© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix
Preface and Acknowledgments xiii

Introduction 1

PART I. ORIGIN STORIES 17

1 *Ilex* in the Americas and Indigenous Beginnings 19

2 Jesuit Conspiracies, Colonial Jealousies 48

PART II. REMAKING THE WORLD OF MATE 75

3 South American Cowboys and Nineteenth-Century Wars for Independence 77

4 Botanical Imperialism and the Race for Plant Knowledge 103

5 New Ventures in Green Gold 127

PART III. MATE CULTURE GOES GLOBAL 151

6 Mate in the Middle East: Fatwas and Finger Puppets 153

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

7 The New Postindustrial Hipster Mate 168

Epilogue 194

Notes 199

References 217

Index 243

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Introduction

TO PREPARE MATE, take the cured gourd or the cattle horn *guampa* or whatever else you wish to use as a cup and fill it two-thirds with dried yerba leaves. Cover the opening tightly with your hand, turn the receptacle upside down, and shake it gently to break up any clumps in the powder and to make sure that the leaves and small twigs are evenly distributed. Then take the long drinking straw bombilla and jam its filtered end all the way to the bottom of the yerba, keeping it closer to one side of the cup. This will give you a lot of surface area on the loose-leaf mate over which to pour the water. If you're drinking mate that is hot, pour heated but not boiling water onto the yerba in the gourd, filling it up so that the liquid lifts the leaves ever so gently and air bubbles start to form on the surface. If you're using a cow horn to drink ice-cold *tereré,* the water you'll use is chilled and may already be infused with fresh *yuyos,* herbs for traditional remedies.

Wait a few seconds until the loose-leaf yerba has absorbed the water and then pour a bit more water into the cup. Sip the bombilla to drain the infused water from the gourd or the guampa until you can hear that you are sucking air. That sound is where the word "tereré" comes from—an onomatopoetic rendition in Guaraní for the sounds of sucking up the drink in a bombilla. It's customary for the *cebador,* the person preparing mate for a group, to take the first sip to remove the initial bitterness from the drink before pouring water into the cup again and passing it to someone

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

else. Everyone in a round of mate or tereré takes a turn fully emptying the cup with the same bombilla, passing it back to the cebador, who refills it and gives it to the next person.

Yerba mate is the world's third-most popular naturally caffeinated drink, behind tea and coffee. It inspired the world's first written tango lyrics. It was an economic engine for early Jesuit and German nationalist utopias, albeit separated by centuries. The secret of its cultivation was found, hopelessly lost, and then rediscovered. Jealousy over its wealth lay at the heart of one of modern history's most devastating wars and fueled great Catholic conspiracies. On its more global circuit, mate is currently starring in puppet shows put on by Syrian dissidents. And the Argentine national team proudly hoisted their mates for all to see en route to their 2022 FIFA World Cup victory.

Made from the dried leaves and tender shoots of *Ilex paraguariensis*, mate comes from an evergreen holly tree that grows in the subtropical Atlantic Forest in the heart of South America. In Argentina, southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, mate is the stimulating brew of choice, giving its drinkers the jolt of liquid effervescence others might get from Colombian coffee or English breakfast tea. Consumed from precolonial times in South America by Indigenous communities, under Spanish colonial rule mate expanded far beyond its natural growing range to become the leading beverage, after wine and water, in the Viceroyalty of Peru as it was wildly popular in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay.[1] Today, mate culture has traveled far enough to make its mark in the Levant—bombilla included—as Lebanon and Syria have become the world's leading importers of mate outside South America. And the drink has been given new life in the North Atlantic world as a blended energy drink and prepackaged in single-serving tea bags. No bombilla required.

But if mate is so delightful, as its popularity attests, why don't North Americans generally drink the world's major stimulant beverage commodity that comes from the Americas? For that matter, why do we drink coffee in North America, especially since the

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

United States has a famous tea moment in its national founding? The answer isn't who got there first. All three exotic beverages came into European orbit at about the same time and it took centuries for North Atlantic caffeine preferences to solidify. The Spanish were introduced to mate and chocolate in the 1500s, a hundred years before coffee or tea became known in western Europe. So, technically, mate got there first. Coffee moved westward from the Ottoman Empire in the 1600s via the institution of the coffeehouse, then (as now) a space for public sociality, debating new ideas, and even transacting business.[2] Fittingly, England's first coffeehouse was opened in Oxford in the early 1650s, setting a precedent for university town cafés the world over. Black tea arrived shortly thereafter as a novelty item in a London coffeehouse; it made such an impression on English writer Samuel Pepys that he recorded the first time he drank it in his diary on September 25, 1660.[3]

Consumables like yerba mate are popular subjects of books because of what they teach us about ourselves and the world we live in. Over the last few years salt, cod, sugar, and the hamburger have all received celebrity treatment.[4] Red wine, coffee, tea, and (especially) chocolate are perennial favorites. It's high time for yerba mate to take center stage. What can we learn from a biography of the South American stimulant? The first thing to know is that mate has multiple personas: commodity, recipe, drink, highly stylized ritual, and plant. These different facets help us learn about the economics of drugs (legal and otherwise), the botany of psychoactive subjects, the symbolic meanings of consumption, the political histories of South America, and more.

Mate draws people together across time and space, from the chilly mornings on the Argentine countryside and the torrid afternoons in the Paraguayan Chaco to the souk of Damascus, the nightclubs of Berlin, the cafés of Kraków, and the rugged Pacific Northwest coastline. Cuisine is fun to talk about because it opens up to us both the symbolic and the material dimensions of human life; the food (and drink) we consume has an inordinate ability to

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

FIGURE I.2. Customs of Uruguay: mate. A. Marchetti, 1900. Image credit: Biblioteca Nacional, Uruguay.

embody paradox. At one moment food is mundane, the daily bread we eat to live; at the next, it is extraordinary, a religiously inflected feast or a great wedding banquet. A single meal can juxtapose the large, impersonal economic forces that produce and move what ends up on our dinner plates and the intimate personal experience of taste and the evocative memory of grandma's cooking.[5] At the very same moment, the act of eating and drinking unites people and distinguishes them as separate from others. Food is simultaneously, indivisibly, both symbolic and pragmatically material.[6]

This book follows the cultures of yerba mate, from its Indigenous and colonial beginnings to its current incarnation as a global caffeinated commodity, tracing the varied political-economic structures that brought the drink to market as well as mate's changing symbolic significance—its meanings. Social meanings, rather than just some unmoored rational calculus, shape consumer

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

choices within markets. But consumables also show us how larger structures (corporations, colonialism, and capitalism, to name a few) affect the conduct of our daily lives. This is one of the main tenets of economic anthropology and why ethnographic methodologies of observing how people do their daily shopping or click through websites have so much to teach us. One of the lessons from coffee, tea, and mate is that the uptake of stimulating beverages has to do with both market structures and social meanings.

