

women's drug use and women's agency as producers and consumers of pharmaceuticals. Less is said, however, about masculinity and drug use, a subject that would doubtless repay further study if we wish to expand our understanding of how gender has influenced the production, consumption, and marketing of drugs.

Vicky Long

Kara W. Swanson. *Banking on the Body: The Market in Blood, Milk, and Sperm in Modern America.* 333 pp., illus., bibl., index. Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2014. \$35 (cloth).

Over the past century, human body parts have become materials with immense therapeutic and commercial value. Organs, blood, bone marrow, gametes, and hair are procured and distributed via a vast international network of markets: global, lucrative, and potentially exploitative. Despite this, in most countries of the world it is illegal for a person to exchange his or her own body products for money. Kara W. Swanson, a legal practitioner and historian, investigates this state of affairs by tracing the history of blood, milk, and sperm procurement and distribution in the United States. Joining a rich historical, sociological, and anthropological literature that deals with the labor of donation, the material history of preservation, and the lived experience of donors, Swanson distinguishes her account by concentrating on the history of body fluids as “property”—both civic and market. Arguing that present-day laws of tissue procurement have been profoundly shaped by historical battles over disembodied fluids, the book focuses in particular on how the term “bank” (first applied to a Chicago blood-procurement institution in 1937) powerfully configured later discourses about the best way to procure and distribute body products.

Using a wide range of sources—medical and law journals, Senate committee hearings, newspapers, magazines, and court case reports—Swanson vividly depicts the midcentury diversity of blood-procurement models: the hospitals that distributed cash payments to so-called professional donors; the “banks” that lent blood to individuals in need and expected replacement blood in return; the American Red Cross's efforts to encourage “altruistic” giving amid the patriotic fervor of World War II. After 1945, these models came into turbulent conflict as they became aligned with broader debates about the organization of medicine in the United States. Although the original “blood banks” had dealt in the credit and debit of blood, and not money, it was the terminology of the bank—resonant of cash flows and the private, market-driven models of health care—that prevailed in discourses of blood management amid the larger-scale politics of the Cold War. This persisted into the 1970s and beyond, despite the pressures of product liability law that led to efforts by the medical community to reframe blood as part of a medical “service” rather than a salable “good.” Concerns about paid donation found further expression in the book by the social scientist Richard Titmuss, *The Gift Relationship: From Human Blood to Social Policy* (1971), which argued that paying for blood risked its safety. Swanson argues that these legal battles over blood set a precedent for other organs, and in 1984 the Organ Transplantation Act (which covered blood, bone marrow, organs, and other tissues) consolidated new laws precluding donors from receiving money—laws that still hold today.

Unlike organs and blood, milk and sperm are freely bought and sold in the present-day United States, although historically for rather different reasons, as Swanson recounts. Milk collection developed from the longer tradition of wet-nursing, in which female labor was exchanged for (a small quantity of) money. Despite this, disembodied human milk has tended to be framed as civic property—the “milk of human kindness” (p. 159)—providing the mother with, at most, a supplementary income. By contrast, sperm banks (emerging in the late twentieth century) have tended to treat sperm as market property and donors as professionals, resonant of the “men of business” (p. 38) of the 1920s, who reportedly earned a bread-winning income from the sale of blood. This gendering of donation, evident in bloodletting as well as with milk and sperm, reminds us that this story is part of a much bigger history of embodied labor. Recent scholarship—dealing with, for example, tissue providers, clinical trials, and surrogacy—points to ways

that Swanson's account might be further enriched by a more thorough framing in relation to histories of production, capital, and gender.

Like most histories of blood procurement to date, Swanson's book focuses on a specific national context—it joins rich accounts focused on, for example, Australia, the Soviet Union, Kenya, and Britain. Together, these suggest that what is needed now is an international history of blood, tissue, and organ procurement that brings into view the mediating role of transnational organizations such as the Red Cross. Nevertheless, for Swanson, the heterogeneous and complex history of U.S. blood banking has an additional purpose: it offers lessons for how organ procurement laws might be changed to serve donors and patients better. As is vividly demonstrated in Michelle Goodwin's recent *Black Markets: The Supply and Demand of Body Parts* (Cambridge, 2013), present-day laws have resulted in dire shortages of organs and severe inequalities of distribution, stratified by wealth and racial identity. Faced with an overwhelming demand for organs and tissues, a growing body of opinion argues that these problems are in part caused by the outdated laws that prohibit donors from receiving compensation. Swanson shows that in the past the free donation of body parts has comfortably coexisted with different forms of compensation. Although the issues are complex and controversial, there is a pressing need for changes to procurement regulation; *Banking on the Body* shows how history might become part of this conversation.

Jenny Bangham

Suzanne Bourgeois. *Genesis of the Salk Institute: The Epic of Its Founders.* xxxiv + 230 pp., illus., bibl., index. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. \$49.95 (cloth).

In 1960 the Salk Institute for Biological Studies was founded by its name giver, the developer of the polio vaccine, Jonas Salk. This account of the history of the Salk Institute starts with Salk's first trials with his formaldehyde-inactivated poliovirus at the University of Pittsburgh in 1953 and concludes in the mid 1970s. By that time the institute bearing his name had become very much like it is today—its "genesis" had been broadly completed. The same buildings stand today on the former "pueblo" land overlooking the Pacific Ocean, a short distance from the town of La Jolla, California. In 1960 a portion of this land, formerly intended for a public park, was allocated by municipal ballot of the people of San Diego to Salk for his research institute.

Suzanne Bourgeois, a research scientist and subsequently founding director of the Regulatory Laboratory at the Salk Institute, was one of the first three who came to La Jolla in 1963 and began their research in the temporary "barracks" while the institute buildings were under construction. She became one of the first five "junior members" of the faculty in 1970. Therefore she writes from firsthand experience. Moreover, she has used archival material extensively to create a very well documented account. She describes *Genesis of the Salk Institute* as "the story of the difficult birth and growing pains of the Salk Institute from its origin to its realization and early history" (p. xxxiv).

The book's subtitle, "The Epic of Its Founders," justly represents the many hurdles Salk and his supporters had to surmount to reach their goal. The founding of a research institute within Salk's existing location—the University of Pittsburgh—had seemed straightforward enough until Salk encountered the bureaucratic enthusiasm of its new chancellor, Edwin H. Litchfield. At the urging of Robert Oppenheimer and Leo Szilard, Salk therefore looked west to the California coast for a location where he could found an independent institute. Once he saw the site at La Jolla, and found that it could be obtained free, his choice was made. On Salk's fourth visit to La Jolla, the famed architect Louis Kahn was by his side.

For financing, it seemed, Salk had only to turn to his friend Basil O'Connor, president of the March of Dimes (MOD). But the great success of the Salk vaccine had reduced the fear of polio and the fund experienced greatly reduced contributions. O'Connor obtained a pledge from the MOD to fund the operation and the endowment of the institute, but not the construction of the buildings. Bourgeois describes how