspaper, was elected in 1899 as deputy for Guadeloupe. While he professed the liberal citizenship concept based on hard work, rights, and responsibilities, including military service, he also pushed for true application of that ideal for everyone, no matter their color or where they lived. He summed up his position by saying, "Before [being] Guadeloupeans, we are French" (pp. 76-77). Heath reads this perspective as an argument for full assimilation but it is also possible to read the words of Gerville-Réache and others like him as a more profound and critical challenge. As a person of color, even an elite one, who was pushing for equal rights for all people of color (men, at least), he was exposing how much assimilation was an ideal, a policy, or a piece of rhetoric more than it was ever a fully articulated practice. So while Heath suggests a progression toward a second-class status for Guadeloupeans and other Antilleans by the turn of the twentieth century, it is unclear when they ever weren't second-class citizens, even after departmentalization in 1946, as Heath herself concludes when remarking on protests and strikes in Guadeloupe in 2009.

As Heath draws in the reader with her storytelling and astute analysis, I still kept wondering how and why she was inspired to bring these two places together when people from these regions likely had no contact during the time she is studying. Looking at a wine-producing region like Bordeaux in relation to Martinique or Guadeloupe would have produced a different version of this story, since Bordeaux perhaps would have been less marginal than Aude. Studies of different agricultural regions of France and its colonies could produce still other economic, political, and social histories that also could include interaction and conversation between landowners, politicians, activists, and workers who moved between metropole and colony, even if in different circles. Perhaps that would be too easy. Heath argues eloquently that people living two places unfamiliar to one another and to many readers, in fact, had everything to do with one another, the global economy, politics, gender, and that glass of wine and that

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sugary treat, to boot. Reading her book, we cannot help but consider the implications of similar, wide-ranging connections shaping our lives today.

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