To uncover who drinks mate and why, it's helpful to think in terms of "commodity chains," the differing dynamics of production and consumption, and the commerce that links the two.[7] When we attend to the production side of the commodity chain, we ask questions about laborers and labor processes, materials, and the environment, as well as the costs of production. Consumption invites us to think about who uses the product and to what end, the rituals and moral economy built around the experience. To wit, the political-economic history of coffee and tea in the West features (1) exotic ceremony (orientalized tea) or convivial sociality (coffeehouses): consumption; (2) the creation of imperial or private transnational corporations for trade: commerce; and (3) the structuring of landscapes for extractive monocrops (coffee enclaves and tea plantations) that move from periphery to core: production. Scholars like to study the commodity chains of major consumables because they reveal the emergence of nothing less than global capitalism.

But mate is not just any product. It has powerful psychoactive properties that affect the mind and the body. Not only does it possess the alkaloid caffeine, it also contains significant amounts of theophylline (found in tea) and theobromine (found in chocolate). The interplay between these compounds gives mate a kick distinct from that of coffee or tea, each of which possesses a tad more caffeine per average cup, earning mate a reputation as a less jittery stimulant. But, of course, the potency of these drinks is affected by how you prepare them. Dried tea has more caffeine per gram than ground coffee, which is why we use more coffee to make

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

a single cup. Not to be outshone because of mate's lower caffeine content, mate drinkers in South America will fill a gourd with a good half cup of dried yerba leaves multiple times a day. The similarity of effects between plant products hailing from different corners of the globe long puzzled observers; it was through the study of psychoactive plants that disciplines like biomedicine, botany, and lab chemistry got their start.[8]

Mate was commodified as it was drawn into European-administered circuits of trade, a process that changed both how it was produced and how its users consumed it. The historical transformations by which goods become exchanged commodities uproot objects from their embedded meanings. A tomato becomes something that we get through money that we acquired by selling our labor, instead of something we struggled to grow and which we triumphantly now pick after waiting for months as the seedling bursts through soil we tended, weeded, and watered. Ready-made mac and cheese is mass produced and frozen, rather than laboriously cooked from a family recipe handed down over generations. Economic philosophers have noted that an economy based on monetary exchange hides the social relations underlying commodities because we can't see the labor and conditions of production that went into the product or service we're purchasing.[9] This gives us the illusion that what we do when we buy things is exchange money for a commodity when what we're doing is interchanging the labor that we exerted to earn the money for the labor that went into producing the good.

Marx called this phenomenon the "commodity fetish" because the inert commodity takes on almost agentive power, as if it could move on its own, when the real creative force behind it is human ingenuity. To teach college students about the commodity fetish, a well-respected colleague used to ask his (simultaneously horrified and enthralled) students what, if anything, they knew about the toilet paper they used, where or how it was made. Because the production and consumption of commodities are separated, it's practically impossible to know what's involved in how goods are

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

FIGURE I.3. Embossed cattle horn *guampas* for cold *tereré*. With permission from Centro Cultural Citibank/Museo del Barro, Asunción, Paraguay. Image credit: author.

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

made unless we actually go to the site of production. And that's why this book attempts to get beyond the commodity fetish by telling stories of mate production *and* of mate consumption.

At the same time, plants have power over people. In his classic work of Cuban anthropology, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar,* Fernando Ortiz explored the relationship between the two dominant plants of the largest island in the Antilles: one native to the New World, the other brought from the Old; one artisanally crafted, the other mass produced. The counterpoint treats sugar and tobacco as historical actors, as agents in their own right with the power to shape human society. This "counterfetishism" reveals the interwoven nature of commodities as their material qualities are inextricably linked to economic structures and symbolic interpretations.[10] New scholarship on plants, from biology to philosophy, also challenges common understandings of plants as inert backdrops to animalistic action. Darwin noted that the radicle (the root tip) of plants acts like a "primitive" animal brain, touching, sensing, and making decisions about where to turn.[11]

We know now that plants communicate with each other by smell.[12] They release chemicals when injured or eaten so that other plants nearby learn that one of their species is in distress. In short, plants solve problems. The strategies they use to do so—to reproduce, to avoid predators, to find water—may be thought of as "vegetal" or "plant-thinking."[13] Similarly, people look to plants to solve ostensibly human problems. While lab chemistry may tell us why coffee makes us alert or cannabis relaxes, the desirability of those chemical reactions resides in a wider milieu, which is why some are deemed morally licit and why that licitness changes over time.

Speaking of chemical reactions, the popularity of certain drugs over others comes from not only the sensations they cause but also the social contexts around those effects. It's no coincidence that drugs accompanied European colonial expansion or that Adderall makes the rounds on college campuses for off-script use during final exams. In fact, there's a direct connection between

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

what drugs do and the kind of economy in which they circulate.[14] And, to be clear, legal substances like caffeine still count as drugs.[15] In the early stages of European colonialism, the chemical and biological properties of psychoactive plants made them instrumental in trade and in securing labor.

Drugs were used to force people into relations of dependency with European trading partners. Pem Davidson Buck's historical work on race, class, and power in Kentucky shows that Native Americans who refused to sell land to British settlers in North America in the seventeenth century were gifted alcohol to induce addiction.[16] But when they attempted to acquire more liquor to quench their thirst, they were met with a new demand. British traders would only accept money for payment rather than bartered goods and the only way to get that money was to sell something that the merchants would buy: in the case of Kentucky, deerskins or land. A hundred years later, the British East India Company ran a similar scheme. They smuggled opium into China in the eighteenth century knowing that it would create addiction. Once that goal was achieved, they demanded that China open their desirable market to British goods in exchange for the drug. The two Opium Wars (1839–42, 1856–60) fought between China and European powers resulted from various Chinese attempts to suppress the opium trade. Both times, Western military forces triumphed and the trade continued.

Stimulants took center stage when colonial priorities changed under a new phase of imperialism and drugs focused on intensifying the amount of labor extracted from workers. As the kind of labor changed from agriculture and mining to industry, there was a move from numbing drugs (alcohol, marijuana, opium) used to deaden the boredom and physical discomfort associated with hard labor to stimulants like coffee and tea, which had the opposite effect of heightening alertness and sobriety.[17] The coffee pot became ubiquitous in offices and factories as companies realized providing it for free boosted worker productivity. Yerba mate, the "green gold" (*oro verde*) of South America, both follows and complicates

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

this schematization because then as now it was primarily consumed where it was produced. The psychoactive substance's importance changed in its native environs over the course of Iberian imperialism and into the early years of the newly independent nations as the dominant economic logic was shifting from mercantile to free-market capitalism. And now that mate use has finally transcended a South American circuit as a drink associated with the Levant in the Middle East and as a youthful energy drink in the North Atlantic, mate trains our eye to see new connections between markets and the meanings of psychoactive experiences.

