

refuse to be forgotten. The authors make the point that even today, monuments to those buried in unmarked graves, like that erected in 2017 in Toronto at Park Lawn Cemetery, are sharp reminders of those transported to Canada.

What I find striking about this excellent book is how effectively the authors are able to integrate a wide range of sources into a study that spans the Atlantic and at the same time, centres on children. The authors' journey into this project, like that of the children, began in Britain and particularly in Liverpool, with the opening of a rich repository of records from the Nugent Care Charity; as with the children, it soon encompassed records from London, Ottawa, and Toronto. The result reminds us how what is often seen as a Canadian story cannot be understood without appreciating the much broader context. The real strength of *Friendless or Forsaken*, however, is how the authors manage to take us into the world of philanthropy of the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. We are left with the sense that though the schemes to emigrate children were well meaning, they were inherently flawed. To supporters of the various emigration schemes, children were objects to be emigrated, one of many commodities to be exported to the colony. This is not to say that we do not hear children's voices. The authors skilfully turn promoters' views around, and we learn from their letters and later their memoirs how children understood their situation and tried to take charge of their own destiny. This is an important and much needed addition to the literature.

Jane Errington
Queen's University

Elizabeth Marshall

The Drinking Curriculum: A Cultural History of Childhood and Alcohol

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In *The Drinking Curriculum*, Elizabeth Marshall takes on two centuries of American visual culture to reveal a persistent and consistently paradoxical set of lessons about childhood and alcohol. Drawing from a wide range of images from literary texts, comics, advertisements, film, and television dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, the book illustrates how adult anxieties about alcohol have been reflected through fictionalized child figures. Marshall offers keen insights into several compelling questions about childhood and drinking, inviting readers to consider the purposes and functions of the child as a central figure in cultural lessons about alcohol, the reasons for the perceived obscenity of associating children with drunkenness, and the motivations that drive the circulation of these pervasive tropes.

While positioned as a cultural history spanning cultural studies, social history, and childhood studies, the book's emphasis on the pedagogical function of visual culture also extends its relevance to cultural curriculum studies, which has long understood

curriculum as “an ideological medium” through which knowledge is produced.⁵ The framing of these historical messages as a curriculum appropriately reflects the organized and intentional nature of this “cradle-to-grave program” (2) for which, as Marshall demonstrates, the liquor industry is the primary pedagogue. This invocation of culture as curriculum, however, seems a missed opportunity to connect to decades of scholarship that has explored the pedagogical function of American popular and consumer culture.⁶

The book opens with historical context for the cultural preoccupation with alcohol and an introduction to the discursive figure of “the child” that appears in popular visual texts about drinking. Marshall notes her particular concern for “how the idea of the child and its associations with innocence, vulnerability, wildness, and misbehaviour all inhere within our perceptions of sobriety and intoxication” (3). To situate the American cultural obsession with childhood innocence and its potential corruption is crucial to understanding the significance of children as pedagogical objects. Marshall relies on foundational but now dated cultural histories of childhood innocence, foregoing an opportunity to engage more recent critiques in childhood studies that have further questioned and complicated this construct.⁷ Nonetheless, her meticulous analysis illustrates well the inherent contradictions of implied childhood innocence, revealing mixed messages about both the risks and the rewards of drinking.

The book is organized into five overlapping “lessons” that outline the drinking curriculum. The first examines the image of the drunkard in children’s texts, tracing the influence of the temperance movement from a nineteenth century picture book to a contemporary graphic novel. The second lesson turns to cartoons, exploring the intoxicated animal trope from the early days of animation to the more modern Disney and Warner Bros. canon. Here, Marshall illustrates how “childhood, defined as a state of physical and intellectual vulnerability, informs depictions of intoxication that sanction and make comedic violence legible” (35). Marshall looks to Disney studies scholars to highlight the cultural complexities inhered in these characters, noting that the fusion “of childishness, animalistic instincts, and drunkenness as traits to be condoned and contained, managed by violence and laughter” reflect broader social anxieties about race and power (38).

Lesson three presents a case study of the 1982 blockbuster film *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* juxtaposed with an examination of the Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) movement that emerged the same decade. Marshall contrasts the humour of a white child’s innocent drunkenness in the film with the rising moral panic around

5 “Cultural Studies in Relation to Curriculum Studies,” in *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, ed. Craig Kridel, (SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010), 171–77.

6 See, for example, Shirley R. Steinberg and Joe L. Kincheloe, eds., *Kinderculture: The Corporate Construction of Childhood* (Westview Press, 1997). My own work has drawn on this tradition: Jennifer A. Sandlin and Julie C. Garlen, eds. *Disney, Culture and Curriculum*, (Routledge, 2016).

7 See, for example, Robbie Duschinsky, “Childhood Innocence: Essence, Education, and Performativity,” *Textual Practice* 27, no. 5 (2013): 763–81; Joanne Faulkner, “Vulnerability of “virtual” subjects: Childhood, memory, and crisis in the cultural value of innocence,” *SubStance* 42, no. 3 (2013): 127–147; Julie C. Garlen, “Interrogating innocence: ‘Childhood’ as exclusionary social practice,” *Childhood* 26, no. 1 (2019): 54–67.

teenage drinking, which concretized adolescence as a social category at particular risk for depravity. In the fourth lesson, Marshall builds on this foray into the world of teenagers, examining visual depictions of drinking children in several comics that targeted teenagers and young adults. The subversive humour of these texts reflected a growing suspicion about the sacredness of childhood innocence, and the gritty, sometimes difficult topics they took on speak to the real complexities of children's lives.

The satirization of adversity is also central to the final lesson, in which Marshall outlines a long history of marketing alcohol to white affluent women as a “tonic for mothering” (98), from sentimental nineteenth century advertisements for early medicines to soothe teething infants to contemporary “wine mom” memes that appear in social media (92). The recent turn to parody reveals “a chasm between fantasies of motherhood enshrined in popular culture and that of real life” (98). This dissonance is solidified in the closing chapter, “Final Exam,” where Marshall recalls the pressures of pandemic parenting as reflected in an irreverent *Saturday Night Live* sketch called “Let Kids Drink.” Responding to the subsequent social media controversy over the images of drunk children, Marshall observes that debates about the appropriateness of texts are “a deflection that upholds the status quo” (100). The same can be said for moral panics about children in general—defensive stances that focus on blame and outrage deflect attention away from the complex lived conditions of children's lives.

Throughout the text, Marshall makes a concerted effort to acknowledge the racist logics embedded in the visual depictions. Although she does not explicitly name the maintenance of white supremacy and anti-Black racism as a driving cultural force behind many of the texts examined, she rightfully positions innocence as “the province of white childhood” (68) and importantly highlights the problematic way childhood is mobilized to disguise racist logics through cuteness and comedic harm. Still, the overwhelming whiteness of the visual images is startling, and perhaps worthy of additional context to situate them within broader histories of discrimination and substance use.

The book concludes with Marshall's pithy explanation for the reason the child is necessary to cultural lessons about alcohol: “Drinking culture is children's culture” (103). This point resonates with existing contemporary critiques of childhood innocence, which recognizes that the conditions of childhood are determined not by societal ideals for what childhood “should” be but by actual lived experiences of growing up. In North America, those experiences almost inevitably include exposure to the paradoxical paradigms for alcohol use, which speaks to the book's relevance and wide appeal. With its diverse selection of intriguing images and provocative prose, *The Drinking Curriculum* is a uniquely compelling read.

Julie Garlen
University of Toronto