But if psychoactive plants like mate were able to mobilize empires, it's because they were able to capture the imaginations and aspirations of millions. The symbolically laden consumption rituals, the intricate accoutrements to serve the drinks, and even the specific recipes for how to prepare them the "right" way show that caffeinated beverages have strong cultural resonances. George Orwell himself penned a widely circulated essay titled "A Nice Cup of Tea" (1946) that still inspires debate today. More recently, Bosnian women migrants living in Chicago in the aftermath of the Balkan conflict follow precise steps to roast, grind, and then brew coffee to create "multisensory encounters" that nostalgically link them to their old, lost homes as they establish new homes half a world away.[18] Mate, too, is a multisensory encounter. From the predawn hours on the streets of Asunción, the sound of herbs being pounded in a wooden mortar can be heard as *yuyeros* (traditional herbalists) meticulously prepare roots, leaves, and stems to be mixed with ice-cold water and yerba mate to make the refreshing tereré Paraguayans prefer.

And, surely some of my mate-drinking readers have taken issue with the instructions at the opening of this book, while others agree that it is indeed the right way to *cebar* mate. But the reality for mate, as with all caffeinated beverages, is that the experience of consuming it is highly diverse. Yerba mate is as much a recipe as it is a plant and there are slight, but important, differences in how the leaves are prepared for consumers in the four chief South

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

American markets for the drink. Mate for the Spanish-speaking markets of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay is usually slowly dried via roasting, a process that imparts a smoky flavor to the drinks. Skilled mate processors will carefully choose specific local woods whose essence complements mate to make the firepit. Brazilian-style mate consumed in Rio Grande do Sul has the bright bold flavor of fresh *I. paraguariensis*, but yerba for River Plate palates is aged (*estacionado*) and mellowed in storehouses: two years for tereré in Paraguay; three years for a more tempered flavor (*suave*) for mate in Argentina.

The flavor we think is right, it turns out, is not simply due to personal preference. Pierre Bourdieu's study of French citizens' taste (in food, music, literature, and visual art) demonstrated that something that seems so personal—individual taste—correlates tightly with socioeconomic class status as denoted by the father's occupation and with personal educational attainment.[19] Bourdieu also found that part of the performance of elite identity was to look down on the consumption practices of those from less privileged backgrounds. Elites marked a distinction by preferring abstract art, daring literature, and pure music rather than the "simple" or "obvious" cultural production preferred by the French working classes.

We don't just consume what we like. We learn to like what we consume. This is especially true of bitter drinks like coffee, tea, mate, beer, and wine, which are often described as "acquired" tastes. And so, it's not just the conspicuous consumption of status symbols (a sports car, an immaculate green lawn, a large diamond ring) that has a public dimension. All consumption has social implications and therefore all consumption is semiotic—it communicates meaning through objects, words, and images. We demonstrate belonging and identity through what we wear, what music we listen to, and what food we eat; consequently, fashion, musical styles, and cuisine can be "read" to learn about the raced/gendered/classed communities that use them. If so, negative (or positive) conversations about a certain kind of music or a particular way to

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

FIGURE I.4. Organic yerba mate, ready to be harvested. Itapúa, Paraguay, 2019. Image credit: author.

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

wear an article of clothing map onto social hierarchies. Common sayings like "look the part" and "dress for the job you want" indicate that consumption itself may even be aspirational, a way to perform a desired identity. Recipes similarly communicate important social values by making claims about what is authentic and who has authority—think of how sommeliers and gourmands determine what kind of wine or dish is "good." Through a specifically Uruguayan way of preparing mate, Uruguayans emphasize that they are distinct from Argentines. By drinking mate that has been processed locally, gaúchos from the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul show that they are a community different from the rest of coffee-drinking Brazil.

Yet, the social resonance of cultural goods like cuisine and musical compositions can change over time. Like the exotic spices that once traveled on the Silk Road, coffee, tea, and sugar entered Europe first as rarities from the Orient. Although they are common today, these substances imported from afar were luxury items, indexing elite status because of their expense. In *Sweetness and Power*, Sidney Mintz tracks how cane sugar became the world's top agricultural commodity, a position it comfortably held for centuries. To produce sugar for North Atlantic consumption, European empires seized land and labor in the tropics, unleashing demographic and political dilemmas that reverberate into the present. As mass production drove down the cost and sugar became accessible to the growing industrial working classes, the sweetener no longer signaled a high social rank. Coffee and tea have similar histories where European and North American powers sought control of colonies with the right climate to produce "drug foods" (Mintz's term) at industrial scales and thus what was once exceptional became ubiquitous in North Atlantic cupboards.

Yerba mate and its cultural meanings migrate alongside people as they, too, move. In mate's journeys with and between communities, it has animated multiple processes of cultural transition and transformation from the colonial expansion of Spain in the New

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

World to the plant's globalization as an iconic Levantine beverage in the Middle East and as a healthy lifestyle product in the North Atlantic. Even if the ingredients are basically identical, mate isn't the same thing if it's an energy drink gulped on a quick break while scaling the sheer side of a cliff versus a gourd passed around a circle in the early morning hours before work. The chapters here catalogue those disadjustments and readjustments, the losses and acquisitions, the new cultural creations that have something of the past lives of mate but are nevertheless different. Cuban anthropologist Ortiz prefers to use his term "transculturation" rather than "acculturation" to describe these experiences of cultural change because communities do not merely enter or adopt an already existing, complete culture. Rather, something new is forged in the simultaneous loss and gain.[20] New mate cultures have new recipes and rituals or new meanings for old recipes and rituals.

As we follow the stimulant drink from South America on its odysseys around the globe, we encounter worlds built by mate. The drama unfolds in three acts. Part 1 explores the deep origins of yerba mate and its burst onto the Spanish colonial stage by beginning with mate's caffeinated *Ilex* kin in the Americas. In part 2, yerba mate, already entrenched in South American markets for centuries, plays a key role in the political, economic, cultural, and scientific development of newly independent nations as they struggle to find their footing. Finally, part 3 traces yerba mate's recent journeys to the Middle East and to the North Atlantic, experiences that shed light on mate culture transformations in the past and illuminate the globalized present.

Because production and consumption change over time and place, we can use yerba mate to explore the processes of commodification and their countervailing forces to see how accidents of botany intersect with political economic systems and personal taste. The economic imperial logics of the Spanish Empire under mercantile capitalism and the material difficulty in transplanting *I. paraguariensis* have as much to do with the geographical limits of yerba mate as do the strategic marketing plans of coffee and tea

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

merchants who saw in mate a troubling rival. So, too, did the consumption rituals affect how exotic tropical products got adopted—tea got a boost from orientalist admiration of the ceremony and delicate porcelain accoutrements. There's even a whole field of study about the "Art of Tea" to describe the aesthetic pleasure of these rituals. But because yerba mate is often taken using the shared bombilla drinking pipe and a rustic communal vessel, a cured gourd or cow horn or even a carved hoof, it violated European notions of hygiene and respectability. Yet there's a comparable "Art of Mate" of structured ritual with highly intricate designs for the bombilla and exquisite precious-metal plating of mate gourds or tereré horns that incorporate the mining riches of the New World.

Just as some of the best mate grows *bajo sombra* (in the shade of other trees), other psychoactive plants near and far help tell the story of South America's supreme stimulating infusion, which means we'll also learn more about the histories of coca, khat, yaupon, coffee, kola nut, black tea, caapi, and more. The wide range of data used here—colonial archival documents, ethnographic observation of organic yerba mate harvesting, nineteenth-century scientific reports, twenty-first-century Arabic social media, interviews with mate producers and consumers in South America, North America, the Middle East, and more—attests to how a simple beverage unlocks the complicated interplay between economic forces and the tastes and choices of individuals. But each chapter has repeated themes: commodification and resistance, mate and migrations, consumption rituals, and the tension between pharmacological effects and social priorities. One common thread binds all the stories in this book: the way mate has served, throughout its history, as a force that brings people together.

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures.

@ (arroba; at), 162–63

Abipón people, *66*
acculturation, 14, 156. *See also* transculturation
Aché people, 168–69, 188–92
Adair, James, 26
Adderall, 8–9, 193
addiction, 9
affect, 171–73
agnotology, 21–23
Aiton, William, 31–32
Alawite community, 160–61
Alberdi, Juan, 83
Alcedo, Antonio de, 66
alcohol, 9
All Market, Inc., 46
allspice, 155
Alzagaray, Francisco de, 97–98
Amanda, 158
Amazon Rainforest, 180–81
American Psychological Association (APA), 176
amphetamines, 193
Anconatani, Leonardo, 115
anthropogenic global warming, 40, 178, 193, 215n70
anti-Arab sentiment, 157
antisemitism, 145–46
apalachine, 28, 32. *See also* yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*)
Appadurai, Arjun, 160
Arab Spring protests (2011), 159
Argentina: Arab diaspora in, 157–58; coffee in, 48; consumption of yerba mate in, 11; cultivation of yerba mate in, 148, 150; Farquhar Syndicate in, 138–39; La Industrial Paraguaya in, *132–33*, 138–40; Matte Larangeira in, *132–33*, 135, 138, 139; nation-building and national identity in, 80–87, *81*; origin stories of yerba mate in, 48–49; scientific exploration in, 100, 116–17, 120–22; Spanish imperial political economy of mate in, 68; War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70) and, 81–82, 101–2, 127–28, 129–30, 135–37; yerba mate exports from, 150, 158–59, *158*, 181–82; yerba mate imports in, 139. *See also* Viceroyalty of La Plata
Aristotelian thought, 113
Artigas, José Gervasio, 77–79, 82, 84–86, 123
Artigas dictando órdenes a su secretario José Monterroso en Purificación (Blanes Viale), 77–78, *78*, 84, 86
Aryan supremacism, 127, 145–47
Assad, Bashar, 153–55, *154*, 159–61
Asunción (Barthe), 140, 143
O Auxiliadora (journal), 124–25
ayahuasca (yagé), 21, 44–45

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Balibetov, 181–82
Banco Rio e Mato Grosso, 134
Banisteriopsis caapi, 44–45
barbacuá, 56, 59, 94, 99, 140
Barrett, Rafael, 136–37
Barthe, Domingo, 139–40
Bartram, William, 31
Bauer, Arnold, 89
beauty products, 169
Belgrano, Manuel, 90
Better Nutrition (magazine), 170
bioprospecting, 103–7. *See also* plant knowledge
Biscay, Acarete du, 62–63
Black communities, 35–38, *37*, 82–83, 92–93
Black Drink ceremonialism, 19, 21, 26–31, *28*
"Black Legend," 123
Blanes Viale, Pedro, 77–78, *78*, 84, 86
Boettner, Gautier & Co, 139–40
Bolívar, Simón, 103–4, 123
Bolivia: coffee in, 88; Farquhar Syndicate in, 138–39; quinine and, 105–6; yerba mate imports in, 158. *See also* Viceroyalty of La Plata
bombilla: Indigenous populations and, 66, 121; in the Middle East, 2, 153, *154*, 160–62; origins and use of, 1–2, 15, 63, 67, *68*
Bonpland, Aimé, 95, 103–5, 116–17, 119, 121, 122–24
Borges, Jorge Luis, 137
botanical and pharmaceutical gardens, 31, 105, 113–14, 116–17, 119
Botanical Garden (Rio de Janeiro), 119
botany. *See* plant knowledge
Bouazizi, Mohamed, 159
Boumediene, Samir, 114–15
Bourdieu, Pierre, 11, 112
branding. *See* marketing
Brasilia, 131
Brazil: cameralism in, 124–25; coffee in, 97–98; consumption of yerba mate in, 11, 13; cultivation of yerba mate in, *149*; early processing of yerba mate in, 98–100; Farquhar Syndicate in, 138–39; Matte Larangeira in, 130–35, *132–33*, 149; nation-building and national identity in, 13; Paraguay and, 95; Portuguese court in, 79; production of yerba mate in, 97–101; rubber and, 105; scientific exploration in, 100, 117–19; War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70) and, 81–82, 101–2, 127–28, 129–30, 135–37; yerba mate exports from, *96*, 99, 100–101, 150, 181–82
Brickell, John, 26
Brimley, H. H., 36–37, *37*
Brockway, Lucile, 105
Buck, Pem Davidson, 9
Butler, William Mill, 143
Byler, Edna Ruth, 184
Byron, John, 67

Caballero, Bernardino, 136
Caballero, Herib, 144
Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar Núñez, 19–20, 24–25, 27
cacao (*Theobroma cacao*). *See* chocolate
caffeine: energy drinks and, 174; fatwas on, 165–66; guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) and, 20; isolation of, 125; marketing and, 142, 169; working classes and, 9, 61–62, 144–45; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 20, 25; yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*) and, 5, 20, 169
Cahokia (c. 1040–1350), 26
Camellia genus, 106. *See also* tea (*Camellia sinensis*)
cameralism, 124–25
Campbell, John, 67
candombe, 87
Capers, William, 29
capitalism: classical liberalism and, 119, 128–29; as conscientious, 173–74, 179, 180 (*see also* ethical consumption); mercantilism and, 51–52; neoliberalism and, 179

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

capitalist vanguard, 122–24
Carolina Tea, 31–32. *See also* yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*)
Carroll, Clint, 186
Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), 108–9
cassina, 25, 33, 39–40, 39. *See also* yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*)
Catesby, Mark, 26
cathinone, 167
Catholic missionaries, 49, 106. *See also* Jesuit order
CatSpring, 40–41
Cattelino, Jessica, 26
Cawy Bottling Company, 171
chacruna (*Psychotria viridis*), 44
chaliponga (*Diplopterys cabrerana*), 44
Charles III of Spain, 73
Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier de, 32
Cherokee people, 30–31
chicha, 63–64
Chile: coffee in, 88; consumption of yerba mate in, 88–89; Farquhar Syndicate in, 138–39; scientific exploration in, 120–22; Spanish imperial political economy of mate in, 68; yerba mate imports in, 150, 158. *See also* Viceroyalty of La Plata
chimarrão, 98
China, 9, 20, 105, 194
chocolate: Europeans and, 3, 30, 63–64, 80, 107; fair-trade certifications and, 184–85, 186; Indigenous populations and, 27
Christianity: Catholic missionaries and, 49, 106 (*see also* Jesuit order); guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) and, 49; in the Middle East, 156–57; origin stories of yerba mate and, 49–50
cimarrón, 98
cinchona (*Cinchona officinalis*), 105–6, 114
CLEAN Cause, 169, 179, 180
climate change, 40, 178, 193, 215n70
Cobb, James, 33–34
coca (*Erythroxylum coca*), 45, 53, 61–64
Coca-Cola, 40
coffee (*Coffea arabica*): Andean countries and, 88–90; in Argentina, 48; in Brazil, 97–98, 99; in European botanical gardens, 107; fair-trade certifications and, 184, 186–87; fatwas on, 165–66; marketing and, 140; in the Middle East, 165–67; modernization without change and, 145; psychoactive substances in, 5–6; as rarity from the Orient, 13; scientific name of, 106; in the United States, 2–3; working classes and, 9, 61–62; yuppie coffees and, 177–78
Coffee and Farmer Equity (CAFÉ), 186–87
coffeehouse and café culture, 3, 48, 88, 165–66
Colorado Party, 136
commodity chains, 5
commodity fetish, 6–8, 186
congonha, 98, 100
Consejo de Indias (Council of Indies), 64, 108–9
contact zones, 122
contraband, 68
corn, 30
corporate social responsibility (CSR), 173, 179–81, 182. *See also* ethical consumption
Cossío, Vincent, 171
counterfetishism, 8
Creek people, 29, 36
Cribelli, Teresa, 124
Cruz de Malta, 140, 143, 158, 163
Cuba, 156, 171

Darwin, Charles, 8
Datura arborea, 44–45
Datura sanguinea, 44–45
De materia medica (Dioscorides), 115
deforestation, 179
Diaz de Guzman, Ruy, 203n2

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

dietary restrictions, 155
Dioscorides, 115
Diplopterys cabrerana (chaliponga), 44
disenchantment, 65, 172–73
Dobrizhofer, Martin, 66, 72
Douglass, Frederick, 36
Dr. Mate (website), 163–64
Drayton, Will H., 30–31
Drop4Drop (charity), 176
drugs, 8–9
Druze community, 160–61, 162, 167
Dutch colonial empire, 105–6

Earle, Rebecca, 30, 90
East India Company, 9, 31–32
eco-anxiety, 215n70
EcoTeas, 169, 181–82, *183*
Ecuador, 88
Egypt, 159
Eisenberg, Peter, 145
El Kureshi Company, 158–59
emesis: guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) and, 29, 43–44, 58–59; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 19, 21, 28–29, 30–32, 58–59; yerba mate and, 58–59, 62–63, 65–66
encomienda labor system, 53–56, 69
energy drinks, 169–70, 174–81, *175*
Engenho da Gloria, 98–99
Erythroxylum coca (coca), 45, 53, 61–64
ethical consumption: aims and shortcomings of, 173, 179–81, 182–87; fair-trade and organic certifications and, 168–70, 179–81; mate as tea and, 182–87
European Union (EU), 184

Facundo (Sarmiento), 83, 84
fair-trade certifications: Guayaki Yerba Mate Company and, 168–70, 188–92; guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) and, 46; marketing and, 168–70; mate as tea and, 182–87; mate energy drinks and, 179–81
Fairtrade Foundation, 186
Farmer's Club, 35
Farquhar, Percival, 138–39
Farquhar Syndicate, 138–39
fatwas, 163–66
Federalist Revolution (1893–95), 131
Ferdinand VII of Spain, 80
Fett, Sharla, 37
Figueroa, Gonzalo Piwanka, 120
Flor de Lis, 140, *141*, 143
Flórez y Pereyra, José Antonio Joaquín de, 80
food: Black communities and, 35–38; cultural hierarchies and, 29–30, 35–38; Indigenous populations and, 29–30, 90; in the Middle East, 155, 159; role in nation-building and national identity of, 86–87; symbolic and material dimensions of, 3–4
food studies, 3–4
forced labor, 136–38
Förster, Bernhard, 127, 128, 145–47
Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth, 127, 128, 145–47
Fox, Henry Stephen, 119
France: organic agriculture in, 184; plant knowledge and, 27–28 (*see also* Bonpland, Aimé; Saint-Hilaire, Auguste de); yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) in, 32
Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez de: Artigas and, 78–79; Bonpland and, 103–4, 117, 123–24; independence of Paraguay and, 90–92; isolationism and, 92–95, 96, 97; portrait of, *91*
French Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale (Society for the Development of National Industry), 124

Gage, Tyler, 46
Galen, 46, 65
Garcia, Aleixo, 52
gastro-politics, 160–61

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

El gaucho Martín Fierro (Hernández), 84
gauchos, 13, 80–81, *81*, 82–87, *85*, 157
gender: Black Drink ceremonialism and, 27, 30–31; mate energy drinks and, 176; *wayus* ceremony and, 45
geographic imaginaries, 180–81
Ger, Gülız, 166
germ theory of disease, 109
gifts, 114–15
global warming, 40, 178, 193, 215n70
GoMate, 169, 178
Green Corn harvest celebration, 27
guampas, 1, 7, 143, 194
Guaraní (language), 66, 103, 130
Guaraní people: Bonpland and, 103; ceremonial uses of yerba mate and, 56–60; cultivation of yerba mate and, 70–73; encomienda labor system and, 53–56, 69; La Industrial Paraguaya and, 138; Matte Larangeira and, 130, 134–35, 136–38; Mbaracayú Nature Reserve and, 168–69; origin stories of yerba mate and, 48–50; Portuguese explorers and, 52; War of the Triple Alliance and, 127
Guayaki people. *See* Aché people
Guayaki Yerba Mate Company, 168–69, 181–82, *183*, 188–92
guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*), 20–21, *22–23*, 29, 41–47, *42*, 49, 58–59, 197–98
Gullah-Geechee, 38
Guru, 174, *175*, 176, 180

habanera, 87
habitus, 112–13
Hale, Edwin, 38–40
Hann, John, 27
Harris, Steven, 70, 112
Hernandarias (Hernando Arias de Saavedra), 48–49, 50, 69
Hernández, José, 84
Hidalgo, Bartolomé, 80, 87
Hippocrates, 46
Hitler, Adolf, 147
holotypes, 117–19, *118*, 121–22, *122*
Hopkins, Terence K., 199n7
Hopman, John, 97
Hudson, Charles, 29
Hugh-Jones, Stephen, 45
Humboldt, Alexander von, 103–5, 116
hummus wars, 155
humoral theory of medicine, 109, 115
hunger suppressants, 61–63

Ilex cassine, 32. *See also* yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*)
Ilex guayusa, 20–21, *22–23*, 29, 41–47, *42*, 49, 58–59, 197–98
Ilex kudingcha (kudingcha), 20
Ilex paraguariensis. *See* yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*)
Ilex vomitoria. *See* yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*)
Incan empire, 52, 61
Indigenous populations: alcohol and, 9; ceremonial uses of yerba mate by, 20–21, 56–60, 64–67; encomienda labor system and, 53–56, 69; food and, 29–30, 90; Guayaki Yerba Mate Company and, 168–69, 181–82, *183*, 188–92; guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) and, 41–45, *42*, 46; La Industrial Paraguaya and, 138; Matte Larangeira and, 130, 134–35, 136–38; nature parks and, 168–69 (*see also* Mbaracayú Nature Reserve); origin stories of yerba mate and, 48–50; precolonial trade of *Ilex* plants and, 59; Spanish on consumption practices of yerba mate by, 20–21, 56–60, 64–67; Spanish on medical use of yerba mate by, 110, 113, 115; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 19, 20–21, 26–31, *28*, 33, 36, 41; yerba mate and, 110, 113, 115. *See also* Guaraní people
La Industrial Paraguaya, *132–33*, 136–43, *137*, *141*, 149

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Iran, 155
Itaipu Hydroelectric Dam, 189

Jesuit order: guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) and, 41–42, 44, 45; yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*) and, 50–52, 53–56, *54–55*, 69–74, 79, 110–16, *111*
Jívaro people, 41–42, 43–44
Jobst, Carl, 125
Johnson, Roman, 38
Jordan, 155
Joséphine de Beauharnais, Empress Consort of the French, 116–17
Jumblatt, Walid, 212n20

Kabour Group, 163
Karababa, Emınegül, 166
Kew Gardens (London), 31, 119
Kharta al Khadra, 163
khat (*Catha edulis*), 167
Kichwa people, 46
knowledge. *See* plant knowledge
kola nut, 37
kudingcha (*Ilex kudingcha*), 20

Larangeira, Tomas, 127, 130–35. *See also* Matte Larangeira
Le Moyne, Jacques, 27, *28*
Lebanon, 2, 155, 156–59, 162, *164*, 167
Ledesma, Manuel Antonio, 86
Ledger, Charles, 106
Lenoir, Walter, 24–25, 32
Lenzina, Joaquín "Ansina," 84–86
León Pinelo, Antonio de, 63–66, 109–10, 116
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 59
liberalism and liberal capitalism, 51–52, 119, 128–29
Linnaeus, Carl, 106, 108, 124–25
Linnean Society of London, 122
Locke, John, 26
Loesener, Theodor, 43
López, Carlos Antonio, 95–96, 101, 137
López, Enrique Solano, 134
López, Francisco Solano, 96, 101–2, 127, 134
Lost Pines, 40
Lucero, Juan Lorenzo, 41–42, 44, 45
Lynch, Eliza, 134

MacCombie, Dan, 46
Mamani, Manuel Incra, 106
marijuana, 9, 169
marketing: brand identity of mate and, 140–45, *141*, *144*; caffeine and, 142, 169; coffee (*Coffea arabica*) and, 140; energy drinks and, 169–70, 174–81, *175*; fair-trade and organic certifications and, 168–70, 186–87; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 40–41
Marx, Karl, 6, 186
Massasit Matti, 153–55, *154*, 159–61, 167
mate: origin and use of term, 63, 67. *See also* yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*)
mate energy drinks, 169–70, 174–81, *175*
Maté Factor, 181–82, *183*
Mate Real, 99
mateine, 169
MateMate, 179
Materva, 171
Matte Larangeira: in Argentina, *132–33*, 135, 138, 139; forced labor and, 136–38; marketing and, 140, 142, 143–44, *144*; in the Middle East, 158, 163; origins and history of, 130–35, *132–33*, 149
Mauss, Marcel, 59, 112
Mbaracayú Nature Reserve, 168–69, 181–82, *183*, 188–92
Medical Botany of the Confederate States (Porcher), 33
The Medical Repository (journal), 33
Mémoires du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (Saint-Hilaire), 117
Mendes Gonçalves, Francisco, 135
Menem, Carlos, 159

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Meneses, Rodrigo César de, 98
Mercado 4 (Asunción, Paraguay), 194–96
mercantilism, 51–52, 68, 119, 129
Middle East: fatwa on yerba mate in, 163–66; migrations and yerba mate in, 155–59; resignification of yerba mate in, 162–66, *164*; transculturation of yerba mate in, 156, 160–62, 167; yerba mate imports in, 2, 150, 158–59; yerba mate in *Top Goon* and, 153–55, *154*, 159–61, 167
Miers, John, 119–24
migrations, 82–84, 87, 155–59
Mintz, Sidney, 13, 61–62
mita (Spanish tribute requirements), 52
Moises Bertoni Foundation, 188–89, 191
monoculture enclave, 5, 144
Montenegro, Pedro de, 110, *111*, 115–16
Montesquieu, 90–92
Mulder, Gerrit Jan, 125
Munhoz, Caetano José, 98–99
Munroe, Lillie Barr, 33–34
Murtinho, Joaquim, 131
Muséum national d'histoire naturelle (Paris), *118*, 119, 121–22
Muslim Brotherhood, 159

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, 79, 116–17
naranjillo, 89
Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave (Douglass), 36
National Coffee Association, 213n3
nation-building and national identity, 4, 13, 77–87, *78*, *81*, *85*
Nativa, 181–82
The Natural History of North Carolina (Brickell), 26
nature: as discursive framework, 186; environmental destruction of, 40; as source of resources, 124–25
Nature Magazine (magazine), 36
nature parks, 168–69. *See also* Mbaracayú Nature Reserve
neoliberalism, 187
Nestlé, 184–85, 186
Neumann, Friedrich ("Federico"), 147–48, 149
New Yorker (magazine), 180–81
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 146, 147
nootropics ("smart drugs"), 178–79
Northup, Solomon, 36
Nueva Germania (Paraguay), 127, 146–48

O'Higgins, Bernardo, 89
On the Property and Virtues of the Trees and Plants of the Missions, Book 1 (Montenegro), 110, *111*, 115–16
One Tree Planted, 180
opium, 9
Opium Wars (1839–42, 1856–60), 9
opossum, 35–36
organic certifications: Guayaki Yerba Mate Company and, 168–70, 188–92; marketing and, 168–70; mate as tea and, 182–87; mate energy drinks and, 179–81; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 41
orientalism, 122
Orlove, Benjamin, 89
Ortega, Juan, 50
Ortiz, Fernando, 8, 14, 156, 167
Orwell, George, 10
Ottoman Empire, 3, 156–57, 165–66
Oudry, M., 125

Palestine, 156–59
Panama, 139
Panama Canal, 139
Paraguay: China and, 194; consumption of yerba mate in, 11, 194–96, *195*; cultivation of yerba mate in, *12*, 70–73, 79, 147–49; economy and inequality in, 92–93, 135–36, 190–92; Farquhar Syndicate in, 138–39;

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Paraguay (*continued*)
Förster-Nietzsche colony in, 127, 128, 145–48; independence of, 82, 90–92; La Industrial Paraguaya and, *132–33*, 136–43, *137*, *141*, 149; Jesuit order in, 50–52, 53–56, *54–55*, 69–74, 79, 110–16, *111*; organic, fair-trade yerba mate production in, 168–69, 181–82, 188–92; origin stories of yerba mate in, 49; Portuguese and Spanish explorers in, 52; production of yerba mate in, 93–97, 99–101; scientific exploration in, 95, 103–5, 122–24; Spanish imperial political economy of mate in, 50–61, *54–55*, *57*, 70–73; War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70) and, 81–82, 101–2, 127–28, 129–30, 135–37; yerba mate exports from, 93, 95–96, *96*, 97, 100–101, 128, 138, 168–69, 181–82. *See also* Viceroyalty of La Plata
payada, 87
Payaguá (people), 93
Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, 124–25
Pepys, Samuel, 3
permaculture, 40
Peru, 88. *See also* Viceroyalty of Peru
Piporé, 158
plant knowledge: commerce and, 125–26; French and British scientific explorations and, 95, 100, 103–7, 116–24, *118*; Jesuit order and, 70, 110–16, *111*; scientific name of yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 31–32, 119; scientific name of yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*) and, 100, 108, 117–22, *118*; Spanish Empire and, 70, 107–16, *111*; as tool of imperial expansion and, 61–62, 103–7
plant-thinking, 8
Porcher, Francis, 33
Portugal and Portuguese Empire, 52, 79
postindustrial society: affect and, 171–73; mate energy drinks and, 174–81; yerba mate as tea and, 181–87, *183*
Pratt, Mary Louise, 122, 124
Price, Richard, 207n52
private property, 26
Proctor, Nicolas, 35–36
psychoactive substances, 5–6, 20. *See also* caffeine; theobromine; theophylline
Psychotria viridis (chacruna), 44
Putin, Vladimir, 153–55, *154*
Putz, Francis, 31–32

quebracho, 139
Questión moral (León Pinelo) , 63–66, 109–10
quinine, 61, 105–6. *See also* cinchona (*Cinchona officinalis*)

raccoon, 36
race: cuisine and, 29–30, 35–36; post-racial imagery and, 176
railroads, 96, 131, 138–39
Rainforest Alliance, 186
Ramirez, Francisco, 117
Ramos, Santiago, 87
Rebouças, André, 141–42
recipes for yerba mate: in Brazil, 98; cultural and social resonances of, 10, 13, 66, 196–97; Jesuit order and, 110, 114; in the Middle East, 162
Reed, Richard, 137–38
reenchantment, 173
regurgitation. *See* emesis
Republic of Entre Ríos, 104, 117
resignification, 162–66, *164*
Revolt of the Comuneros (1721–35), 53, 90
Roa Bastos, Augusto, 137
Roanoke colony, 35
Robertson, John Parish, *57*, 93–95, 130, 137
Robertson, William, *57*, 93–95
Roguin & Meyer Company, 117

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Rosas, Juan Manuel de, 83, 96
Roseberry, William, 177–78
Royal Academy of Pharmacy (Real Academia Nacional de Farmacia), 109
Royal Society, 31–32, 122
rubber, 105
Ruffin, John N., 147–48
Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio, 56–58, 69–70, 113
RUNA, 46, 197
Runge, Friedlieb Ferdinand, 125

Said, Edward, 122
Saint-Hilaire, Auguste de, 100, 106, 117–19, *118*, 121–22
Salazar y Espinosa, Juan de, 52
Sánchez Labrador, José, 71
Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino, 83, 84
Saudi Arabia, 163–64
Scarborough, "Old Man," 35–36, *37*
Scarpa, Gustavo, 115
Schiebinger, Londa, 21
Schmidtmeyer, Peter, *68*
Scientific American (journal), 33
scientific exploration: commerce and, 125–26; French and British explorers and, 95, 100, 103–7, 116–24, *118* (*see also* Bonpland, Aimé); Spanish Empire and, 107–16; as tool of imperial expansion and, 103–7
SEA, 138
shamanism, 44–46, 58, 113
Skinner, Thomas, 32
slave narratives, 36
slave trade, 98
slavery, 92–93, 98, 145
Sociedade Auxiliadora da Industria Nacional (Society for the Promotion of National Industry), 124–25
Solander, Daniel, 31–32
Soul Maté, 179
Spanish Empire: origin stories of yerba mate and, 48–49; political economy of mate in, 50–61, *54–55*, *57*, 62–69, *68*; scientific exploration and plant knowledge in, 107–16, *111*; yerba mate knowledge in, 70, 107–8, 109–16, *111*. *See also* Jesuit order
The Spectator (magazine), 128
sports drinks, 174. *See also* energy drinks
Spruce, Richard, 43, 44
Starbucks, 184, 186–87
Stenhouse, John, 125
Stroessner, Alfredo, 189–90
Strychnos toxifera, 105
Suarez, Francisco, 113
Sufism, 167
sugar: commodity fetish and, 8; fair-trade and organic certifications and, 192; modernization without change and, 145; as proletarian hunger killer, 61–62; as rarity from the Orient, 13; transculturation process and, 156
Sweet, Robert, 106
Syria, 2, 153–55, *154*, 156–61, 167

Taiwan, 194
tango, 87
taste, 11, 15, 171–72
tea (*Camellia sinensis*): Andean countries and, 88, 89; bioprospecting and, 105; in European botanical gardens, 107; fatwas on, 165; gendered valences of, 176; in the Middle East, 165, 166; psychoactive substances in, 5–6, 20 (*see also* theine); as rarity from the Orient, 13; scientific name of, 106; in the United States, 2–3; working classes and, 9, 61–62; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) and, 31–33
Tea Association of the USA, 213n3
Ten Thousand Villages, 184
Tereré Literario (Asunción, Paraguay), 194–96
Thays, Jules Carlos, 148

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Thea genus, 106. *See also* tea (*Camellia sinensis*)
theine, 125, 142
Theobroma cacao (cacao). *See* chocolate
theobromine, 5, 20, 25
theophylline, 5, 20, 25
third-wave coffee, 177–78
Thirty-Three Orientals (*treinta y tres orientales*), 82
Thomas Aquinas, 113
Thomas the Apostle, 49
Thoreau, Henry David, 27
Timucua people, 27–28, *28*
tobacco, 8, 86, 156
Top Goon: Diaries of a Little Dictator (YouTube finger-puppet series), 153–55, *154*, 159–61, 167
transculturation, 14, 156, 160–62, 167
Travels in Chile and La Plata (Miers), 120–22
Trommsdorf, Johann, 125
Tunisia, 159
Twelve Years a Slave (Northup), 36

United Kingdom: bioprospecting and, 105–6; botanical gardens and plant knowledge in, 119 (*see also* Miers, John); consumption of yerba mate and, 67; organic agriculture in, 184; Paraguay and, 96; War of the Triple Alliance and, 128
United Provinces of the Rio de La Plata (1810–1831), 77, 78, 102, 104
United States: coffee consumption in, 2–3, 177–78; fair-trade and organic certifications for mate products in, 168–70; Farquhar Syndicate and, 138–39; guayusa (*Ilex guayusa*) in, 197–98; mate energy drinks in, 169–70, 174–81, *175*; nature parks in, 168–69; organic agriculture in, 184; Paraguay and, 95; tea consumption in, 2–3; trends in yerba mate consumption in, 143–45, *144*, 161, 168–74, 192–93, 197–98; yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*) in, 24–25, 29, 30–41, *37*, *39*, 197–98; yerba mate as tea in, 181–87, *183*
Uruguay: consumption of yerba mate in, 11, 13; independence of, 82; nation-building and national identity in, *4*, 13, 77–87, *78*; scientific exploration in, 100, 117–19; War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70) and, 81–82, 101–2, 127–28, 129–30, 135–37; yerba mate imports in, 150. *See also* Viceroyalty of La Plata
U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, 38–40
U.S. Civil War (1861–65), 24–25, 32, 33–34
U.S. Department of Agriculture, 29, 38–40, *39*

vegetal thinking, 8
Viceroyalty of La Plata, 77–78, 79–82, 88, 90
Viceroyalty of Peru, 54–55, 60–61, 62–69, 79, 88–90
Vida Maté, 174, 176
Virtue, 174, 176, 179
Vitoria, Francisco de, 59–60
vomiting. *See* emesis

Wagner, Cosima, 146
Wagner, Richard, 146
Walden (Thoreau), 27
Wallerstein, Immanuel, 199n7
Wannous, Saadallah, 159
War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70), 81–82, 101–2, 127–28, 129–30, 135–37
Ward, Nancy, 30–31
Warscewicz, Joseph, 43
wayus ceremony, 41–42, 43–44
Weber, Max, 172–73
weight loss, 196
wheat, 87

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Whigham, Thomas, 52
Whole Foods, Inc., 40
Wiener Zeitung (newspaper), 203n3
Wiesel, Elie, 189–90
World Coffee and Tea Journal (magazine), 177
World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893), 142, 170

Yabroud Yerba Mate, 158–59
Yachak Organic, 179, 180
yagé (ayahuasca), 21, 44–45
Yaupon Brothers, 40
yaupon holly (*Ilex vomitoria*): in American colonies and United States, 24–25, 29, 30–41, *37*, *39*, 197–98; Black communities and, *37*; Cabeza de Vaca and, 19, 24–25, 27; current production and consumption of, 40–41, 46–47; distribution of, *22–23*, 25–26; emesis and, 19, 21, 28–29, 30–32, 58–59; in European botanical gardens, 107; Indigenous populations and, 19, 20–21, 26–31, *28*, 33, 36, 41; León Pinelo on, 63–64; precolonial trade of, 59; psychoactive substances in, 20, 25; scientific name of, 31–32, 119
Yaupon Tea Company, 40
Yegros, Fulgencio, 92
Yemen, 166–67
Yerba Mate Association of the Americas (YMAA), 213n3
yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*): cultivation of, *12*, 53, 70–73, 79, 147–50, *149*; distribution of, *22–23*; French and British scientific explorations and, 103–5, 106–7, 117–24, *118*; nation-building and national identity in River Plate countries and, *4*, 13, 77–87, *78*, *81*, *85*; origin and use of term, 63; origin stories of, 48–50; precolonial trade of, 59; preparation and consumption of, 1–2 (*see also* bombilla; *guampas*); psychoactive substances in, 5–6; scientific name of, 100, 108, 117–22, *118*; symbolic and material dimensions of, 3–15, 196–97; theine in, 125. *See also* Indigenous populations; Middle East; plant knowledge; Spanish Empire; United States
Yerba Maté Tea Company, 143–44, *144*
yuca, 30
yuppie coffees, 177–78
yuyos, 194–96, *195–96*

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu