

**Singing Wet and Dry:**  
Exploring Alcohol Regulation through Music, 1885–1919

By

Lytton Naegele McDonnell  
B.A., University of Ottawa, 2004

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## ABSTRACT

### **“Singing Wet and Dry: Exploring Alcohol Regulation through Music, 1885-1919”**

Despite abundant research on the topic of temperance and prohibition in North America, very little has been written about the relationship between music and alcohol regulation during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Both pro-drink (wet) cultures and anti-drink (dry) cultures amassed several hundred songs in support of their cause. This study compares these songs within the geographical context of Canada and northern North America during the years leading up to prohibition. It assesses both wet and dry songs’ relative success at attaching their causes to hegemonic ideologies, social groups, technologies, and modes of organization. It concludes that, during the period in question, dry music was more adept in each of these respects. This study contributes to current scholarship by demonstrating that wet and dry cultures in North America cannot be completely understood without also studying their music.

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*Modes of music are nowhere altered without  
changes in the most important laws of the state.*

—Damon, quoted by Plato



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Alcoholic beverages have been a staple of human consumption for thousands of years. The earliest civilizations are known to have imbibed in meads, wines, beers; and at least by the eighth century, many societies had refined distillation techniques enough to produce hard liquors. In North America, alcohol has had a shorter but equally important history. The Norse explorer Leif Ericson is believed to have named the northeast coast of the continent “Vinland” [Wine land] after its rich and naturally abundant grapes.<sup>1</sup> In more recent centuries, alcohol has been acknowledged as integral to the establishment of Canadian and American societies.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the world the potency of alcoholic beverages has also imbued them with a great deal of power. In many societies, cultural mores have regulated and controlled the conditions of alcohol use,<sup>3</sup> and in some societies these conditions have been codified in state and religious laws.<sup>4</sup> At times, however, various groups have perceived alcohol use to have overstepped its role within society and have made efforts to re-codify the written or moral rules. Socrates, King Solomon, Mohammad, Martin Luther, and others are all known to have denounced the consumption of alcoholic beverages with varying degrees of success.<sup>5</sup>

The most wide-reaching and effective effort to regulate alcohol-consumption was sparked during the early decades of the Industrial Revolution. Increased industrialism enabled alcohol to be produced and distributed on a larger scale than traditionally possible.

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Thone, “Nature Ramblings: Fruit of Vinland,” *The Science News-Letter* 22, no. 60 (Oct 8, 1932), 232.

<sup>2</sup> Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, “‘John Barleycorn Must Die’: An Introduction to the Social History of Alcohol,” in *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays*, ed. Cheryl Krasnick Warsh (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> See Dwight Heath, *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture* (Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel, 2000); Thomas M. Wilson, ed. *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity* (New York: Berg Press, 2005); Susanna Barrows and Robin Room, eds., *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> Dwight Heath, *International Handbook* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1995), 357.

<sup>5</sup> See George W. Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre: Songs and Verse of the Temperance Movement* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1977), 5-7; “Temperance Movements,” *Science Encyclopedia*, <<http://science.jrank.org/pages/11399/Temperance-Temperance-Movements.html>> (26 December 2007).

What resulted was an explosion in drinking rates across the western world, including British North America, which peaked at a per capita average of about six gallons of pure alcohol per year.<sup>6</sup> The intense cultural changes that facilitated this rise also provided an opportunity for an equally powerful backlash. During the nineteenth century a massive temperance movement was established in response to the soaring drinking rates. Based on the assumption that curbing the consumption of alcohol would improve the social and spiritual health of society, the movement garnered a great deal of success and culminated in the enactment of widespread prohibition laws in Canada and the United States during and following World War One

Despite the obvious interconnectedness of the drinking cultures and alcohol regulation, academic comparisons of them during this period are remarkably rare. Until recently, writings on alcohol use and regulation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have focused a great deal on anti-drink forces, but very little on pro-drink forces.<sup>7</sup> This lopsided treatment is often attributed to an equally lopsided number of available and reliable primary sources; temperance advocates produced an extensive array of documented materials while supporters and observers of the pro-drink side seldom did. Saloon historians such as Madelon Powers claim that this paucity of pro-drink sources has been historically exacerbated by the latent anti-drink prejudices of librarians who filed references to drinking under pejoratives such as the “liquor problem” and academics who approached the topic with attitudes ranging from discomfort to disdain.<sup>8</sup> Only recently have “drink historians” attempted to rectify this imbalance by emphasizing the efforts of pro-drinking cultures and studying less formal modes of temperance resistance. Nevertheless, save for a few notable exceptions,<sup>9</sup> traditional methods and sources continue

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<sup>6</sup> Shawn Cafferky, “Consumption of Alcohol, per Capita (Canada),” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 2 vols., eds. Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 21-22.

<sup>7</sup> Some works exhibit some obvious anti-drink biases themselves. For example, see James Gray, *Booze: The Impact of Whisky on the Prairie West* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> Madelon Powers, *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman’s Saloon, 1870-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> Some works that attempt to demonstrate how both dry and wet forces acted on society directly and indirectly include: Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003); Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*. Some compilations also make efforts to bring together various understandings of wet and dry activities. See Warsh, *Drink in*

to provide very little in the way of a fair and balanced analysis of pro-drink and anti-drink forces, or what might be called wet and dry cultures, during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

While it is true that very few sources exist from both wet and dry sides that would facilitate a balanced comparison of the two there is at least one available source capable of circumventing traditional biases. This source is music. For perhaps as long as alcohol has been drunk, people have sought to praise, enhance and supplement it with music. The bards of ancient Greece and Rome composed innumerable songs in praise of Bacchus/Dionysus, the god of wine and intoxication. This tradition continued into the medieval period, as exemplified by an assortment of profane drinking songs within the thirteenth century manuscript collection titled *Carmina Burana*. Interest in classical antiquity was revived during the Renaissance period, and this sparked a renewed interest in Bacchanalian themes. From this grew a rich British musical tradition based in the taverns and clubs of Britain.<sup>10</sup> The tradition extended to the British colonies. For instance, Benjamin Franklin is said to have composed the well-known song “Fair Venus Calls”; similarly, General James Wolfe wrote the drinking song “How Stands the Glass Around” and is said to have sung it the night before his death on the Plains of Abraham.<sup>11</sup> Starting in the nineteenth century, drinking songs became ingrained in the broader leisure culture that characterized the Industrial Revolution era.

Although most anti-drink music began emerging in the early nineteenth century, temperance music is in fact an outgrowth of much older musical traditions and attitudes. Biblical verses vetoing the use of alcohol are attributed to King Solomon. Socrates, abstemious if not contemptuous of alcohol, is known to have lamented the inebriety of Greek leaders. He forever linked drinking rates with music by identifying specific musical harmonies and scales that encouraged imbibition.<sup>12</sup> Nearly two millennia later, anti-alcohol

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Canada; Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Jack S. Blocker, *The Changing Face of Drink: Substance, Imagery, and Behaviour* (Ottawa, Social History Publications Inc., 1997).

<sup>10</sup> David Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” *Social History of Alcohol Review* 15, nos. 3-4 (Spring/Summer 2001): 33

<sup>11</sup> William Hutchinson, ed. *Songs of the Vine* (London: A. H. Bulletin, 1904), xl; Carleton Sprague Smith, “A Tune for Benjamin Franklin’s Drinking Song ‘Fair Venus Calls’” *Inter-American Music Review* 10, no. 2 (1989): 147-156.

<sup>12</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 6-7.

sentiments were extant within sixteenth-century English folk songs like “John Barleycorn Must Die,” which describes the attempts of individuals to kill this figurative personification of alcohol.<sup>13</sup> The later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, were certainly the most prolific years of musical production concerning the topic of alcohol and its regulation.

During this period, both sides amassed large numbers of songs, roughly equal in size, which can be categorized into two contrasting repertoires. One repertoire can be called *dry music*, broadly defined as those songs sung in favour of the temperance or prohibition cause or sung while in such a setting. The other repertoire can be called *wet music*, songs that promote drinking or condemn its political regulation, or music performed in a drinking setting. Songs from each of these groups were used in various ways and in various settings to promote the values and goals of their respective cultures.

This thesis will compare how issues of alcohol regulation and drinking were culturally elaborated and negotiated, if not exactly mediated, through music and musical experience during the years preceding wide scale prohibition legislation in North America. The temporal focus spans from approximately 1885 to 1919, the most politically charged (and musically prolific) years leading up to prohibition legislation. The geographical focus is as much as possible on Canada, but because music, drinking cultures, and temperance/prohibition cultures crossed borders fluidly it is impossible to separate much of what happened in Canada from what happened in the United States and Britain. For this reason, the focus will be mostly on Canada, and Anglo-Canada at that, within a North American and British Empire context.

The main purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that music played a unique role in the way dry and wet culture gained support and interacted with each other, both on a direct and indirect basis. More specifically, the goal is to reveal music’s integral role in the empowerment of dry culture, the relative weakening of wet culture, and therefore the ultimate attainment of prohibition legislation that followed the First World War. In this respect, it can be argued that music was intricately involved in shaping and reinforcing Canadian (and North American) discourses of drinking and drinking regulation during

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<sup>13</sup> Warsh, *Drink in Canada*, 3-4.

the years leading up to prohibition. Such a study has few precedents. This is likely due to its necessity of reconciling traditionally unfamiliar disciplines and perspectives. More than connecting wet and dry studies, this thesis must link the histories, historiographies, theories, and methodologies of both the general history tradition and the music history tradition.

Most accounts find the early roots of the North American temperance movement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At this time, British North American temperance advocates sought to curb the high rates of alcohol consumption which peaked early in the century with an estimated adult per capita average of approximately seven gallons a year.<sup>14</sup> During this time, Benjamin Rush, a medical doctor and founding father of the United States, popularized the idea of addiction as a medical illness and applied it to alcohol abuse as a disease called alcoholism.<sup>15</sup> Protestant clergymen like Increase Mather, a Puritan clergyman from the seventeenth century, interpreted drunkenness (but not drinking) as a moral transgression.<sup>16</sup> Emerging evangelical revivals during the early nineteenth century urged the Protestant denominations to organize for the reform of society's decaying moral fabric.<sup>17</sup> The grassroots appeal of temperance in most regions and sectors of colonial Canada made it, in the words of one scholar, "the first great public action movement of the young nation."<sup>18</sup>

At first the movement emphasized moral suasion, voluntary moderate drinking or teetotalism for reasons of societal and spiritual well-being. A series of organizations developed to promote this goal including the Sons of Temperance, temperance lodges, church groups, and an evangelical Protestant women's organization called the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Founded in the 1870s in Ontario, the Canadian

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<sup>14</sup> Cafferky, "Consumption of Alcohol, per Capita (Canada)," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> Mark E. Lender and James Kirby Martin, *Drinking in America: A History* (New York; London: Free Press; Macmillan, 1982), 36-40.

<sup>16</sup> In 1673, Mather pronounced that, "wine is from God, but the Drunkard is from the Devil." Quoted from Jack H. Mendelson and Nancy K Mello, *Alcohol, use and abuse in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1985), 11, 27-29.

<sup>17</sup> Janet Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 210; Mendelson, *Alcohol, Use and Abuse in America*, 27-29; Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis," *American Quarterly* 21, no.1 (1969): 23-43.

<sup>18</sup> Noel, *Canada Dry*; Warsh, *Drink in Canada*, 5.

WCTU came to spearhead the national dry movement by the end of the century. It partnered the moral temperance cause with, among other things, the women's suffrage movement, as well as the progressive reform and Social Gospel movements. The original emphasis on moral suasion now gave way to a more aggressive focus on legal coercion, and the desired goal became prohibition — the legal ban of the manufacture, transportation, import, export, and sale of spirituous beverages. While voluntary personal abstention was still promoted, it was now considered unachievable on a massive scale without prohibition laws. At this point, the concepts of “temperance” and “prohibition” became nearly interchangeable in the minds of dry activists.<sup>19</sup> In Canada, the Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of Liquor Traffic developed as a coalition of prohibition forces in pursuit of legal action, and as such came to the vanguard of this new political slant. After some successful plebiscites and the achievement of prohibition laws within many local communities, the Dominion Alliance and the WCTU finally achieved some large-scale success during the First World War when patriotic fears that alcohol production was diverting grain from the war effort was enough to spark prohibition legislation in each Canadian province.

The same years that came to be known as the temperance and prohibition eras were also known as the “singing age.”<sup>20</sup> And in fact while the alcohol regulation issue was undergoing such severe changes, the music of North America was experiencing some equally great transformations. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, music remained one of the few most widely accessible and widely popular forms of artistic expression. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Christian church garnered tremendous appeal within a largely religious populace, becoming a “focal [point] of musical practice, experience and employment.”<sup>21</sup> Traditional hymns and psalms as well as works by Canadian composers attained prominence in many parts of the country.<sup>22</sup> Classical music, including opera, was also brought by European immigrants to North America and with the gradual development of concert halls, conservatories, festivals, societies, orchestras,

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<sup>19</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 16-22.

<sup>20</sup> See Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 246

<sup>21</sup> Helmut Kallman, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* ([Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 183.

<sup>22</sup> Timothy J. McGee, *The Music of Canada* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), 62; Beckwith, *Psalmody in British North America: Humbert, Daulé, Jenkins, Burnham* (Toronto: Institute of Canadian Music, 2002).

choirs, and music periodicals, it found an eager reception in the New World.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, ethnic folk music was transplanted and adapted to the North American continent,<sup>24</sup> fostered in part by the Romanticist interest in folklore and nationalism initiated by Herder.<sup>25</sup> Some folksongs became occupationally based, including sea-shanties, railroad and lumber camp songs,<sup>26</sup> and many of these would later become part of the class-consciousness that paralleled the rise of industrialism in Canada. Along with folksongs, Romantic nationalism encouraged the development of popular patriotic tunes throughout the western world.

The innovation of communication technologies throughout the nineteenth century, including developments in instrument-making, music-printing technologies (offset lithography), and even transportation innovations like national railway systems, allowed this music to be produced and performed more frequently and more extensively than ever before.<sup>27</sup> These technologies were exploited by all manners of music producers. For instance, various church organizations and their commercial supporters effectively dispersed millions of hymnals and religious songbooks throughout Canada during the nineteenth century. Entrepreneurs also began to take advantage of these technologies by establishing music publishing companies and performance organizations.

From these enterprises a popular music industry began to emerge in North America. Being commercially oriented, popular music was not limited to any particular musical style or tradition. Rather, in the hands of professional producers and distributors, the industry

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<sup>23</sup> Helmut Kallman, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* ([Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1960); Arnold Walter, *Aspects of Music in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); George A. Proctor, *Canadian Music of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada: Capture Landscape and Diversity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 117-165.

<sup>24</sup> The majority of post-confederation Canadian folk music included French Canadian folk music as well as British traditional songs, both of which had themselves been brought over by immigrant groups and subsequently altered, adapted, and supplemented with original songs to suit their new experiences on the continent. British folklorist Cecil Sharp was the first to study the transplantation of songs that took place between Britain and North America. McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, 23.

<sup>25</sup> Philip Bohlman "Music and Culture: Historiographies of Disjuncture," in *The Cultural Study Of Music: A Critical Introduction*, eds. Martin Clayton, Tervor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2003), 51; Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 10-11.

<sup>26</sup> Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada*; Kallmann, *History of Music in Canada*, 177.

<sup>27</sup> Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 162-165; On printing technology see "Printing and Publishing of Music: A Short History and How it is Done," *Parlor Songs* <<http://parlorsongs.com/insearch/printing/printing.php>> (December 2007).

adapted, reproduced, and created an eclectic array of music.<sup>28</sup> Songs inspired by older traditions could now be reconstituted as “genres” of popular music.

Many songs from the folk, church, classical, and patriotic traditions were promoted by the popular music industry, and reciprocally, many commercially popular songs, such as those by Stephen Foster, were incorporated back into the grassroots traditions, which were still very much intact throughout this period.<sup>29</sup> By the 1880s, there had developed two major components of the popular music industry, performance-based music and print-based music. Although both forms shared an enormous number of songs and a large portion of their audience base, it is important that they be distinguished here for their differences rather than their similarities. Performed popular music was dominated by secular variety shows known as music halls in Britain and vaudeville or burlesque theatres in North America. These were venues geared towards mass audiences, often of working class origin.<sup>30</sup> Printed popular music was dominated by the powerful music publishing companies of Tin Pan Alley in New York City, which employed a slew of professional musicians, songwriters and other industry specialists in pursuit of larger markets. These songs were intended to be played in more private venues, in small communities, in local clubs, or in the home.<sup>31</sup> As such they were geared more towards middle-class consumers who owned (or had easy access to) pianos and other instruments and who were inclined to learn how to play them.

Fusing drinking, temperance, and prohibition history to the history of music and communication in Canada appears to have a great deal of potential, but unfortunately the integration of such rich histories is resisted by a series of incompatible historiographical biases. One major obstacle has been previously discussed and pertains to the disjunction between pro-drink and anti-drink histories. Another obstacle has to do with the academic history profession’s reluctance to employ music as a basis for historical inquiry. In the

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<sup>28</sup> Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: Norton, 1979), xvii.

<sup>29</sup> Foster penned such notable songs as “Oh! Susanna,” “Camptown Races,” and “Old Folks at Home.”

<sup>30</sup> Charles and Louise Samuels, *Once Upon a Stage: The Merry World of Vaudeville* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974); Brooks McNamara, *The New York Concert Saloon: The Devil’s Own Nights* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Maurice Willson Disher, *Victorian Song: From Dive to Drawing Room* (London: Phoenix House, 1955); Laurence Senelick “A Brief Life and Times of the Victorian Music-Hall,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (1972): 375-391.

<sup>31</sup> Consequently, of the 25,000 pieces of music distributed or published in Canada between 1849 and 1950, most can be classified as popular music. Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 160.

words of one critic, academic historians, those who have been trained in university history departments, have generally used music as little more than “the fodder of footnotes.”<sup>32</sup> Explanations for this omission point to the “notorious ‘abstractness’ of music’s language,” and the fact that technical analysis of musical sources is simply not accessible to most people without musical training.<sup>33</sup> These justifications appear weak when considering that other art forms with comparable levels of abstractness and technicality have been more widely studied by historians, and that the study of music can entail much more than simply the study of its formalistic components. Regardless, only a few historians have studied music as a significant topic of inquiry.<sup>34</sup>

This historiographical inattention to musical topics has been compounded by a similar neglect of newer historical theories and methodologies from those people who have traditionally taken on the task of writing “music history.” For instance, the academic field of musicology has conventionally focused on the Western classical music tradition and held an absolutist belief that music is autonomous from its socio-cultural context. For this reason its historical endeavours have almost exclusively studied the notated musical texts of “serious” music, focusing mainly on the development of classical musical styles, canon formation and other aesthetic and formalistic practices that have proven so daunting to general historians.<sup>35</sup> Thankfully, starting in the 1970s, a small group of musicologists including Theodore Adorno began calling for a rapprochement between musical and extra-musical experiences, between text and context.<sup>36</sup> Carl Dahlhaus and Joseph Kerman were some of the first scholars to bring this approach to the study of music history.<sup>37</sup> Disciplinary

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<sup>32</sup> Trevor Herbert, “Social History and Music History,” in *The Cultural Study Of Music*, 146.

<sup>33</sup> See Ballantine, *Music and Its Social Meanings* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1984), xvi; Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey, *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Jackson, Miss: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), vii.

<sup>34</sup> For example, see McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*; Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876 – 1953* (Manchester University Press, 2001).

<sup>35</sup> Jackson and Pelkey, *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, viii-xii.

<sup>36</sup> The early works of musicologist Theodore Adorno were perhaps the first to link music with individuals’ cognitive habits, modes of consciousness and the historical developments within Western society. Bloch complemented Adorno’s work by emphasizing that music is embedded with meanings and messages that are perceived by the human brain but which often go beyond the content of the song itself. Theodore Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976); Ernst Bloch, *Essays on the Philosophy of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>37</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to*

descendants of these earlier theorists have become adherents to the more post-structuralist schools of New Musicology and Critical Musicology, emanating from the United States and Britain respectively. In this respect, musicology has done more to bridge the gap with general history than vice versa. Unfortunately, however, many musicologists remain ignorant, even scornful, of popular music.

Other approaches to writing music history that have developed outside or at arms length to academic musicology can be criticized for other reasons. The field of ethnomusicology has counteracted the formalist approach of musicology by focusing on the socio-cultural context of music, but, until recently, it has been limited by a neglect of Western popular music traditions, an emphasis on extra-musical over musical experience, and an avoidance of historical considerations (e.g. changes over time).<sup>38</sup> In a similar vein, national historians, folklorists, and others who have also taken on the role of “music historian” have often been criticized for lacking analysis, suppressing subaltern musical experiences, being politically motivated, ignoring changes over time, or viewing all change as teleological.<sup>39</sup> The result is music histories that lack sufficient cultural awareness and music culture analyses that lack sufficient historical awareness. Because the music that characterizes the prohibition era was popular (i.e. non-classical), western, inextricable from its socio-cultural context, and prone to change over time, it somehow falls outside the typical subject-areas of most established music histories. Those sources that do discuss it make important contributions to the topic but suffer from one or many of the disciplinary biases outlined here so far, especially a lack of analysis and preference for dry topics.

The first notable scholar on the topic of prohibition era music is the famed early twentieth century American musicologist, folklorist, and radio/television personality Sigmund Spaeth. From his various works on American music, many of them published during the American prohibition years, Spaeth adamantly endorses the importance of both

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*Musicology* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985); Joseph Kerman, “How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get Out,” *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 2. (1980): 311-331.

<sup>38</sup> See Stephen Blum, Philip Vlas Bohlman, and Daniel M. Neuman, *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

<sup>39</sup> See for example: Philip Bohlman “Music and Culture: Historiographies of Disjuncture,” in *The Cultural Study Of Music*, 51. McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*; Celia Applegate, “What Is German Music? Reflections on the Role of Art in the Creation of the Nation,” *German Studies Review* 15, no. German Identity (1992): 21-32; Harry White and Michael Murphy, *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2001).

wet and dry songs to the body of American songs and to American culture at large. In fact, he spurns those people who believe that songs of the prohibition deserved nothing more than a superficial treatment. Several of Spaeth's books on popular music from the United States' history, *Weep Some More, My Lady* and his classic *A History of Popular Music in America*,<sup>40</sup> devote sections to the issue of wet and dry songs. Spaeth's broad focus on all forms of popular American music necessarily restricts him from engaging in a thorough analysis, but he can be lauded for being the first to demonstrate the development of two distinct wet and dry musical cultures that interacted on an informal basis around the issue of alcohol regulation.

Andrew Sinclair's well-received 1962 book *Prohibition: The Era of Excess* represents the reluctance of academic historians to incorporate music into their work, and prohibition era music in particular.<sup>41</sup> Apparently the only American prohibition historian to mention anything significant about music, Sinclair dedicates only three pages to the topic, wherein he tangentially discusses hymns, religious marching songs, and patriotic songs as varying forms of temperance or prohibition propaganda. In addressing the wet songs he mentions the drinking songs' ancient tradition but rejects their value and accuses them of expressing "pathos and roister rather than sincere feeling."<sup>42</sup>

In 1971, Bryan Lindsay wrote a short but interesting chronicle of the many lyrical incarnations of the tune "Anacreon in Heaven" as it progressed from an English drinking club song to American revolutionary tune, to a favorite temperance movement melody, and finally to American national anthem. The most important aspect of this essay is Lindsay's observation of the tune's "delightfully absurd" passage from a wet to dry singing culture.<sup>43</sup> Beyond this, Lindsay's article is unfortunately limited in both analysis and length.

In 1977, George Ewing, a religion and English scholar at Abilene Christian College in Texas, wrote *The Well-Tempered Lyre: Songs and Music of the Temperance Movement*.

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<sup>40</sup> Sigmund Spaeth, *Weep Some More, My Lady* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980); Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America* (New York: Random House, 1948); Sigmund Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep: A Treasury of American Songs* (New York: Arco Pub. Co, 1945).

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess*, 1st ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962)

<sup>42</sup> Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess*, 115.

<sup>43</sup> Bryan Lindsay, "Anacreon on the Wagon: 'The Star-Spangled Banner' in the Service of the Cold Water Army," *Journal of Popular Culture* 4, no. 3 (1971): 602.

This was the first major work to remark on the primacy of music throughout the American temperance movement. In the book, Ewing demonstrates how temperance music was saturated with evangelical Protestant overtones, how it was used to recruit children to the cause, and how it targeted men specifically. He also outlines some of the musical techniques employed including the tendency to borrow and adapt pre-existing (and sometimes drinking) songs, and a shift in focus from targeting the individual drinker to the groups and institutions that supported him.<sup>44</sup> The book certainly set the standard for research in temperance music history, but it unfortunately excluded any commentary on the importance of class to the movement, restricted its discussion of wet culture, and provided little discussion of the changes that occurred over time.

Unfortunately, American scholarship during the twenty years following Ewing's publication was almost non-existent. The only notable accomplishments during this period come from Carleton Sprague Smith who attempts to find the provenance, context, and influence of a drinking song written by Benjamin Franklin;<sup>45</sup> and Charles Hamm and Jean Stonehouse who respectively examine the achievements and techniques of The Hutchinson Family, one of the most popular early-nineteenth-century musical groups and preeminent supporters of social reform causes including temperance.<sup>46</sup>

The last decade or so has witnessed both the greatest number and most thought-provoking studies on alcohol-related American music. Although focusing on an earlier period, Ric Northrup Caric makes use of drinking songs and other unconventional sources in his 1997 article about the devastating effects of industrialization on the way Philadelphia artisans and working people represented and identified with their bodies. Pre-industrial working culture emphasized values such as independence, honour, respectability and community and allowed for "cares" and "troubles," those situations or events that threatened these values, to be symbolically countered by acts of "leisure," such as convivial drinking. Caric uses his sources to argue that industrialist notions of work and leisure were wholly incompatible with earlier values and therefore upset this fragile balance between cares and leisure which had been maintained for centuries. Caric interprets the

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<sup>44</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*.

<sup>45</sup> Carleton Sprague Smith, "A Tune for Benjamin Franklin's Drinking Song 'Fair Venus Calls'."

<sup>46</sup> Charles Hamm, "If I Were a Voice" in *Yesterdays*, 141-160; Jean Stonehouse, "We Have Come from the Mountains," *New England Journal of History* 51, no. 1 (1994): 60-67.

rise in references to death in the sources and the increased occurrence of *mania a potu* (a temporary mental and physical psychosis resulting from alcohol abuse) as both metaphor and manifestation of the working-class male's extreme psychological trauma in attempting to cope with his new life.<sup>47</sup> Caric's use of musical sources, his interpretation of metaphors, and his contextualization of drinking habits within broader social phenomena makes his a most valuable work.

Following Caric's article came Jane Anne Peterson's "Rum, Ruin and Revival: Protestant Hymns and the Temperance Movement."<sup>48</sup> This short master's thesis highlights how changes in Protestant hymnody during the early nineteenth century affected the rise of religious reform movements in general and the emerging temperance movement in particular. Peterson demonstrates how Protestant hymnody was involved in the movement's emphasis on social activism, its shift from moderation to total abstinence, and its eventual transition from moral suasion to political activism and coercion through legislative action.

During the same year, Madelon Powers published an invaluable contribution to American drinking culture. *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon, 1870-1920* dedicates one thoroughly engaging chapter and several passages throughout the book to the role and power of music within the American saloon.<sup>49</sup> She does well in using the presence of music in the saloon to problematize and revise preconceived ideas about gender, age, occupation, race and ethnicity; this includes the unorthodox argument that under certain circumstances women were accepted within the confines of the pre-prohibition saloon. Powers also analyzes the different musical styles and lyrical-themes of barroom songs and how they affected the drinking experience itself. A small but interesting section deals with the altering effects of radio and recording on the participatory aspects of saloon music.<sup>50</sup> The book's only apparent weakness in this respect is its minimal discussion of how dry music might have influenced the development of saloon culture and specifically saloon songs.

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<sup>47</sup> Ric Northrup Caric, "'To Drown the Ills that Discompose the Mind': Care, Leisure, and Identity among Philadelphia Artisans and Workers, 1785-1840," *Pennsylvania History* 64, no. 4 (1997): 465-489.

<sup>48</sup> Jane Anne Peterson, "Rum, Ruin and Revival: Protestant Hymns and the Temperance Movement" (MA Thesis, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, 1998).

<sup>49</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 31-35.

<sup>50</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, chapter 9.

Powers' work is deftly complemented by David Ingle's rigorously researched articles on drinking songs in Britain.<sup>51</sup> Having compiled and analyzed almost 500 popular songs spanning the three centuries leading up to 1900, Ingle has found both drinking and wet music to be present in the lower classes as well as in the upper classes, involving males as well as females. Ingle finds half the songs to be part of a much older Bacchanalian male-dominated tradition that praised alcohol for its positive effect on sociability, pleasure, wit, imagination, physical as well as mental health, and romance. He also brings attention to more critical songs that claim drinking leads to impoverishment, violence and aggression. Lastly, Ingle divides his analysis along national and therefore ethno-religious lines, demonstrating the Irish Catholics to be more prone to Bacchanalian drinking, fighting, and sporting, the Scottish Protestants to be more critical of drinking in general and female drinking in particular, and the English songs to have taken something of a middle-ground between the other two.

Following these three previous contributors to drinking music scholarship came a number of publications that advanced the understanding of pro-temperance music. Following Lindsay's approach of examining the various embodiments of a single song or melody throughout the ages, musicologist Armin Hadamer discusses the early-nineteenth-century American appropriation of a German college drinking song, *O Come, Come Away (Krambanbuli)*, to suit the tastes and goals of, on different but often concurrent occasions, American college drinkers, the temperance campaign, the Civil War, and American patriots or promoters of the "home."<sup>52</sup>

This single-song-based approach was truly brought to fruition in Robert J. Branham's *Sweet Freedom's Song*.<sup>53</sup> Here again Branham shows the power of one patriotic melody, in this case "My Country 'Tis of Thee" (also known "God Save the King" and "America") to attach itself to different protest causes including the American Revolution, the abolition movement, the Civil War, and of course the temperance cause. According to

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<sup>51</sup> David Ingle, "Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song.,"; David Ingle, "Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles," *The Social History of Alcohol Review* 15, no 1-2 (Fall/Winter 2000): 20-28; David Ingle, "Representations of Drinking in English Songs (1600-1900)," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern Society*, 218-225.

<sup>52</sup> Armin Hadamer, "'O Come, Come Away': Temperance, Shape Notes, and Patriotism," *Lied Und Populare Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* 45 (2000): 109-120.

<sup>53</sup> Robert James Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and Democracy in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Branham the popularity of the song allowed its various lyrical messages to be learned and recognized very quickly, and empowered its many adaptations with connotations of nationalism and morality regardless of the particular version being performed. Dedicating several major sections of the book to the temperance movement, the author is able to illustrate the extreme importance of music, and specifically this tune, to the popularity of the cause.

Musicologist Paul D. Sanders' *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes of the American Temperance Movement* is the most recent contribution to the topic and it also focuses on the temperance movement. Sanders discusses thirty-two of the most popular tunes of the temperance movement, all of which were borrowed from other musical traditions and adapted to dozens of different lyrics. While the book "does not attempt to put these songs in the context of nineteenth and early twentieth century society," it is valuable for its categorization of songs into chapters based on their various stylistic and thematic provenance. Thus we find the most influential genres on the American temperance movement to be patriotic songs, hymns, Scottish songs, popular songs, and Civil War songs. Obviously influenced by George Ewing's work, Sanders appears to suffer from many of the same biases. Beyond recognizing a musical shift in focus from moral suasion to political coercion over the course of the nineteenth century, the book is limited in its historical awareness and its discussion of wet music.<sup>54</sup>

Canadian-specific research on wet and dry singing cultures has been significantly sparser than American research, but these fewer works show music to be much more a part of the professional history discipline. The first known reference to music in the Canadian prohibition movement came relatively early, in 1972, with Gerald Hallowell's *Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-1923*.<sup>55</sup> By placing the lyrics to various popular prohibition songs at the beginning of most of his chapters, Hallowell implies their embodiment of the principles and values he discusses, but unfortunately he neglects to make any direct reference to the influence of music for Canadian prohibition.

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<sup>54</sup> Paul D. Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes of the American Temperance Movement* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Gerald Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-1923* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1972).

Glenn J. Lockwood's paper entitled "Music and Songs Related to Food and Beverages" was published following his presentation at an annual Ontario Historical Society conference. While very brief the published paper lists some Canadian contributions to the wet and dry repertoire and outlines some popular gender-specific tropes of the Canadian temperance song repertoire, including the "drunken male" and the "moral female."<sup>56</sup>

Canadian temperance historian Sharon A. Cook's thoroughly engaging book *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* avers that the goals and attitudes of local temperance organizations were at times incongruent with the higher level provincial and national organization and that the local level exerted a considerable amount of control over the course of the movement itself. Cook's innovative use of non-traditional sources, namely local WCTU minute books, has supplied her with some precious insight into the role of music within the organization. Cook demonstrates that local temperance musical groups called Bands of Hope were the "major vehicle used by the...[WCTU] for inculcating in children temperance values within an evangelical context."<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, she shows music to be an effective form of recruitment for all potential members. Unfortunately, Cook devotes only a few pages to the importance of dry music.

Cook's insightful commentary was followed up by a publication from the Addiction Research Foundation titled *Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada*.<sup>58</sup> This general history contains a four-page survey of some of the more important lyrical themes of temperance music in Canada. Despite the superficial nature of the analysis and the obvious neglect of wet music, these few pages do emphasize the importance of music in influencing public attitudes and recruiting new members to the cause. The authors show these songs to have framed alcohol and drinking as utterly destructive, sinful, and inducing familial violence and neglect; contrarily, they framed temperance and water as virtuous and able to lift drunkards out of their misery. Lastly, the authors discover many

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<sup>56</sup> Glenn J. Lockwood, "Music and Songs Related to Food and Beverages," in *Consuming Passions: Eating and Drinking Traditions in Ontario*, ed. Meribeth Clow et al. (Willowdale, ON: The Ontario Historical Society, 1990), 233-234.

<sup>57</sup> Sharon A. Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 174.

<sup>58</sup> Reginald G. Smart and Alan C. Ogborne, *Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada* (Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1996), 29-32.

temperance songs to have incorporated semi-militaristic themes, especially against alcohol dealers and complacent government officials, the perceived strongest supporters of inebriety.

The most recent Canadian scholar to have addressed the topic of wet and dry music is historian Craig Heron in *Booze: A Distilled History*, a tremendously well-researched account of the history of drink and drinking in Canada. In *Booze*, Heron briefly describes drinking and its accompanying music as ritualized acts that historically promoted bachelorhood, male camaraderie, and class alignment. He also demonstrates how music and musicians increasingly became resistant to prohibition sentiment, and details some of the rather stringent controls placed on music in drinking establishments both before and after the prohibition years.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately Heron labels some wet music as “doggerel” and provides few references to dry music.

The conclusions of recent scholars provide a vague but interesting portrayal of music’s role in the use and regulation of alcohol. They have suggested that dry songs were often used as political tools, were successful in recruiting new members, were used to enhance religious life, and were made popular by being attached to pre-existing songs and themes. Wet music, while more recreational than political, has nevertheless been understood to have encouraged certain lifestyles and activities that allowed its participants to both regulate and enhance their abilities to cope with contemporary situations. Lastly, both wet and dry music have acted as both a product and purveyor of social identities based around gender, class, ethnicity and race.

Not ignoring the authors’ many accomplishments to the field, most of which can be lauded for their balance and sensitivity towards sources, the discussed works have also demonstrated the persistence of *disciplinary* biases towards the subject. The works drawn from a general history tradition are hesitant, sometimes even averse, to assign historical value to music. Conversely, the works informed by other disciplines tend to neglect the historical context of music, and some of these verge on becoming chronicles, devoid of any substantial analysis. Moreover, all the sources, to varying degrees, tend to emphasize either the drinking side or the anti-drinking side, without treating the celebration alcohol and

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<sup>59</sup> Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto, Ont: Between the Lines, 2003), chapter 6.

regulation of alcohol as a dialectical set—intersecting considerations that inform a more encompassing and certainly more dynamic discourse. Dry references to music are generally more abundant but those from the historical and journalistic disciplines proffer no substantial analysis of music’s role in the movement. Wet studies, generally derived from anthropological backgrounds, are based in a longer tradition of analysis but are less abundant. Despite these shortcomings, the greatest problem is not especially with the quality of the existing work, but the absence of sources in general, which has prevented the development of a well-rounded body of secondary literature.

The intention of this thesis is to expand upon established conclusions, bring new ones into play, and forgo many of the biases that have beleaguered general history and music history, dry history and wet history. From a theoretical perspective, this thesis will be primarily motivated by the New Historicism’s interest in exposing the relationship between a text and its political, social, and economic environment. As such, it will be inspired by the more interpretive and culturally contextualist approaches of musicology.

It will draw inspiration from those more recent scholars who follow in the footsteps of Adorno by defining music as capable of both receiving and articulating social meanings. Accordingly, it will be informed by Christopher Small’s concept of *musicking*, which treats music not as a product but as a social process that can be engaged in by musicians and non-musicians alike to derive meaning from the musical event as well as the musical work.<sup>60</sup> It will also be informed by the work of Tia DeNora, who attempts to understand music as a constitutive feature of human agency, as a powerful aesthetic dimension of social order which human agents are able to recruit in the construction of “selves, others, interaction and social settings.”<sup>61</sup>

In analyzing music as both a conduit and a catalyst, this thesis will be influenced by the small hybrid discipline of Popular Music Studies, which has done much to create a rapprochement between the theories and methodologies of traditional musicology,

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<sup>60</sup> Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), 8-9.

<sup>61</sup> Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 163.

ethnomusicology, media studies and other fields.<sup>62</sup> Popular Music Studies has attempted to develop a hermeneutic-semiotic reading of music that studies the “dialectical relations between the musical structure, its conception, production, transmission, reception and its social meaning, uses and functions.”<sup>63</sup> While in-depth semiotic analysis (e.g. the study of musemes – equivalent to morphemes in language) is mostly outside the scope of this thesis, the generally holistic, interdisciplinary approach is not.

The approach will focus on two types of primary sources. The first type are musical sources, wet and dry songs that were written, published, performed, or heard during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The songs themselves have been compiled from a variety of different archives and libraries throughout North America.<sup>64</sup> They include sheet music (single printed songs), songbooks, and a few commercial sound recordings. On a general level these vary in style and form, from folk songs to church hymns, from lyrical poetry to instrumental music. On a more specific level they also vary considerably in tempo, rhythm, melodic and harmonic structure, as well as in lyrical style (some are descriptive while others are narrative). The second type of primary source is non-musical, consisting of all known documented accounts of how wet and dry music was used or understood during this period. They include periodicals, manuals, works of fiction, social surveys, memoirs, songbook prefaces, and monographs.<sup>65</sup> These will be supported by secondary source literature when necessary and when available.

Although the intention is to forgo conventional disciplinary prejudices, these sources have their own limitations. Recognizing and qualifying the inherent biases

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<sup>62</sup> Martin Stokes, “Talk and Text: Popular Music and Ethnomusicology” in *Analyzing Popular Music*, ed. Allan Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Richard Middleton, “Popular Music and Musicology: Bridging the Gap,” *Popular Music* 12, no. 2 (May 1993): 177-190.

<sup>63</sup> Philip Tagg, “Musicology and the Semiotics of Popular Music,” *Semiotica* 66 (1987): 285; Peter Dunbar-Hall, “Semiotics as a Method for the Study of Popular Music,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 22, no. 2 (December 1991): 127-132.

<sup>64</sup> A few songs included come from compilations published after prohibition repeal, but these are usually described as popular songs from the prohibition era.

<sup>65</sup> Participation rates in either wet or dry music is almost impossible to determine due to the lack of statistical records for music sales or music performances. However, the sheer number of published songs and the variety of sources alluding to music’s importance to the alcohol regulation issue indicate that wet and dry music was quite prevalent in the lives of most Canadians. This essay echoes Hodges view that all humans beings are “capable of some response to the music of their culture” and therefore suggests that all citizens exposed to either wet or dry music were, to some degree, involved in the issue itself. Hodges, *Handbook of Music Psychology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (San Antonio: IMR Press, 1996).

produced by these limitations will hopefully alleviate some of the problems they create. The relatively few available non-musical sources (e.g. biographies, reports, articles etc.) might inhibit a representative understanding of the precise ways the music was conceived, produced, transmitted, and received within society at large. While larger in number, the musical sources also risk being slightly less than comprehensive. For example, the repertory is restricted by the fact that only published and distributed songs are currently available, but these may neglect important popular songs that were mainly transmitted orally. Furthermore, the restrictions on copyright, the incomplete digitalization of music archives, and the limitations of rare book interlibrary loans have made even some published songs inaccessible. Of the songs that have been acquired some were published in the United States or Britain, and although it is highly likely they were distributed in Canada their presence cannot be completely confirmed.<sup>66</sup> Finally, despite some compensatory measures, different editors and publishers provide different titles, or alternatively matching titles include slightly different lyrics or melodies. Despite the biases produced by a non-comprehensive repertoire of songs, the largest obstacle arises from selecting a manageable and representative body of songs from the hundreds available. Many scholars have discussed the difficulties in making accurate musical compilations. Indeed, Charles Hamm admits that the era of Tin Pan Alley music (encompassed by this thesis) is one of the most difficult eras for acquiring factual data on the sales of sheet music.<sup>67</sup> And with regards to prohibition era music, Margaret Mott describes her great effort to systematically compile thousands of American wet and dry songs and the “hours spent in sorting through miscellaneous bound volumes and piles of sheet music.”<sup>68</sup>

Because of the potential methodological problems that might arise from an unrepresentative repertory, a great deal of effort has been afforded in determining which songs are most representative. In this respect, the thesis has attempted to bring some quantitative considerations of repetition and regularity to what is mostly a qualitative

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<sup>66</sup> Larger companies were more likely to distribute in Canada and this is one reason why they were given precedence.

<sup>67</sup> Hamm, *Yesterdays*, xxi.

<sup>68</sup> While Mott’s bibliography has certainly been helpful in choosing representative sources, its sole emphasis on American songs and its age makes it only partially adaptable to the current project. Margaret M. Mott, “A Bibliography of Song Sheets: Sports and Recreations in American Popular Songs: Part I,” *Notes*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser., Vol. 6, No. 3 (Jun., 1949): 379-380.

analysis. The intention has been to select songs that were most influential to the greatest number of people, and in an era that predated popular music charts this is a difficult task. The selection process was as follows.<sup>69</sup> All relevant and accessible songs were compiled from different archives and libraries across North America. These songs were subsequently collated into a master list and compared to existing bibliographies of wet and dry songs, namely Margaret Mott's "A Bibliography of Song Sheets: Sports and Recreations in American Popular Songs," and Paul Sanders' *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes of the American Temperance Movement*.<sup>70</sup> Preference was always given to those songs that best articulated or most typified the main themes and trends discussed throughout this thesis. Almost equal importance was given to those songs that were published multiple times, published by the more powerful organizations (e.g. prohibition organizations or large music companies), published in Canada or most likely to have been distributed in Canada. So although the compilation process may have been skewed by the aforementioned problems, it is likely that the finalized song list represents the majority of the most popular wet and dry songs of the day.

In proving how important music was to the attainment of prohibition legislation in Canada following the First World War, both wet and dry music must be analyzed for their capacity to construct and reflect the hegemonic Victorian values entrenched in much of the English-speaking world during the later-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Although the Victorian era was full of sundry and often contradictory experiences, this thesis is premised on the fact that Victorianism, in its ideal manifestation, was informed by a Protestant morality that endorsed a middle-class Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie with clearly defined gender roles. The following pages will evaluate the success with which both wet and dry music was able to attach itself to these hegemonic ideals or counter them. Chapter two will focus on music's involvement in strengthening dry music's success in this regard during the years leading up to prohibition, and chapter three will focus on wet music's lack of success in relation to the dry side during the same time period.

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<sup>69</sup> In this respect, the various methods and research carried out by popular music historian Charles Hamm have been of great value. Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays*, xix-xxii.

<sup>70</sup> Mott, "A Bibliography of Song Sheets"; Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*. These existing bibliographies cannot on their own define the musical repertory of this thesis. This is due to their sole focus on American prohibition era songs, their size (still very large), the inaccessibility of some of their songs, and their age (in the case of Mott's bibliography).

Most of the comparative aspects of this project concern each repertoire's ability to appeal directly to the most powerful ideologies and identities associated with Victorianism during this period; as such, discourse analysis of lyrical and musical content will constitute the bulk of this study. However, discursive practices beyond song content also served to reinforce Victorian hegemony in more oblique ways, and some of these will also be discussed. Of particular importance in this respect is Max Weber's concept of rationalization, which can be defined as "the organization of life through a division and coordination of activities...for the purpose of achieving greater efficiency and productivity."<sup>71</sup> According to Lear, "rationalization of culture [during the turn of the twentieth century]...served the interests of the national bourgeoisie."<sup>72</sup> Based on this premise, the thesis will demonstrate how music's rationalization, namely its involvement in the organization, hierarchization, and standardization of wet and dry cultures, actually affected the efficiency with which the dry and wet discourses were produced, disseminated, and received. This approach entails the analysis of music not only for its content, but also as vehicle for the transmission of that content—that is, as a mode of communication and as a form of technology. In this regard, the thesis will be informed by the work of medium theorists such as Marshall McLuhan and Harold Innis who take a substantive approach to media by studying how different types of communication technologies have affected the nature of dissemination, cognition, and social organization throughout history.<sup>73</sup> It will likewise be informed by Feenberg's similar understanding of technology as a rationalizing tool that is "fundamentally biased toward a particular hegemony."<sup>74</sup> All of these discursive practices associated with music will be studied and assessed for their ability to align with and reinforce Victorian hegemony during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

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<sup>71</sup> Julien Freund, *The Sociology of Max Weber*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 18.

<sup>72</sup> T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 10.

<sup>73</sup> Innis defines "time-based media" as durable and persistent and including oral forms of communication. He defines "space-based media" as expansive but exhaustive media including printed forms of communication. Harold Innis, *The Bias of Communication* ([Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1951); Harold Innis, *Empire and Communications* ([Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1972); Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* ([Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

<sup>74</sup> Andrew Feenberg, *Transforming Technology: A Critical Theory Revisited*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 63, 76.

## CHAPTER 2: DRY MUSIC

In 1888 J.N. Stearns and H.P. Main wrote “The power of song in the Temperance movement cannot be overestimated.”<sup>1</sup> Countless others shared this sentiment, including American senator and temperance historian Henry W. Blair who claimed that “[t]he Crusade was half song.”<sup>2</sup> This chapter attempts to understand the precise manner in which music helped make the dry movement a success in the years leading up to the enactment of Canadian prohibition laws. The first section studies how dry songs helped create a dry ideology by addressing the effects of alcohol abstinence (and conversely drinking) on the physicality, mentality, and spirituality of the individual. The second section investigates how music affected cooperation and acceptance within the dry movement. The third section examines how music’s strong organizational properties and its alignment with powerful modes of communication benefited the production, transmission, and reception of the dry message. The goal is to demonstrate how music helped make the dry cause a success by simultaneously reifying and exploiting dominant ideologies, institutions, and technologies of the era.

This chapter aims to supplement the reasons for dry success that have been provided by previous scholars on the subject, including sociologist Joseph R. Gusfield who is usually touted as discovering the basic reasons for dry success during the years leading up to prohibition. Gusfield’s 1963 book, *The Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*, follows the movement’s transition from a moral campaign to political campaign and explains that the dry cause was a symbolic attempt to conserve the status of the bourgeois native, Protestant middle-class, whose predominance was being challenged as a result of modernizing and industrializing forces.<sup>3</sup> Similar interpretations

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<sup>1</sup> J.N Stearns, and H.P Main, *Trumpet Notes for The Temperance Battle-Field* (Hamilton, Ont.: Royal Templar Book and Pub. House, 1890), 2. N.B. All subsequent citations of this source will use the shortened version *Trumpet Notes*. This title should not be confused with the other source *Trumpet Notes of the Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton, ON: n.p. 1889), which will always be referred to by its complete title.

<sup>2</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 245; Braham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*, 74-75.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

and accounts for dry success have been put forth in regards to both the American<sup>4</sup> and the Canadian<sup>5</sup> dry movements. More recent scholars have qualified these general conclusions by demonstrating that the categorization of drinkers and temperance advocates was not as dichotomous or top-down as once thought, but in fact dependent on a complex series of intersecting social, spatial and temporal considerations.<sup>6</sup> Although these more recent studies prove the nuanced and contingent nature of lived experience, they do not deny that the dry movement was framed in such a way as to benefit certain cultural ideologies and social groups over others. This chapter argues that dry music's unique imaginative and emotional qualities made it particularly adept at attaching the temperance/prohibition cause not only to the dominant social groups described by Gusfield, but also to a series of hegemonic ideals.

#### MUSIC'S ROLE IN CREATING A DRY IDEOLOGY

The varied interpretations of early temperance advocates appear to have dictated how the dry songs framed the temperance issue. While the physical and mental components of Benjamin Rush's medical understanding were taken up and fostered through song, these would ultimately fuse with the spiritual understandings of Increase Mather and Lyman Beecher. The reason for the ascendancy of the spiritual interpretation can be traced back to

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<sup>4</sup> Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989); Jack S. Blocker, *Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890-1913* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1976); Norman Clark, *Deliver Us from Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: Norton, 1976); James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963).

<sup>5</sup> Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario*; Graeme Decarie, "Something Old, Something New...: Aspects of Prohibitionism in Ontario in the 1890s," in *Oliver Mowat's Ontario*, ed. Donald Swainson (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), 154-171. Graeme Decarie, "Paved with Good Intentions: The Prohibitionists' Road to Racism in Ontario," *Ontario History* 66, no. 1 (1974). Nancy M. Sheehan, "The WCTU on the Prairies, 1886-1930: An Alberta-Saskatchewan Comparison," *Prairie Forum* 6, no. 1 (1981); Wendy Mitchinson, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Organization," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 4, no. 2 (1981); Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*.

<sup>6</sup> In the American context: Catherine Gilbert Murdock, *Domesticating Drink* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003); Barrows and Room, *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). In the Canadian context: Sharon A. Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*; Heron, *Booze*; Douglas L. Hamilton, *Sobering Dilemma: A History of Prohibition in British Columbia*, (Vancouver, BC: Ronsdale Press, 2004); Lynne Marks, "The Knights of Labor and the Salvation Army: Religion and Working-Class Culture in Ontario, 1820-1890," *Labour/Le Travail*, 28 (Fall 1991), 89-127. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*; Warsh, *Drink in Canada*; Blocker and Warsh, *The Changing Face of Drink*.

the comparable ascendancy of religion in Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. English Canada during this period was mostly Christian, largely Protestant, and quite often evangelical.<sup>7</sup> The dry cause would achieve a great deal of success by being musically embedded in this Protestant Evangelical tradition.<sup>8</sup>

John and Charles Wesley, founders of the Methodist Church, were avid supporters of religious singing and wrote numerous hymns and hymnbooks including the widely popular *Sacred Melody*. Herein congregants were urged to “[a]bove all sing *spiritually*. Have an eye to God in every word you sing.”<sup>9</sup> For Lowell Mason, an American Presbyterian church music director and the preeminent proponent of church music during the first half of the nineteenth century, music was not simply important to religious life, it was central.<sup>10</sup> The preface to Mason’s *Juvenile Lyre*, a songbook published in 1834 for the teaching of children, highlighted the ability of music to induce a calm mind, an invigorated body, and a happy heart.<sup>11</sup> Beyond the physical and mental effects of music, Mason found hymns to be most beneficial to the spiritual health of individuals and congregations. He likened music’s power to that of oratory or prayer, arguing that it was the medium by which “truth is presented to the heart in the most forcible manner.”<sup>12</sup> According to Mason, music’s true potential was only achieved by combining devotional music with appropriate lyrics, thereby connecting “useful instruction in the mind, and elevated and devotional feelings in the heart.”<sup>13</sup> Steeped in the Protestant music tradition envisioned by Mason and the Wesleys, later nineteenth-century dry activists would continue to frame temperance not only as a rational-empirical argument based on the health of the body but on more intangible requisites such as “feelings,” “heart,” and “spirit.”

The leaders of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were particularly enthusiastic about music’s involvement in the physical, psychological, and spiritual lives of

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<sup>7</sup> On the prevalence of Christianity in Canada during this period, see Robert Choquette, *Canada’s Religions: An Historical Introduction* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004); Mark A Knoll, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity* (Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Protestant hymn-singers were traditionally quite different from Catholics, who, suspicious of humanist ideals, saw beautiful music as a potential distraction from the spiritual, and therefore sought to efface it.

<sup>9</sup> Jane Anne Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival,” 9-10.

<sup>10</sup> See Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival.”

<sup>11</sup> “The Juvenile Lyre” as quoted in Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival,” 24.

<sup>12</sup> As quoted in Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*, 48.

<sup>13</sup> As quoted in Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival,” 24.

their followers. Frances Willard, first president of the American Women's Christian Temperance Union championed the belief that music has the power to convey knowledge. In her published journal, she wrote: "When I hear *music*, it means something to me. It talks with me and tells me that which I did not know before, and makes me by that much, wiser than I was. It conveys ideas to me."<sup>14</sup> However, the intense musical life of the church provided Willard with a belief in music's power to reach beyond the realm of logic and ideas. For instance she equated music's echo with "choirs of angels" and spoke of its ability to "bear the soul upward in its reaching forth toward [God]."<sup>15</sup> She occasionally connected music to the health of the spirit, for instance by referring to a hymn as the "inmost song of...[her] soul,"<sup>16</sup> or the singing at a Bible exposition as "bread to the soul."<sup>17</sup> In fact, Willard understood the spiritual agency of music as vital to the more mundane aspects of human well-being. For instance, she linked music to the resilience and strength of character by recounting an anecdote about a group of temperance women who protested drink by marching through the streets singing hymns even when confronted with police dogs, weapons, and arrest.<sup>18</sup>

Frances Willard's exuberance towards music was shared by the elite members of the Canadian WCTU, including president Letitia Youmans. In her autobiography, Youmans conveyed her belief in the fundamentality of music to physical and spiritual fortitude, explaining how she and her comrades would sing hymns to "keep up [their]...spirits" during long journeys and other trying times.<sup>19</sup> In the early days of the organization when there were few financial reserves, she also recalled complaining about the fact that there was not enough money to obtain basic necessities such as "catechisms, singing books, and other appliances."<sup>20</sup> As the following quotation demonstrates, Youmans also possessed a strong faith in music's superlative capacity to transcend rational, earthly experiences in the pursuit of spiritual enlightenment:

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<sup>14</sup> Frances E. Willard and Carolyn De Swarte (ed.), *Writing Out My Heart: Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1885-1896* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 37.

<sup>15</sup> Willard and Gifford, *Writing Out My Heart*, 303.

<sup>16</sup> Frances E. Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years* (New York: Published By the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 344.

<sup>17</sup> Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 349

<sup>18</sup> Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 470

<sup>19</sup> Letitia Youmans, *Campaign Echoes: The Autobiography of Letitia Youmans* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1893), 125

<sup>20</sup> Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 93

There is a power in music that is well nigh irresistible. I believe it brings us nearer the heavenly world than any exercise in which we engage, and sometimes it seems to me that invisible intelligence hover around us, catch up the strains and echo them through the heavenly mansions.<sup>21</sup>

While the WCTU leadership recognized music's benefits to physical, mental and spiritual health, they were not sentiments exclusive to the dry leadership. In 1888, for instance, Henry Blair wrote that "music is the vehicle of moral transitions.... Could you make the American people a singing people, you would soon see a change in their morals."<sup>22</sup>

Although he was an historian and politician by trade, Blair's remarks seem to typify the views contained in various echelons of the WCTU and other prohibition organizations.

Indeed, a brief survey of reports or minute-books from all levels of the WCTU enthusiastically endorsed the spiritual effect of music. During most WCTU meetings, songs were performed at the same time as prayer and sometimes superseded prayer entirely, implying a certain synonymy of purpose between the two. Thus, in 1891, a meeting of the executive committee of the Maritime WCTU annual convention was called to order with a recitation from the gospel, the collective singing of a verse from the hymn "Rock of Ages," and a prayer.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the seventeenth annual convention of the British Columbia WCTU was opened with a reading of the "Crusade Psalm," the performance of "Give to the Wind Thy Fears," a prayer, and a hearty performance of another hymn titled "Blest Be He That Binds Our Hearts."<sup>24</sup> Dry journals, periodicals, manuals and fiction also reflect the strong connection between music and faith. Some simply included anti-alcohol songs and hymns while others discussed their importance to the cause. One of many examples comes from the highly popular publication, Elton Shaw's *The Curse of Drink; or, Stories of Hell's Commerce*, which includes a short story of how hymn singing directly

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<sup>21</sup> Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 87-88; Youmans also uses song quotations to express the innermost status of her own soul or her hopes for her nation. See Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 115, 201, 279.

<sup>22</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 245; Braham p. 74-75

<sup>23</sup> Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Maritime WCTU* ([Fredericton, NB]: n.p, 1891) 10.

<sup>24</sup> British Columbia Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the British Columbia Women's Christian Temperance Union, Seventeenth Annual Convention*, (Victoria, BC: The B.C. Printing and Engraving Corporation, 1900), 11.

invoked the hand of God, in the form of a lightning bolt, to destroy the liquor supply of a local saloon.<sup>25</sup>

The aforementioned non-musical sources demonstrate that music was consciously deemed essential to the dry cause in the decades leading up to prohibition. However, the perceived power of music within collective consciousness of North America alludes to the complex, subtle, and sometimes unrecognized ways in which music achieved this power. Analysis of the songs themselves is perhaps the only viable method of exposing the specific ways music would have achieved such importance. Certainly, some songs self-reflexively acknowledge the importance of music to the movement; however, the vast majority, which do not, nevertheless make profound links between music and the cause simply by their efficacy in promoting and framing the cause in particular ways.

On one level, the songs serve to elucidate music's role in the promotion of temperance/prohibition as beneficial to the mind and body of an individual. The lyrics of many dry songs discuss the "gladness," "joy and hope," gaiety and happiness, health and...wealth, and...more good things" that come from a temperant lifestyle.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, dry songs are also used to expound upon the destructive nature of intemperance and alcoholic beverages. Those unable to resist the allure of drink are most commonly demonstrated to suffer the "depths of woe," shame, want, misery, poverty, anguish, and grief.<sup>27</sup> The lyrics further assert that alcoholic beverages manifest themselves in physically embarrassing ways, in the form of shaky hands, a red nose, and a "rummy eye."<sup>28</sup> More critically they could set the brain "on fire," form an "awful habit," "make a man a monkey/

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<sup>25</sup> Elton Raymond Shaw, *The Curse of Drink, or Stories of Hell's Commerce* (Grand Rapids, Mich: n.p, 1910), 89.

<sup>26</sup> Anna A. Gordon, "Jubilee Bells," in *Prohibition Songs*, ed. Elisha A. Hoffman (Toronto: Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1910) 36; W. H. Bonner and T. Crampton, "A Joyous Song We Sing," in *Trumpet Notes*, 19. Edward Carswell and Hubert P. Main, "When Rum Shall Cease to Reign," in *Trumpet Notes*, 85; I. B. Woodbury, arranger, "And Are ye Sure the News is True?" in *Trumpet Notes*, 82. P.M. Hood and William F. Sherwin, "The Water Drinker," in *Trumpet Notes*, 167.

<sup>27</sup> "Battle Hymn of the Women's Crusade," in *Trumpet Notes*, 63. J.M. Whyte, "The Death-March of the 600,000," in *Nuggets of Gold*, ed. John Whyte (Toronto: W Briggs, 1898), 30; J.M. Whyte, "Oh, The Drinking," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 1; "Sons of Liberty," in *Prohibition Songs*, 55; William Bennet and William F. Sherwin, "The Drunkard's Woe," in *Trumpet Notes*, 43.

<sup>28</sup> P.M. Hood and William F. Sherwin, "The Water Drinker," in *Trumpet Notes*, 167; H.W.R. and J.E. White, "Little Drops," in *Trumpet Notes*, 81.

Or a silly clown,” set off a “mighty temper,” or lead to death.<sup>29</sup> As remedies to these impairments, many lyrics point to temperance (either voluntary or legislated) as a necessary prescription: “Gloom and care away we fling/ Hand in hand a merry ring/ This is the chorus we will sing—/ Never drink whiskey or brandy.”<sup>30</sup> Even in the face of opposing views that argued for alcohol’s health benefits, some dry songs encouraged everyone to turn their “glasses upside down.”<sup>31</sup> In this way, “cold water” is very often endorsed, both figuratively and literally, as a potable rival to alcoholic drinks. As seen in the following excerpt from “The Fountain,” the cold water metaphor is saturated with connotations of individual health and well-being:

How sweet it is, when tired and faint  
 With noon tide heat  
 Here to quash the gushing wave  
 Cool, cool and sweet  
 ...  
 No grief nor discord here is found  
 None here is found  
 Peace, and love, and joy abound  
 Joy, joy abound<sup>32</sup>

Music itself is recognized for its capacity to enhance the effects of alcohol abstention. Music is not only appreciated for its ability to eulogize teetotalism,<sup>33</sup> it is also acknowledged for its ability to help people endure difficult times associated with drinking: “Little by little the time goes by/ Short if you sing thro' it/ long if you sigh.”<sup>34</sup> More than alleviating adverse situations, music is also shown to encourage happiness within the dry movement: “Gladly help the work along/ With the voice of grateful song/ With the voice of hopeful, joyful song.”<sup>35</sup> Even the musical sounds of cold water are recognized as pleasure-inducing:

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<sup>29</sup> J.M. Whyte, “Who Killed this Man?” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 13; H.W.R. and J.E. White, “Little Drops,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 81.

<sup>30</sup> “Never Drink Whiskey or Brandy,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 39.

<sup>31</sup> Helen E. Brown and David Henshaw, “Our Glasses Upside Down,” *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 11.

<sup>32</sup> William B. Bradbury, “The Fountain,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 96.

<sup>33</sup> “We Are Strong,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 112. P.M. Hood and William F. Sherwin, “The Water Drinker,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 167; William B. Bradbury, “The Fountain,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 96.

<sup>34</sup> B.C. Unseld, “Little By Little,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 42.

<sup>35</sup> Reverend Alfred Taylor, “Come, Join Our Crusade,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 120. Reverend Alfred Taylor, “Now Sing with Joyful Hearts and Voices,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 68.

Sparkling little fountain  
 Singing ever gaily  
 Cheer us with thy music  
 Cheer us, cheer us daily<sup>36</sup>

Lyrical explication of music's role is supplemented by musical implication. For example, the publication of songs such as "Let Us Sing With Voice and Mind" and "Now Sing with Joyful Hearts and Voices," both suggest an underlying connection between music and a healthy mind and body.<sup>37</sup> In a similar way, performance instructions of many songs often instruct performers to sing boldly, cheerfully, and vigorously. Many are also well notated, incorporating accented notes, tempo changes and dynamic (volume) changes throughout the piece. The training and physicality required to carry out these instructions would certainly require some degree of physical and mental dexterity.

It is clear that, in the minds of temperance/prohibition supporters, dry music did a great deal not only to link the cause to physical and mental health benefits, but also to provide an alternate means of achieving these same goals. While dry songs employed many techniques in framing the cause, some techniques were more widely used than others. Perhaps the most common and most uniquely musical method of linking temperance/prohibition to popular ideas of the period was through "musical borrowing." A common practice within nineteenth-century music, and, according to Sanders and Ewing, dry music in particular,<sup>38</sup> musical borrowing involves the incorporation of any musical material from an earlier work (hypotext) into another work (hypertext).<sup>39</sup> While borrowing is carried out within various modes of expression, including literary works, the combination of textual (lyrical) and musical components allow for methods of borrowing that are diverse and distinct in comparison to other nineteenth- and early-twentieth century forms of artistic expression.

<sup>36</sup> William B. Bradbury, "The Fountain," in *Trumpet Notes*, 96.

<sup>37</sup> Reverend Dawson Burns and B. Milgrove, "Let Us Sing With Voice and Mind," in *Trumpet Notes*, 89; Reverend Alfred Taylor and D. F. Auber, "Now Sing with Joyful Hearts and Voices," in *Trumpet Notes*, 68.

<sup>38</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 204; Sanders in particular claims that the majority of songs from the temperance movement were borrowed. Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*.

<sup>39</sup> J. Peter Burkholder, "Borrowing," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/52918>> (21 September 2008); Serge Lacasse "Intertextuality and Hypertextuality in Recorded Popular Music," in *Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 35-58.

The most common hypertextual processes carried out by dry songs included (in order of regularity) *parody*, *cover*, and *pastiche*. *Parody*, the application of new lyrics to an existing tune, is exemplified by adaptations of several popular drinking songs like “Little Brown Jug,” “Sparkling and Bright,” and “There is a Tavern in Town,” in which references to wine are changed to water, embracement (of alcohol) is changed to abandonment, or lyrics are simply replaced completely to include a pro-prohibition message.<sup>40</sup> *Covering*, in contrast, involves the direct reproduction of an existing song, perhaps with minimal changes. This would include “The Old Oaken Bucket,” a very popular secular song of the nineteenth century that was often used to endorse the health benefits of water. In this song, the narrator sentimentally reminisces about his childhood and especially about the delicious water he drank from a local well. Although this song was never intended to help the temperance cause, its popularity, its frequent references to water, and one particular line, “Not a full flowing goblet could tempt me to leave it,” seem to have been criteria enough to make it part of the dry repertoire.<sup>41</sup> *Pastiche* is the application of a well-known musical style to an original tune and lyrics.<sup>42</sup> This is illustrated by the glee “Drink, Drink,” an original tune whose form and style is reminiscent of a generic contemporary drinking song, but instead of referring to alcoholic drinks it extols the virtues of water or grape juice, effectively criticizing both wet music and drinking at the same time.<sup>43</sup> While musical borrowing was effective at linking temperance and prohibition with mental and physical health or with critiquing wet songs, the fact that most dry songs “reflect the character of their borrowed [musical components],”<sup>44</sup> meant that the message could be attached to any number of popular ideas and aesthetics found within contemporary songs.

By far the largest source of dry musical borrowing was Protestant hymnody. Musical covers of Protestant hymns alone constitute a large minority of the most popular dry

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<sup>40</sup> For references to “Little Brown Jug” and “Sparkling and Bright,” see Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 199; For “There Is a Tavern In Town,” see “The Coming Snow-Slide,” *Songs of Might*, 61. For other examples see Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 189.

<sup>41</sup> “The Old Oaken Bucket,” *Trumpet Notes*, 75. Beyond incorporating themes relevant to the cause, covering was also used by the dry cause to make fun of drinking culture. For instance, during the mid-nineteenth century the temperance movement covered the popular drinking song “The Old Whiskey Jug” as a form of satire. Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 240-241.

<sup>42</sup> Lacasse, “Intertextuality and Hypertextuality.” Lacasse’s work is directly influenced by Gerard Genette’s application of hypertextuality to the literary field.

<sup>43</sup> C.M. Cady and William B. Bradbury, “Drink Drink (Glee),” in *Trumpet Notes*, 24.

<sup>44</sup> Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 259.

songs of the period. Some of the most popular hymns include “What A Friend We Have in Jesus,” “Nearer, My God, To Thee,” “Doxology (Old Hundredth),” “Blest Be the Tie That Binds,” “All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name,” “(In the) Sweet By and By,” and “O God, Our Help in Ages Past.”<sup>45</sup> Parodies and pastiches of hymns dominate the dry repertoire too, and perhaps do most to help strengthen the ties between the dry cause and the Christian faith. The most obvious examples consist of parodies such as “Temperance Doxology,” “Stand Up for Temperance,” “Stand Up for Prohibition,” or “All Hail the Power of Abstinence,” which do little more than substitute references to “God” or “Jesus” with words like “temperance” or “prohibition.”<sup>46</sup> This metaphorical conflation of divinity and “dryness” expresses itself in many different ways.

Praise is one of the basic functions transferred from hymns to dry songs through musical borrowing. Countless songs “Glory, laud, and honor” Christ’s name,<sup>47</sup> or deem the glorification of God as “a charge to keep.”<sup>48</sup> In this context too, the hymnodic edification of God is occasionally redirected towards the dry cause itself:

A song, a joyous song to thee  
O Temp'rance now we bring  
With hearts and voices full of glee  
Thy praises we will sing!<sup>49</sup>

As this last quotation suggests, music itself is often lauded as a superlative medium for the praising of divine power. Dozens of lyrics speak of jubilant voices “singing praises to God, or make proclamations like “Sing to the Lord! He goes before us.”<sup>50</sup> Some even equate

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<sup>45</sup> “What A Friend We Have in Jesus,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, ed. Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Moncton Branch (Moncton: Moncton WCTU, 1888), 23. Sarah F. Adams and Lowell Mason, “Nearer, My God, To Thee,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 29; “Blest Be the Tie That Binds” in *Prohibition Song*, 53. Oliver Holden, “All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 139; “O God, Our Help in Ages Past”; for “Doxology” (Old Hundredth) and “(In the) Sweet By and By” see Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 72-73, 82-85.

<sup>46</sup> “Temperance Doxology,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 47; “Stand Up for Temperance,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 73; Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 79-82.

<sup>47</sup> Sabine Gould and Arthur Sullivan, “Onward Christian Soldiers,” in *Songs of Victory*, ed. The Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic (Toronto: Dominion Alliance, Ontario Branch, 1919), 8.

<sup>48</sup> “A Charge to Keep I Have,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 58.

<sup>49</sup> W.H. Bonner and T. Crampton, “A Joyous Song We Sing,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 19; P. M. Hood and William F. Sherwin, “The Water Drinker,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 167.

<sup>50</sup> E.E. Hewitt and Charles H. Gabriel, “Victory Bells,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 23; “Home Protection Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 5.

divine power with musical expression, for instance by referring to Jesus' name as the "Sweetest carol ever sung."<sup>51</sup> While eulogization is regarded as such an important musical function amongst the dry songs, it is by no means the only aspect of Protestant Christianity that was transferred through musical borrowing.

Belief in a divine moral code is undoubtedly a fundamental tenet of Christianity, and therefore it is a major hypertextual component of the dry repertory. A great number of lyrics endorse a virtuous lifestyle based on the conviction that throughout the world and within every individual good and evil are in constant struggle. Based on this moral rubric, the songs equate good with temperance/prohibition and evil with alcohol. Titles like "The Right Shall Prevail," "Dare to Do Right: Temperance Song" and "Trust in God, and Do the Right" are only a fraction of those that discuss spiritual righteousness.<sup>52</sup> Many songs argue that drinking "hinders moral advancement...[and] fills souls with its ragings."<sup>53</sup> Others uphold a belief that pursuing and defending the "right" will enervate evil "little by little."<sup>54</sup> Some songs urge dry activists to "Pledge heart and hand and all...[their moral] strength in the defense of Right!" while others "look to God for strength and courage."<sup>55</sup> Still others associate morality with the ideals of truth and purity, by encouraging righteous practices such as "Hating ev'ry evil thing/ Loving all the pure and true" and pursuing only good will.<sup>56</sup>

Within the context of moral purity, the dry repertoire was able to establish a connection between the worldly benefits of teetotalism and benefits of a more spiritual nature. The sheer emotionality and abstractness of music certainly affords the dry cause with transcendental connotations, as it would with any cause. However, musical borrowing provided dry songs with a practical, reliable, and precise method of achieving spiritual

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<sup>51</sup> William Hunter and J.H. Stockton, "The Great Physician," in *Trumpet Notes*, 33.

<sup>52</sup> "The Right Shall Prevail," in *Trumpet Notes*, 145; William B. Brown, "Dare to Do Right: Temperance Song" (Toronto: The Toronto News Company, [1876-1881]; Reverend Norman McLeod and Reverend T. Lynn, "Trust in God, and Do the Right," in *Trumpet Notes*, 94.

<sup>53</sup> J.M. Whyte, "Down with the Traffic," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 4.

<sup>54</sup> B.C. Unsled, "Little by Little," in *Trumpet Notes*, 42; Reverend E. A. Hoffman, "What's the News," in *Prohibition Songs*, 26; E.A. Hoffman, "Make the Map All White," in *Prohibition Songs*, 24; Frank A. Breck and John Tibbalis, "To Make Men Free," in *New Anti-Saloon Songs*, 43; "Home Protection Hymn," in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 5.

<sup>55</sup> E.A. Hoffman, "Make the Map All White," in *Prohibition Songs*, 24; Reverend E. A. Hoffman and George F. Root, "Our Trust is in the God of Battles," in *Prohibition Songs*, 17; H. R. Palmer, "Yield Not To Temptation," in *Prohibition Songs*, 30.

<sup>56</sup> Emily J. Bugbee and T. Martin Towne, "Happy Children," in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 10.

transcendentalism. Thus, the worldly joy that comes from a temperant lifestyle, for example, is given divine connotations:

Lord, let thy blessing now descend  
To give work success  
May many to our cause incline  
And find true happiness  
And find true happiness<sup>57</sup>

In a similar manner, alcoholic abstinence that is motivated by spiritual goals is deemed valuable for its ability to heal drunkards' woes and promote bravery in the face of danger.<sup>58</sup> With the hypertextual application of spiritual uplift to dry ideals, the purity of cold water that is so often associated with physical or mental health, now appears to accrue sacred connotations as well.<sup>59</sup> Less explicit but equally interesting, many dry songs provide instructions that encourage soulful performances encompassing "all the energy and spirit the singers possess."<sup>60</sup> This assignment of spiritual descriptors to physical and mental functions implies that spirituality infused not only the lyrics but in fact all aspects of the musical performance.

Here again, some lyrics successfully attach music itself to the functions and goals of temperance/prohibition. They do this by self-acknowledging music as an influential tool in moral advancement: "[Prohibition bells are] ringing out the reign of wrong. They're ringing in the right."<sup>61</sup> They also do this by claiming music to be at least as powerful as preaching<sup>62</sup> and nearly interchangeable with prayer, especially in the ability to relieve the heavy burdens of the campaign: "Help me the cross to bear/ Thy wondrous love declare/

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<sup>57</sup> "Lord, Let Thy Blessing Now Descend," in *Trumpet Notes*, 27.

<sup>58</sup> "Down in the Valley," in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 20; "Temperance Doxology," in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 47.

<sup>59</sup> "Cold Water Clear and Friendship Dear," in *Trumpet Notes*, 17; Bugbee and Towne, "Happy Children," in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 10; David Mills and J.M. Whyte, "The Hem of His Garment," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 57. The spiritual and physical health connotations of water correspond to Valverde's similar study of allegories in non-musical sources related to the social purity movement during approximately the same period. See Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*.

<sup>60</sup> Henry C. Work, "Song of a Thousand Years," in *Trumpet Notes*, 74; Bonner and Crampton, "A Joyous Song We Sing," in *Trumpet Notes*, 19.

<sup>61</sup> Silver Lake Quartet, "Prohibition Bells," in *Trumpet Notes*, 111.

<sup>62</sup> Dwight Williams and R. Lowry, "Vote it Out!" in *Trumpet Notes*, 105; Charles Mackay and Isaac B. Woodbury, "If I Were a Voice," in *Trumpet Notes*, 50; Henry Carey, "Our Cause," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 6.

Some song to raise, or prayer. Something for Thee.”<sup>63</sup> This equation of music and prayer echoes the writings and practices of aforementioned dry activists. While dry songs are certainly considered a channel towards dry ideals, music beyond the dry canon is never given the same tribute. Partly in an act of self-promotion, some songs lyrically attack the morality of wet music, warning that the so-called “beautiful music” of saloons is in fact nothing more than a “harlot’s foul song.”<sup>64</sup>

The contrasting metaphors of night versus day, or dark versus light, are entrenched in Christian thought and are correspondingly cast throughout the dry lyrics to reinforce notions of good and evil, temperance and drinking.<sup>65</sup> Not surprisingly, night and darkness are associated with previously discussed notions of immorality. The lyrics associate alcoholic beverages with darkness, as for example with the title “Coal-black wine,” and they refer to the desire to drink as “dark passions.”<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, the darkness associated with inebriation is said to induce sinful behaviour including the neglect of loved-ones, and self-destructive feelings such as doubt, fear, grief, sadness, loneliness, anguish and pain.<sup>67</sup> Notably, darkness is also connected to death:

The dying embers on the hearth  
Gave out their flick’ring light  
As if to say this is the way  
Thy life shall close in night<sup>68</sup>

The fact that nighttime has traditionally been the period when drinking most regularly occurs must have only enhanced the negative connotations associated with darkness. In contrast, song titles such as “The Right Shall Win the Day,” “Freedom’s Day” and “I’ll Be a Sunbeam” link day and light to righteousness and salvation. References to the “sun of

<sup>63</sup> Unsled, “Little By Little,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 42; W. A. Williams, “Keep the Ball A-Rolling,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 38.

<sup>64</sup> W. A. Williams, “Down in the Licensed Saloon,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 32; Revered E. P. Hood and Thomas H. Bayly, “Drunkard’s Wife,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 131.

<sup>65</sup> These correspond to Valverde’s study of allegories of water in non-musical sources related to the social purity movement during approximately the same period. See Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991).

<sup>66</sup> Francis H. Noyes, “The Coal-Black Wine” (Washington, D.C.: H. Eberbach, 1885); Palmer, “Yield Not to Temptation,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 77.

<sup>67</sup> Henry C. Work, “Come Home Father,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, ed. Albert E. Wier (Boston: Carl Fischer, 1918), 83; “Holy Spirit, Faithful Guide,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 17; “I Gave My Life for Thee,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 28; E. A. Hoffman and Walter Kittredge, “Praying To-Night,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 21.

<sup>68</sup> “Drunkard’s Lament,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 56.

victory,” the luminescence of pure water, the “radiant brightness” of truth, the “happiest, brightest home,” and “day[s] of pure delight” all strengthen the link between daylight and temperance.<sup>69</sup> One song even describes heaven as what exists beyond the “gateways of light.”<sup>70</sup>

More than simply symbolizing Christian morality, metaphors of light and dark are imbued with functional and active qualities. For example, in discussing the powers of a loyal temperance legion, one song avers “Sorrow’s dark night must flee before its ray/ ’Twill bring the world to God and temp’rance.”<sup>71</sup> Celestial imagery such as “The Temperance Star” is frequently employed to symbolize the light that guides one out of darkness and sin.<sup>72</sup> Even more prevalent throughout the dry lyrics are references to “morning” and “dawn,” which seem to represent the ultimate domination of light over dark, right over wrong, and temperance over intemperance. One song in particular, “Waiting for the Morning,” associates the dawning of a new day with, among other things, the shedding of old wrongs, the banishment of sorrow, the triumph of truth over vice, and peace on earth.<sup>73</sup> Some songs even acknowledge music’s near-synaesthetic ability to both “hail” dawn and “usher in the brand new day.”<sup>74</sup> Based on this faith in the ultimate triumph of light there also exist positive references to night/darkness, especially in relation to the sense of hope and watchfulness that comes from enduring a dark period and the thankfulness that is garnered by having made it through.<sup>75</sup>

This belief in the active illumination of darkness allegorizes a more general Christian understanding of salvation. Christian and especially Protestant evangelical soteriology dictates that a strong faith in God and a moral lifestyle based on the teachings of the bible

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<sup>69</sup> Reverend Alfred Taylor and John J. Jones, “Ring Out the Bells,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 66; Bugbee and Towne, “Happy Children,” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadian*, 10; “Joyful Day!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 137; Woodbury, arr., “And Are Ye Sure the News is True?” in *Trumpet Notes*, 82; Hoffman, “Make the Map All White,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 24.

<sup>70</sup> J.M. Whyte, “Past the Bright Portals,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 41.

<sup>71</sup> Katherine Lent Stevenson and Stephen C. Foster, “Some Glad Day,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 25.

<sup>72</sup> “The Temperance Star,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 63; John Anderson and Robert Lowry, “The Star of Temperance,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 13.

<sup>73</sup> Lawrence and Danks, “Waiting for the Morning,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 35.

<sup>74</sup> Lawrence and Danks, “Waiting for the Morning,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 35; Anna A. Gordon, “Jubilee Bells,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 36.

<sup>75</sup> “O Safe to the Rock That is Higher Than I,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 44; “Closing Ode,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 178; Breck and Tibbals, “To Make Men Free,” in *New Anti-Saloon Songs*, 43; John McPherson, “Good-Night,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 50.

can bring individuals ever-closer to the Divine. The culmination of this proximation is described in various related ways. In one sense, temperance and prohibition are said to result in a worldwide spiritual “victory,” not only of dry over wet, but likewise good over evil, right over wrong, and “truth...over vice.”<sup>76</sup> Many songs also view the culmination of God path as spiritual “freedom” from sin and suffering: “And thro' the truth that comes from God/Mankind shall then be truly free.”<sup>77</sup> As such a prime characteristic of truth and moral, temperance is thus also acknowledged as something “made to set one free.”<sup>78</sup> The fruition of divine enlightenment is also commonly understood as a form of spiritual “salvation” that can entail either the deliverance from all kinds of sin and suffering: “O save us from the dreadful fall/ That ends in guilt and shame,”<sup>79</sup> or the redemption of righteous individuals in preparation for entrance into Heaven: “Temperance Chimes are ringing/ Redemption in his name/ To whom the saved are clinging/ And for whose love He came.”<sup>80</sup> Through the practice of musical borrowing from hymns, dry songs are therefore able to demonstrate temperance and prohibition to be nearly synonymous with spiritual victory, freedom, and salvation.

And here too, some songs discuss music itself to be involved in spiritual pursuits. Song titles like “Victory Bells” seem to identify music as an audible incarnation of these salvational processes. To furthering this point, many lyrics declare things such as “Lord, lead us by Thy mighty hand/ Till victory be our song” or “while a voice is left to sing/ Still shall the song of freedom sing.”<sup>81</sup> Many songs also consider music to be highly active in the pursuit of God and temperance. Herein, music is not only used to tell the world that “Freedom’s day draws near,” but also “To summon the jubilee.”<sup>82</sup> Even musical praise, a

<sup>76</sup> “The Looked for Day, in *Prohibition Songs*, 43; Etta Pugsley Lancefield, “Band of Hope,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 65; “Sons of Liberty,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 55; Taylor and Jones, “Ring out the Bells!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 66; B.H. Lawrence and H.P. Danks, “Waiting for the Morning,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 35; Also see *Songs of Victory*, (Toronto: Dominion Alliance, Ontario Branch, 1907-1919).

<sup>77</sup> Frederick W. Faber and H.F. Hemy, “Faith of Our Fathers,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 16.

<sup>78</sup> Mary H. Mather, “The Better Plan,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 22; Bugbee and Towne, “Happy Children,” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 10; “The Temperance Call,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 34.

<sup>79</sup> James A. Gordon and Anna A. Gordon, “Loyal Temperance Legion,” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 19.

<sup>80</sup> Rev. W. A. DesBrisay and H.P. Danks, “The Temperance Chimes,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 61; Palmer, “Yield Not to Temptation,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 30.

<sup>81</sup> Hewitt and Gabriel, “Victory Bells,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 23; “Our Banner Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 3; Simmonds and Wilhelm, “Awake! Arise!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 53.

<sup>82</sup> Silver Lake Quartet, “Prohibition Bells,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 111; Taylor and Jones, “Ring out the Bells!” in

seemingly passive practice, is considered by some songs to take a proactive role in “stirring to action ev’ry soul” or “issu[ing] soon in victory.”<sup>83</sup>

Within the dry lyrics the concept of spiritual salvation is strongly connected to a complex understanding of mortality. While most songs recognize the transient nature of life on earth, the concept of “death” is most commonly associated with those who drink (or engage in other sinful activities) without repentance or redemption. One song describes drinkers as being condemned by Satan “down to death and hell,”<sup>84</sup> while another warns potential drinkers to “Touch not the cup, it is death to the soul,” and urges them to “Think of death, of the sorrowful and gloom/ Think that perhaps thou may'st share in the doom.”<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, everlasting life in heaven is associated with those faithful advocates of righteousness and temperance: “Stand up for Jesus, Christian stand!/ Soon with the blest immortal band/ We'll dwell for aye, life's journey o'er/ In realms of light on heaven's bright shore.”<sup>86</sup> Many of those songs that do not directly promote immortality certainly allude to some form of continued existence in heaven, either as a “sweet repose,” a “sweet song,” or a “glorious rest.”<sup>87</sup> Therefore, with the ultimatum of everlasting life in heaven or everlasting death in hell, temperance and prohibition are expressed, in the words of one song, as a matter of “do or die”<sup>88</sup> and abstaining from alcohol is constructed as an assured way of staving off death. It is not surprising that the only thing dry songs wish death upon is liquor consumption and traffic.<sup>89</sup>

Besides images of light and dark or life and death, the dry songs borrow other religious archetypes from Protestant hymnody to reinforce themes of religious salvation. Many songs despair at the idea of being “A Slave to Drink” and likewise extol temperance

*Trumpet Notes*, 66.

<sup>83</sup> Anna A. Gordon and Charles H. Gabriel, “Work For Enforcement Where you Are,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 9; Hoffman and Root, “Vote for Prohibition,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 3.

<sup>84</sup> J.M. Whyte, “Death-March of the 600,000,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 30.

<sup>85</sup> J.H. Aikman and T.H. Bayly, “Touch Not the Cup,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 87.

<sup>86</sup> “Stand Up for Jesus,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 12.

<sup>87</sup> “Water from the Spring,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 56; “O Safe to the Rock That is Higher Than I,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 44; “Jesus Keep Me Near the Cross” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 9;

<sup>88</sup> E. A. Hoffman, “No Surrender,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 7.

<sup>89</sup> E. A. Hoffman and George A. Minor, “Going Dry,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 15; Hoffman and Root, “Vote for Prohibition,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 3; Major Atchinson and William J. Kirkpatrick, “Prohibition Is Marching On,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 90.

for emancipating drinkers from their “Intemp’rance chains.”<sup>90</sup> The pursuit of salvation is also referred to as a “journey” whose precise path may at times be indeterminate but whose destination can be made clear with the guidance of either God or “Temperance.”<sup>91</sup> In a similar fashion, dry activists may experience “troubled sea[s]” and tempests, but the ships, “life-boats,” and beacons of God and temperance, will lead them out of trouble.<sup>92</sup>

While salvation, especially within evangelical thought, is believed to be attainable at any point during a person’s life, and often comes as a result of individual spiritual rebirth, ultimate salvation of all humans is generally understood to arrive during the end of the world, as predicted by the bible.<sup>93</sup> Evangelical eschatology is closely linked to the idea of salvation in its belief that a period of religious tribulation will be followed sometime in the perceivable future by the arrival of the “millennium,” an earthly golden age devoid of sin. This is believed to be accompanied by the second coming of Christ and the Last Judgment of all people in determination of their suitability for entrance into heaven (or hell).<sup>94</sup>

The millennium, or jubilee as it is sometimes called, are rife with references to victory, freedom, and salvation:

Soon will come a day of gladness, when the victory we gain  
And our land, redeemed and ransomed shall be free  
We will join the voice of millions as they shout the glad refrain  
To the welcome song of Freedom's Jubilee<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> J.M. Whyte, “A Slave to Drink,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 11; “Raising Ode. No. 3,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 182.

<sup>91</sup> McLeod and Lynn, “Trust in God, and Do the Right,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 94; “Water From the Spring,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 56.

<sup>92</sup> J.G. Whittier and Hubert P. Main, “The Temperance Ship,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 103; “Brightly Beam Our Father’s Mercy,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 10; C.H. Mead, arr., “Life-Boat At Sea,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 46; “Launch the Life-Boat,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 37; “He Leadeth Me!” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 7; “Jesus Love of My Soul,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 11; “Shall We Meet Beyond the River,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 35; Bonner and Crampton, “A Joyous Song We Sing,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 19; Mrs. C.L. Shacklock and J.M. Stillman, “Breakers Ahead,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 140.

<sup>93</sup> While all Christian denominations have salvational and millennial components to their faith, Protestant evangelicalism in particular has given these notions a distinct and important place within its doctrine.

<sup>94</sup> The length of the millennium (i.e. literally interpreted or figuratively interpreted) and the precise timing of Christ’s second coming (i.e. before or after the millennium) is debated throughout the Christian denominations.

<sup>95</sup> Collins and Kirkpatrick, “Coming Victory,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 26; Faber and Hemy, “Faith of Our Fathers,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 16; Whyte, “Look Unto Him,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 3; Silver Lake Quartette, “The Prohibition Bells,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 111.

Most dry songs directly or indirectly agree that an alcohol-free world is a prerequisite for the coming millennium, and contribute to the spiritual uplift of worldly happiness by looking to the coming age as a “beautiful day,” a “better day,” a “good time,” a “happy day.”<sup>96</sup> This period is also considered to be a time of reckoning when “sinners condemnation will be written on the wall,” when “broken hearts [will be] healed,” and when freedom will be granted to all deserving people.<sup>97</sup> This anticipation of forthcoming events is present in almost all dry lyrics as reflected by their use of verb tenses. Most songs are written in the future tense, and the majority of dry songs also have forward-looking titles such as “Some Glad Day,” “Coming Victory,” “In the Sweet By and By,” “There's a Better Time a-Coming,” “The Right Shall Prevail,” or “Forward' be Our Watchword.” Some of them, like “Song of A Thousand Years,” make direct reference to the millennium.<sup>98</sup>

In this case, imperial metaphors are often employed to allegorize the coming millennium. A number of songs make reference to Christ as the true king of the world and predict the day when “Jesus Shall Reign” as the “King Eternal.”<sup>99</sup> Contrastingly, well-known songs represent “King Alcohol” as a pretender to the same throne, and they look forward to a time “When Rum Shall Cease To Reign” and alcohol will be banished from the dominion.<sup>100</sup> Many dry lyrics also self-acknowledge the role that music plays in initiating the millennium, such as “Prohibition bells...ringing out the rum-king's doom,” “Jubilee bells...usher[ing] in a brand new day,” and “Victory bells...hastening on the hour” of

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<sup>96</sup> “Lord Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 46; “To the Work!” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 6; “The Looked for Day,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 43; Moore and Coward, “Oh, Pity the Tempted!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 98; Lowry, “Coming By and By,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 62; “Friends of Freedom,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 41; J.E. Rankin and J.W. Bischoff (arr.), “There's a Better Time a-Coming,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 172; “International Temperance Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 4.

<sup>97</sup> “Save Our Children Or They Die,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 14; Knowles Shaw (arr.), “Handwriting on the Wall,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 48; Bungay and Carey, “Freedom's Day,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 7; Mrs. M. A. Kidder and Rev. S.W. Spencer, “The Work is Going On!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 118; Mather, “The Better Plan,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 22; Lowry, “The World is Moving On,” 132.

<sup>98</sup> Stevenson and Foster, “Some Glad Day” in *Prohibition Songs*, 25; Collins and Kirkpatrick, “Coming Victory,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 26; Rankin and Bischoff, “There's a Better Time a-Coming,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 172; “The Right Shall Prevail,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 145; “‘Forward' be Our Watchword,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 59; Henry C. Work, “Song of a Thousand Years,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 74; For “In the Sweet By and By,” see Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 82-85.

<sup>99</sup> Watts and Hatton “Jesus Shall Reign,” in *Songs of Victory*; “Lead On, O King Eternal,” in *Songs of Victory*, 7.

<sup>100</sup> “King Alcohol,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 174; “When Rum Shall Cease to Reign,” in *Songs of Victory*, 3; Pugsley, “British Freedom,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 70; Lottie Moore, “Ontario's Rally Song,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 60.

temperance and redemption.<sup>101</sup> Music is also understood to signify the presence and power of God during end times, such as with Jesus' "final bugle call" (signifying the Second Coming). In other cases, music is valued as a means of entering heaven, either by "joining...song with the heavenly throng"<sup>102</sup> or by singing "on that beautiful shore/ The melodious songs of the blest."<sup>103</sup>

#### MUSIC'S ROLE IN THE UNIFICATION OF DRY CULTURE

Just as the mental and physical benefits of temperance could be uplifted to a spiritual level, so too could individual commitment to the cause be uplifted to a social level. Social unity and cooperation throughout the dry movement were certainly pragmatic ways of ensuring the success of the cause, but they also had a strong spiritual foundation. Although loving one's neighbour had not always been carried out in practice, it had always been a core tenet of the Christian doctrine. Furthermore, evangelical eschatology during this period, especially the strain associated with the Social Gospel movement, held a postmillennialist conviction that Christ would only return to earth once the millennium was achieved. This understanding necessitated that humans unite against the evils of society in active preparation for worldly salvation and ultimate communion with God. Accordingly, the songs of the dry repertoire emphasize social cooperation as a boon to the dry movement for practical as well as spiritual reasons.

In their writings John and Charles Wesley urged congregants to "unite [their] voices together, so as to make one clear melodious sound."<sup>104</sup> And while Lowell Mason expounded upon the individual health benefits of musical participation, he also highlighted its positive effect on "habits of order and union" within society at large.<sup>105</sup> With the belief that participation in musical activities benefited those who sang or played it more than those who simply listened to it, Mason encouraged religious music-making to be extended as far as possible. Among other things, he successfully introduced music instruction into

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<sup>101</sup> Silver Lake Quartette, "Prohibition Bells," in *Trumpet Notes*, 111; Anna A. Gordon, "Jubilee Bells," in *Prohibition*, 36; Hewitt and Gabriel, "Victory Bells," in *Prohibition Songs*, 23.

<sup>102</sup> Rev. John O. Foster, "Who Is the Coming Man?" in *Trumpet Notes*, 11.

<sup>103</sup> "There's A Land That is Fairer Than Day," in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 33.

<sup>104</sup> Peterson, "Rum, Ruin, and Revival," 9-10.

<sup>105</sup> The Juvenile Lyre as quoted in Peterson, "Rum, Ruin, and Revival," 24.

the American public school system, helped integrate hymn-singing into all church services, and promotional congregational participation in song.<sup>106</sup>

Frances Willard was also enthusiastic about music's unifying potential for the dry movement. In her autobiography, she reminisced fondly about the rich musical life of early temperance organizations, and declared that the blending of the group's voices into song was "the most novel spectacle that [she] recall[s]."<sup>107</sup> In another case, Willard described how she employed song in order to rally men together in pursuit of female enfranchisement that could usher in prohibition legislation.<sup>108</sup> Letitia Youmans also recognized the implicit unifying tendencies of music. During her time as WCTU leader, she was involved in making the movement less sectarian by renting a non-denominational hall and, despite limited funds, purchasing an organ for everyone to enjoy regardless of their denomination.<sup>109</sup> Manuals also proved music to be an important facet of different dry unity in the decades leading up to prohibition. In *The Teetotaler's Hand-Book*, published in 1860, compiler and longtime temperance editor Reverend William Scott included several dozen poetic and musical selections "adapted to various tastes and capacities...[which] may be exceedingly useful in...promot[ing] the good of community."<sup>110</sup>

Within the dry repertoire, there is a certain appreciation for the socially- and spiritually-unifying capabilities of music itself, as exemplified by songbooks like *Everybody Sing: Songs of the W.C.T.U.*, song titles such as "All Unite in Singing," and performance techniques such as holding hands while singing.<sup>111</sup> The familiar melodies, lyrics and/or themes that accompanied musical borrowing certainly could have enabled large groups to learn them quickly.<sup>112</sup> Ostensibly inspired by Lowell Mason's earlier teachings, dry songs attribute group singing to starting the anti-drink cause along, recruiting more members, and triumphing over evil.<sup>113</sup> Songs like "Call Them In" and "Come and Help Us" evoke the

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<sup>106</sup> Peterson, "Rum, Ruin, and Revival," 22-30.

<sup>107</sup> Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 340.

<sup>108</sup> Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 364.

<sup>109</sup> Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 93.

<sup>110</sup> William Scott, *The Teetotaler's Hand-book*, (Toronto: Dredge, 1860), iv.

<sup>111</sup> Anna Adams Gordon. *Everybody Sing: Songs of the W.C.T.U.* (Evanston, Ill.: National Woman's Christian Temperance Union Pub. House, 1924).

<sup>112</sup> Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song*, 164.

<sup>113</sup> "Voting for Prohibition," in *Prohibition Songs*, 69; Gould and Sullivan, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 33. (Here, group singing is also portrayed as a form of praise towards God).

recruitment language associated with war metaphors and speak to the underlying belief that links “daily growing numbers/With a zeal that never slumbers.”<sup>114</sup> Extensive covers and parodies of popular secular songs such as “Auld Lang Syne” also seem to be at least partly due to their traditional connotations of conviviality.<sup>115</sup> Performance instructions, too, are used to promote the importance of group cooperation, as with the following example: “Let some good tenor or baritone voice lead, and the whole crowd join in the chorus, till you make the welkin ring.”<sup>116</sup> Within the songs themselves, lyrics refer to fellow advocates as “comrades,” “brothers,” and other labels used to denote friendship or camaraderie.<sup>117</sup> Even children are encouraged to join together in the fight against drink.<sup>118</sup>

While many songs viewed social unity in secular terms, a great number of them continued to promote unity in spiritual terms. Many songs, including “Blest be the Tie that Binds,” demonstrate a belief in the sanctity of social cooperation, declaring “The fellowship of kindred minds/Is like to that above.”<sup>119</sup> This apparent acceptance of diversity was reaffirmed by declarations like, “Be all prejudice forgotten; lay all party names aside.”<sup>120</sup> The benefits of such spiritual and secular cooperation are numerous described throughout the repertoire. In one way, cooperation is demonstrated to better enable people to deal with their tribulations:

We share our mutual woes,  
Our mutual burdens bear.  
And often for each other flows  
The sympathising tear.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>114</sup> “Call Them In,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 25. Thomas R. Thompson and Miss Belle Penney, “Come and Help Us,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 60; Hubert P. Main, “They Are Coming From the Mountains,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 78.

<sup>115</sup> “Cold Water Clear and Friendship Dear”; For “Auld Lang Syne” see Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 116-119.

<sup>116</sup> See, “Jubilee Campaign Chorus,” in *Sons of Temperance*, June 1897, 2.

<sup>117</sup> “Comrades, Fill No Glass for Me” in *A History of Popular Music in America*, 117; J.B. Vinton and W. Warren Bentley, “Storm the Fort,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 117; E.A. Hoffman and George F. Root, “Our Trust Is In the God of Battles,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 17; William Hoyle, “The Dawning of the Day,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 72.

<sup>118</sup> “Never Drink Whiskey or Brandy,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 39; E.P. Hood and H.P. Main (arr.), “How Beautiful to See,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 104.

<sup>119</sup> “Blest Be the Tie That Binds,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 53; Also see “Am I My Brother’s Keeper?” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 29.

<sup>120</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 95

<sup>121</sup> “Blest Be the Tie That Binds,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 53

In another way, unity is said to allow society to thrust aside misery so as to attain greater heights of happiness.<sup>122</sup>

Despite this overwhelming emphasis on cooperation, dry unity was not without its restrictions. At the same time that it had promoted unity, the Christian doctrine had recognized dichotomy within the world, in the form of good and evil, morality and sin, light and dark, life and death etc. The postmillennialist views of the dry movement maintained that social evils must be eradicated from the world through human effort before Christ would come again. To attain these lofty goals as quickly as possible, many Protestant evangelicals took a progressive and aggressive approach towards anything it perceived as sinful. In this way, a great deal of their inspiration came from practices of war.

Much of the martial imagery found within the dry repertory is borrowed directly from the dozens of war-themed hymns of the nineteenth century, including “Onward, Christian Soldiers,” “Storm the Fort,” “Am I A Soldier of the Cross?”<sup>123</sup> However, the hypotextual genesis of the military metaphor is more complicated than other hymnodic metaphors in that “battle hymns” themselves were often borrowed from well-known secular military songs of the day. Of particular inspiration were the many popular war songs of the American Civil War, including “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” “Battle-Cry of Freedom,” “Marching Through Georgia,” “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp,” and “Hail to the Chief.”<sup>124</sup>

Within the repertory, the enormous number of dry songs that borrow from both battle-hymns and military songs do so in a variety of ways. Some cover these aforementioned songs and other similar ones. Many songs were pastiches of war songs, written as marches, or borrowing the style and texture associated with military tunes—namely their percussiveness, loudness, and sprightly “feel.”<sup>125</sup> Still other songs adapt the musical settings of battle hymns and civil-war songs in order to reflect dry ideals more

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<sup>122</sup> Crosby and Main, “Hurrah for Sparkling Water,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 99; “Never Drink Whiskey or Brandy,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 39; Lowell Mason, “Our Holy Cause,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 20.

<sup>123</sup> Gould and Sullivan, “Onward, Christian Soldiers,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 33; Vinton and Bentley, “Storm the Fort,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 117; “Am I A Soldier of the Cross?” in *Prohibition Songs*, 37.

<sup>124</sup> Sanders dedicates an entire chapter to dry parodies of civil war tunes. See Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 180-258.

<sup>125</sup> For example, see “Awake! Arise!”; Lathrap and Jewell, “The Drunkard’s March,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 28; William Sherwin, “Temperance Work,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 36; Helen E. Brown and David Henshaw, “Our Glasses Upside Down,” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 11.

precisely; these include such well-known renditions as “Onward, Temperance Soldiers,” “Temperance Battle Hymn,” “Prohibition Battle-Cry” and many others.<sup>126</sup> Other lyrics simply include military imagery in what is otherwise an original piece. Whatever the method may be, an enormous number of songs allude to the militancy of the dry cause in some form or another.<sup>127</sup>

More than simply allegorize the struggle of right against wrong or dry against wet, war metaphors by their very nature promoted a high level of proactive behaviour. Consequently, many songs analogize the dry cause with a “Prohibition Army” or “Temperance Corps” while others describe the dry cause as a military “campaign” or “crusade.”<sup>128</sup> Some songs solicit dry activists to make use of their “weapons” and “gird on [their] trusty armor.”<sup>129</sup> Several pieces attempt to recruit potential dry supporters by asking people to “Come, Join Our Crusade,” sending out “call[s] for loyal soldiers,” and “muster[ing] millions brave and true” to enlist for the right.<sup>130</sup> A number of tunes focus on the importance of military marching for the dry cause by claiming things like “Prohibition is Marching On.”<sup>131</sup> Still others ask dry activists to be dedicated, strong, courageous, and resilient when battling alcohol and sin.<sup>132</sup> Many songs focus on fighting the battle for the cause and making the “foe” retreat or conquering it outright.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> See Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*.

<sup>127</sup> The metaphor of slavery, which was briefly addressed earlier, seems to be tied to the war metaphors here, in that both themes are likely to have been inspired by the ideals of the American Civil War. At least one song, suggests as much. See Taylor, “Move Along! March Along!” in *Trumpet Notes*, 92.

<sup>128</sup> Taylor, “The Prohibition Army,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 10; F. Sims, “The Temperance Corps,” in *The University of Toronto Songbook* (Toronto: Suckling and Sons, 1887); “The Campaign” in *Songs of Might to Cheer the Fight Against the Blight of Liquordom*, eds. Charles M. and J.H. Fillmore, (Cincinnati, OH: Fillmore Music House, 1912); “Crusade Glory Song,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 46.

<sup>129</sup> Wesley and Mason, “A Charge I Have to Keep,”; Mrs. M.A. Kidder and Revered S.W. Spencer, “Good News,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 88.

<sup>130</sup> “Come, Join Our Crusade”; “As A Volunteer” in *Prohibition Songs*, 58; Hoffman and Root, “Battling for God and Home,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 2; E.A. Hoffman, “What’s the News,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 26.

<sup>131</sup> Atchinson and Kirkpatrick, “Prohibition Is Marching On,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 90; Some songs also describe drinkers as embarking on a Death-March. see Whyte, “The Death-March of the 600,000,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 30; “The Dead March of the Saloon,” *Songs of Might*.

<sup>132</sup> Hoffman, “No Surrender,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 7; “Mrs. C.H. Morris, “The Fight Is On,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 19; “Home Protection Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 5; Hoffman and Root, “Vote for Prohibition,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 3; E.A. Hoffman and T.G. May, “For Your Country Stand,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 6.

<sup>133</sup> Joseph Malins, “We’ll Make the Foe Retreat, Boys,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 16; James Rowe and Arthur Sullivan, “Onward, Temperance Soldiers,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 1; Crosby and Main, “Lift Up Your Voice in Trumpet Notes,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 3; Hewitt and Gabriel, “Victory Bells,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 23.

Announcements such as “The right and wrong engage today/The fight is on...” serve to associate the Christian ideals of morality with a more militant clash between dry and wet.<sup>134</sup> Similarly, victory of a proverbial war is considered a secular manifestation of spiritual salvation:

Truth and right from shields are glancing  
Lo! the victory is near...  
See the whisky ranks commencing  
To retreat in blank dismay<sup>135</sup>

While most militant songs encourage hating evil and fighting drinking, not all songs encourage the utter destruction of their enemies. Indeed, a few encourage dry activists to love and accept their enemies.<sup>136</sup> Songs like “Oh, Pity the Tempted” and “Rescue the Perishing” encourage dry advocates to have mercy on drinkers so they can be saved from “shame and woe” and above all “death.”<sup>137</sup> This attitude exhibits a common trend within dry songs that associates alcoholic beverages and drinking with evil, but maintains that drinkers themselves are not necessarily beyond redemption. These examples, however, do not negate the oppressive attitude that labeled drinkers as morally inferior and therefore in need of spiritual subjugation.

Among the battle-themed dry lyrics, music is regularly acknowledged as having a powerful role in defeating the enemy. Two songbooks, *Trumpet-Notes for the Royal Templars* and *Trumpet Notes for the Temperance Battle-Field*, along with several other lyrical references to trumpets demonstrate the military instrument as useful for publicizing the message of the dry army.<sup>138</sup> Music is also held to improve the recruitment of activists, or “soldiers” for the dry cause:

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<sup>134</sup> Morris, “The Fight Is On,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 19.

<sup>135</sup> Whyte, “Vote the Drinking Out,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 12.

<sup>136</sup> Faber and Hemy, “Faith of Our Fathers,” in *Songs of Victory*, 19; E.A. Hoffman, “Victory,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 12.

<sup>137</sup> Moore and Coward, “Oh, Pity the Tempted,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 98; Fanny J. Crosby and W.H. Doane, “Rescue the Perishing,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 34; “Battle Hymn of the Women’s Crusade,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 63.

<sup>138</sup> *Trumpet notes of the Royal Templars of Temperance*; Stearns and Main, *Trumpet Notes for the Temperance Battle-Field*; R. Semple, “Blow the Temperance Trumpet,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 8.

Come and gather one and all! we'll sing a temp'rance song,  
 Sing it with a spirit that will start our cause along,  
 Sing it til our army numbers many thousands strong,  
 Casting votes for prohibition<sup>139</sup>

Lastly, it is believed to induce “faith and courage/ In the struggle with the wrong” or push along the battle so as to “issue soon in victory.”<sup>140</sup>

The militarism of the dry songs advanced the movement’s postmillennialist goals in important ways. The Christian dichotomy of good and evil was successfully applied to the drinking issue. However, evangelical militarism was unique in its ability to make the dry cause a war of people rather than a war of ideologies. As such, the dry movement came to promote the desirability of some social identities and the deviance of others. It profiled dry allies as white, Anglo-Saxon, and middle-class social groups with clearly defined gender roles. In contrast, it defined dry enemies most often as members of ethnic-minority, working-class, and male-dominated social groups. The music achieves this in different ways. The WCTU motto, “For God, Home and Native Land,” was introduced into the dry repertoire by Letitia Youmans in the 1880s and the latter two themes were directly tied to the promotion of dry “allies.”<sup>141</sup> Common nineteenth-century conceptions of the home and nuclear family are known to have been strongly influenced by Victorian morality, which emphasized middle-class ideals and women’s domesticity.<sup>142</sup> Likewise, the nation is known to have been thoroughly ensconced in Victorian culture as a source of patriotism, jingoism, and imperialism.<sup>143</sup> In supporting these institutions, dry music aligned itself with a larger body of parlour songs and patriotic tunes that all worked together on an informal basis to advance dominant Anglo-Protestant values.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> “Voting for Prohibition,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 69.

<sup>140</sup> Hoffman and Root, “Our Trust Is In the God of Battles,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 17; Hoffman and Root, “Vote for Prohibition,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 3.

<sup>141</sup> Whyte, “For God, Home and Native Land,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 23; “Our Banner Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 3; Whyte, “Canada Shall Yet Be Free,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 9

<sup>142</sup> Victorian morality was also responsible for labeling of many rituals as family-oriented, such as baptisms, weddings, funerals, Christmas celebrations. See John R. Gillis, *A World of their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).

<sup>143</sup> Steve Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture: Civil and Military Worlds* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

<sup>144</sup> Disher, *Victorian Song*; On war metaphors, militarism and jingoism in music and Victorian musical sensibility see: Richards, *Imperialism and Music*; also see Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity*, chapter 1.

Many popular home-themed songs of the nineteenth century, including “Home, Sweet Home,” “When Johnny Comes Marching Home,” and “My Old Kentucky Home,” were heavily borrowed by the dry movement. In much the same way that hymns of this period discussed the sacredness of the heavenly domain,<sup>145</sup> these secular songs and others ascribed a certain moral sanctity to earthly domains. In this capacity, many songs within the dry repertoire describe alcohol as particularly destructive to the functioning of the home and domestic environment. Songs like “From The Homes that Rum Has Cursed” generally describe alcohol as bringing sorrow, guilt, and ruination to the family home.<sup>146</sup> Consequently, some songs also discuss the necessity of protecting homes from the dangers of alcohol.<sup>147</sup> War metaphors are lavishly employed in “Battling for God and Home.”<sup>148</sup> For instance, one song urges: “Wake ye people, everywhere, unite to strike the blow,/ On behalf of every home, against this evil foe,” and another implores: “Fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers/ From the battle do not shrink.”<sup>149</sup> The result of such militant protection is ascertained to benefit the home and family in various ways, most commonly by making it beautiful, happy, peaceful, loving, bright, good, pure and true.

Dry songs link temperance/prohibition to the family/home, but also to the sanctity of the nation. In this case, dry songs also borrow heavily from secular patriotic tunes of the day including “God Save the King,” “The Maple Leaf Forever,” “O, Canada” and others.<sup>150</sup> Original tunes also pastiche patriotic songs in both style and lyrics, often supplementing national references with pejoratives against drink or praises for sobriety.<sup>151</sup> Appeals to Canadian provinces, whose prerogative it was to invoke prohibition laws, are also

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<sup>145</sup> Lawrence and Danks, “Waiting for the Morning,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 35; Lillian Jackson and J.M. Whyte, “Our Beautiful Home,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 48; Whyte, “Past the Bright Portals,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 41.

<sup>146</sup> “From the Homes that Rum Has Cursed,” *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 238; also see “Save Our Children Or They Die,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 14; “Breakers Ahead,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 140; “Friends of Freedom,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 41.

<sup>147</sup> “Home Protection Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 17; Willard, “Prohibition Round,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 16.

<sup>148</sup> Hoffman and Root, “Battling for God and Home,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 2.

<sup>149</sup> “Voting for Prohibition,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 69; Plummer, “To the Conflict,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 15.

<sup>150</sup> Alexander Muir, “The Maple Leaf Forever,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 6; Borrowed songs include “God Bless Our Cause,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 45; Henry Carey, “Our Cause,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 6; J.M. Whyte, “Canada the Good,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 17; “O, Canada (adapted),” in *Prohibition Songs*, 64.

<sup>151</sup> Whyte, “Canada Shall Yet Be Free,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 9; Whyte, “A Song for Canada,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 5; E.E. Hewitt and Charles H. Gabriel, “National Prohibition,” in *Songs of Victory*, 11; Cooper and Sherwin, “Rallying Song,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 124.

present.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, the unity of cause and country is seen to result in the enhancement of virtue and in proximity to God. To this effect, the lyrics appeal to the divine force to “save our nation” and “Defend our right [to] forfend this free nation's thrall.”<sup>153</sup> In a more subtle way, some patriotic songs attach themselves to concepts of salvation by borrowing melodies from hymns.<sup>154</sup> Several other pieces use metaphors of enslavement and emancipation to allegorize benefits of temperance on the nation, claiming the flag “was never meant to wave/ Where bad liquors men enslave,” while others proclaim “Fairest Canada shall yet be free/ From this demon and his company.”<sup>155</sup> The many patriotic songs that address the issue of national freedom through alcoholic abstinence tend to provide a more secular quality to the concept of moral and spiritual emancipation discussed in the previous section.

Even more than the protection of the home, war metaphors are employed to symbolize the united fight for a dry nation. This is probably due to the fact that most battles fought by the Western world during the nineteenth-century were based on nationalistic ties. Songs make requests such as: “O Canada, lead in the battle for Truth/ And strike to the death this Destroyer [alcohol]...”<sup>156</sup> Dozens of titles also make reference to “banners” and “rallies,” either of which could be easily shared by the more militant-minded songs of the earlier section.<sup>157</sup> The proximity of war and nation metaphors was never closer than on the eve of prohibition enactment, during the Great War. At this time, dry periodicals like the WCTU's *White Ribbon Tidings* and other publications would include patriotic military songs, sometimes with overt anti-alcohol messages.<sup>158</sup>

When dry songs were not directly addressing the home and nation they were promoting dominant Anglo-Protestant values or demoting subjacent ones along class,

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<sup>152</sup> “Ontario's Rally Song”; J.W. Bengough, “Ontario,” in *Songs of Victory*, 9; Hooper, “Ontario Will Go Dry Forever,” in *Prohibition in Ontario*, 59.

<sup>153</sup> “Our Banner Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 3; “O, Canada (adapted),” in *Prohibition Songs*, 64.

<sup>154</sup> For example, “From Ocean to Ocean” parodies the hymn “Stand Up for Jesus.” See “From Ocean to Ocean” in *Songs of Victory*, 6.

<sup>155</sup> Moore, “A Dry Ontario,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 56; Whyte, “Canada Shall Yet Be Free,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 9.

<sup>156</sup> Whyte, “Canada the Good,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 17.

<sup>157</sup> E.R. Latta and T.C. O'Kane, “The Temperance Banner,” *Trumpet Notes*, 150; “Unfurl the Temperance Banner,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 42; Cooper and Sherwin, “Rallying Song,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 124; Asa Hull, ed., *Temperance Rallying Songs* (New York : Asa Hull, c1888).

<sup>158</sup> See *White Ribbon Tidings*, August 1 July 1915- 1 August 1918.

ethnicity, and race, and gender lines. Certainly many songs acknowledge the fact that drinking could be a problem for all people, from the “poor and wretched” to the “rich and noble,”<sup>159</sup> but beyond these vague statements, no further remarks are made about a middle-class predilection for drink. Instead, the focus remains on the working class drinker. Some of the more blatant lyrics actually did denounce the factory workers who went to the saloon after work.<sup>160</sup> However, as the nineteenth-century wore on, the Anti-Saloon League in the United States and the Dominion Alliance in Canada made the movement more political and the tactics became more insidious. Imported American songbooks with titles like *New Anti-Saloon Songs* or *Anti-saloon Campaign Songs* and popular dry songs like “The Whiskey Shops Must Go” demonstrate how this politicization was paralleled with a slight shift in the targets, from the drinking act to drinking establishments.<sup>161</sup> While the newfound target ostensibly avoided personal attacks on drinkers and drinking, its narrow focus on working-class drinking establishments provided an impersonal veneer to what seems to have been a very personal attack against working-class drinkers. The saloon had essentially become a metonym for the people who typically frequented it.

Throughout the repertory, this subtle manner of “othering” the working class is achieved in various ways. Some songs use pronouns such as “they” or “them” to refer to the lower classes, while employing “us” to refer to true dry advocates.<sup>162</sup> Many songs target working classes indirectly, by associate drinking with poverty and crime. For instance, one song predicts that with the enactment of prohibition laws “the prisons will close every door,/ And the poor-houses tenantless stand.”<sup>163</sup> Others tell stories about tramps whose lives are ruined by drink.<sup>164</sup> Although the songs are censorious, many are also instilled

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<sup>159</sup> “Call Them In,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 25; also see W.F. Sherwin, “Temperance Work,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 36.

<sup>160</sup> Whyte, “Have You Noticed That?” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 10.

<sup>161</sup> Edmund S. Lorenz, *New Anti-Saloon Songs: A Collection of Temperance and Moral Reform Songs* (New York, Lorenz Pub, 1905); E.A. Hoffman, *Anti-Saloon Campaign Songs* (Capepry, Illinois: [1910?]); “The Whiskey Shops Must Go,” in *Temperance Songbook*, ed. (New York: American Heritage Press, 1907, 1971).

<sup>162</sup> Malins, “We’ll Make the Foe Retreat, Boys,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 16; Also see “Have You Noticed That,” wherein condescending descriptions of working-class drinking activities are interspersed with haughty queries to a dry audience like “you’ve often...noticed that?” See J.M. Whyte, “Have You Noticed That,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 10.

<sup>163</sup> “The Looked For Day,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 43.

<sup>164</sup> J.M. Whyte, “Who Killed This Man?” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 13.

with pity for working-class drinkers, especially those more religiously infused songs that focus on the moral and spiritual impoverishment associated with drinking. These songs urge activists to save the weak and lowly, to assist the “poor fallen man.”<sup>165</sup> The pity felt for these people was perhaps genuine but it may have also imbued them with a certain moral inferiority or weakness that itself became a form of alterity.

While pity is prevalent in some songs, the aggressive militarism that also characterizes the movement is employed in specific situations, namely to attack liquor businessmen. Powerful (upper-class) alcohol dealers who became rich from the sale of liquor are invariably described as wholly culpable for the degradation of drinkers and society in general. As such, the songs tolerate no mercy in attacking their character and actions. Some songs compare liquor dealers to “villains,” “outlaws,” and “bandits.”<sup>166</sup> Others describe whiskey men as “waxing fat/ In their wealth, the price of poverty and shame,” and look forward to they day when they will be overpowered.<sup>167</sup>

Although prohibitionists believed their cause should spread to the entire world, and although there is at least one known Canadian temperance songbook published in French,<sup>168</sup> most positive references to foreign nationalities within the songs are directed at Britain and the United States, both of whose dominant classes were ethnically and racially similar to those in Canada. In support of the cause, the dry repertory includes several original English airs and Scottish songs, and also borrows dozens of American patriotic songs including “The Star-Spangled Banner.”<sup>169</sup> Appeals to Britain and the monarchy to aid in the banishment of alcohol from the Canadian dominion are also common, as are references to American experiences with alcohol and alcohol regulation issues.<sup>170</sup> Some

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<sup>165</sup> “A Prayer for the Voters,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 71; “Unfurl the Temperance Banner,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 42.

<sup>166</sup> J.M. Whyte, “Who Killed This Man?” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 13; J.W. Bengough, “Banish Drink Forever,” in *Songs of Victory*, 14.

<sup>167</sup> Whyte, “Have You Noticed That,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 10; Williams and Lowry, “Vote It Out,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 105; Also see Work, “Song of a Thousand Years,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 74.

<sup>168</sup> *Cantiques et Chants de Tempérance: Annotés et Illustrés* (Montréal : La Tempérance, 1910).

<sup>169</sup> An example of an English air is “Never Drink Whiskey and Brandy,” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 28; an example of a Scottish song is “Cold Water Clear and Friendship Dear,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 17; borrowed tunes from the United States include “Star-Spangle Banner,” “America the Beautiful,” and “Battle Hymn of the Republic.” As previously mentioned, American Civil War songs were also borrowed.

<sup>170</sup> Puglsey, “British Freedom,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 70; Whyte, “Down with the Traffic,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 4; “Ontario’s Rally Song”; Moore, “Freedom’s Day,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 60; Hoffman, “Free Your Town,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 14.

songs, like “International Temperance Hymn” ironically limit the “internationality” of the movement to the experiences of “Britannia,” “Columbia,” and “the Dominion.”<sup>171</sup> Another song predicts that the coming of prohibition will bring with it “freedom to our race,” likely not in reference to the human race but rather people of a Western white persuasion.<sup>172</sup> In regard to faith as well, almost every religious reference is somehow derived from Protestant teachings.<sup>173</sup> John A. Foote’s publication *Hymns and Songs for Catholic Total Abstinence Societies* is one of the few examples of dry music directed at or promoted by the Catholic Church.<sup>174</sup>

The positive depiction of temperance and prohibition work among white Protestant Anglo-Saxon cultures is coupled with a less than enthusiastic depiction of non-white, non-Anglo-Saxon, and non-Protestant cultures. One particular song, “Upon the Congo River” portrays native Africans as “dying from the curse of drink.” Likewise, other lyrics aver that “a whiskey drinking man is not a Christian up-to-date” and claim that drinkers worship pagan gods.<sup>175</sup> Negative comments are even made about domestic populations that do not conform to the social identity of the prohibitionists. For instance, “The Plebiscite Verdict” criticizes Quebec for voting against a national referendum on alcohol regulation, an outcome that was largely the result of the province’s large Catholic French-Canadian population.<sup>176</sup> Some songs, like “Keep in De Middle Ob De Road,” “Road Goes Anudder Way” and “Which Way is Your Musket A-Pintin’,” do portray ethnic minorities as having a moral conscience, but the use of accented language still manages to “other” the minority

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<sup>171</sup> “International Temperance Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 4.

<sup>172</sup> Whyte, “For God, and Home and Native Land,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 23.

<sup>173</sup> While John A. Foote’s *Hymns and Songs for Catholic Total Abstinence Societies* implies that the movement did benefit from some non-Protestant support, the book’s uniqueness, coupled with the fact that most of its songs are duplicated from the larger movement, suggests that Catholic support and acceptance within the dry movement was minimal. John A. Foote, *Hymns and Songs for Catholic Total Abstinence Societies* (New York: Temperance Truth Bureau, 1900).

<sup>174</sup> Foote, *Hymns and Songs for Catholic Total Abstinence Societies*; See also “Have You Noticed That?”

<sup>175</sup> J.M. Whyte, “The Road Goes Anudder Way,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 40; J. M. Whyte, “There’s a Sound of Going,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 24; For “Working for the Rum-God’s Doom,” “Ring the Bell of Bacchus,” and “Ye Sons of Bacchus,” see Sanders, *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*.

<sup>176</sup> J. M. Whyte, “The Plebiscite Verdict,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 53.

identities portrayed within the songs.<sup>177</sup> Perhaps inspired by popular music of the day, dry songs commonly apply this practice of othering to southern black American identity.<sup>178</sup>

Music became a means of upholding the established Victorian values that served the interests of middle-class Anglo-Protestants, and in this way, it did much to reinforce Victorian hegemony. However, music also played an interesting and important role in altering that hegemony in subtle ways, namely by endorsing greater rights and responsibilities for women as active protectors of the home. Many dry songs achieve this through the application of heavy doses of sentimentality. According to Shirley Samuels, sentimentality was central to North American culture during the nineteenth century for its ability to provide rules for how to “feel right” about certain connections between gender, race, and class.<sup>179</sup> Dry sentimentalism was manifested in different ways. Many songs are written in the style of a waltz, which was thoroughly linked to the more sentimental attributes of the Romantic era. Sentimentalism was also manifested in the lyrics of dry songs, mainly in the form of heart-wrenching narratives. The aesthetics of dry sentimentality were highly effective in creating sympathy for the cause itself and for the social groups and institutions it represented. However, it was probably most specifically effective in its ability to frame women’s interests as a necessary requirement for the maintenance of dominant Anglo-Protestant values.

Through lyrical sentimentalism dry music was able to promote and interpret the sanctity of family life and Victorian gender roles. Within the repertoire, this is often achieved through the development and frequent use of character tropes such as the “drunken father,” “the virtuous wife and mother,” and “the innocent children.” For instance, nearly all the songs that mention the gender of drinkers depict those who imbibe as male.<sup>180</sup> Indeed, within the repertoire “drunkard” is used to label male drinkers with

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<sup>177</sup> C.H. Mead and Will S. Hays, “Keep in De Middle Ob De Road,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 152; Whyte, “The Road Goes Anudder Way,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 40;

<sup>178</sup> See “Good News, de Chariot's Comin,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 162; Mead and Hays, “Keep in De Middle Ob De Road,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 152.

<sup>179</sup> Shirley Samuels, *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992): 4-6; Also see Fred Kaplan, *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987).

<sup>180</sup> N.B. There are a handful of songs that discuss women drinkers.

such regularity that the word itself takes on gendered connotations.<sup>181</sup> As previously discussed, the home is understood to be particularly vulnerable to drinking, and so in this setting dozens of songs construct the drinking father as potentially the most threatening and dangerous member of the family. As a drinker the father is prone to become lazy, squander his money, and ignore his family.<sup>182</sup>

Even more prevalent than descriptions of the drunken father's actions are sentimental portrayals of the results of those actions on wives and children. Dozens of songs reveal the mental and physical degeneration of drunkard's wives and children, including sorrow, fear, anguish, hunger, homelessness, physical abuse at the hands of the father, and death.<sup>183</sup> One particularly maudlin song called "I'm Hiding, But Please, Sir, Don't Tell" relates the story of a young boy whose drunk father beats him, whose mother is dead as a result of his father's neglect, and who dies suddenly before a kind stranger is able to help him.<sup>184</sup> According to many songs, the most heinous way a father could harm his children, especially his sons, is by influencing them to start drinking. The prodigal son "Following His Father" along the path of inebriety is yet another trope formulated by the repertoire.<sup>185</sup> For the mothers of these sons, their "loss" to drink is depicted as devastating:

Whose mother never dreamed her child  
Would ever be by drink defiled  
To her dead boy she comes and kneels  
But who knows what that mother feels?<sup>186</sup>

The apparent suffering inflicted by male drinkers on their families seems to have sparked dry songwriters to counsel men on improving their behaviour. Of the several songs directed at a male audience, many proffer advice such as "Touch not the cup, young man, in thy pride," "Come back to the path that thy mother hath trod," and "rise to be a

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<sup>181</sup> See for example, "Drunkard's Dream," in *Read 'Em and Weep*, 193; Rollin C. Ward, "The Drunkard's Lament," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 56; Lathrap and Jewell, "The Drunkard's March," in *Trumpet Notes*, 28.

<sup>182</sup> Dave Manley, "Father Came Home with the Milkman" (New York: F.B. Haviland Publishing, 1914); "Everybody Works but Father," in *A History of Popular Music In America*, 349.

<sup>183</sup> "Drunkard's Dream," in *Read 'Em and Weep*, 193; "White Ribbon Rally Song," in *Prohibition Songs*, 75; Lathrap and Jewell, "The Drunkard's March," in *Trumpet Notes*, 28; Rowe and Sullivan, "On, Temperance Soldiers," in *Prohibition Songs*, 1; Ruth G. Plummer, "To the Conflict," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 15.

<sup>184</sup> "I'm Hiding, But Please, Sir, Don't Tell," in *Trumpet Notes*, 160.

<sup>185</sup> "Following His Father," in *Songs of Might*; also see W.A. Williams "Down in the Licensed Saloon," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 32; W.A. Williams, "The Tolling Bells," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 39.

<sup>186</sup> Whyte, "Who Killed This Man?" in *Nuggets of Gold*, 13.

man/ Intelligent and free.”<sup>187</sup> Some songs contain more general appeals to the family, encouraging them to decide between “children or the drink” and to never retreat from the temperance battle.<sup>188</sup> One song appeals to national participation in the cause, asking Canada to “wake/ For the children’s dear sake.”<sup>189</sup> A significant number of early dry songs encourage women to refuse to marry men who drink, by promoting slogans like “Lips That Touch Liquor Shall Never Touch Mine.”<sup>190</sup> Songbook titles like *Marching Songs for Young Crusaders* and *Rallying Songs for Young Teetotalers* reveal a common tendency within the movement to specifically encourage children to fight against the drinking problem.<sup>191</sup> Singing itself is sometimes endorsed as the most popular way for children and women to help achieve a sober society. This much can be ascertained from the multiple dry songs written for children’s or women’s voices,<sup>192</sup> and by analyzing the high membership rates in Bands of Hope or other dry music groups geared towards women and children.<sup>193</sup>

Apparently with this advice in mind, a number of songs relate different ways that women and children do go about, or have gone about, actively creating a temperance household. For instance, innumerable songs relay accounts of mothers and sisters praying, and pleading with their male family members to stop drinking.<sup>194</sup> Some lyrics also portray women as aggressive, unwavering, and even militant in their pursuit of temperance/prohibition and related causes such as women’s rights.<sup>195</sup> Although the tactics of children were more limited, the songs also imbue young people with the rights and

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<sup>187</sup> Aikman and Bayly, “Touch Not the Cup,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 87; J.M. Whyte, “Will He Not Come Back,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 16; “How Beautiful to See,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 104.

<sup>188</sup> George E. Chambers, “The Children or the Drink,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 64; Plummer, “To the Conflict,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 15.

<sup>189</sup> Whyte, “Make Way for the Children,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 2.

<sup>190</sup> George T. Evans, “Lips That Touch Liquor Shall Never Touch Mine” (San Francisco: Gray, 1874); See also Mrs. M. A. Kidder and Mrs. E. A. Parkhurst, “Don’t Marry a Man if He Drinks” (New York: Horace Waters, 1866).

<sup>191</sup> Anna A. Gordon, *Marching Songs for Young Crusaders: Temperance Songs for the Cold Water Army* (Chicago: Woman’s Temperance Publishers Association, c1885-1890); L. Penney, *Rallying Songs for Young Teetotalers* (New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1893).

<sup>192</sup> See Dwight Williams and W.J. Bostwick, “Key-Note Song,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 126; “Are You in the Ranks?” in *Prohibition Songs*, 63; Nellie Talbot and E.O. Excell, “I’ll Be a Sunbeam,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 31; Thompson and Penney, “Come and Help Us,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 60; Stevenson and Foster, “Some Glad Day,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 25.

<sup>193</sup> For instance, in 1890, the Ontario WCTU Bands of Hope alone had a membership rate of 15,945. Cook, “Through Sunshine and Shadow,” 174.

<sup>194</sup> Faber and Hemy, “Faith of Our Fathers,” in *Songs of Victory*, 19.

<sup>195</sup> “Battle Hymn of the Women’s Crusade,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 63; Whyte, “Death-March of the 600,000,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 30.

responsibilities that come with protecting the home. Henry C. Work's "Father, Come Home," probably the most famous song of the dry movement, relates the story of Little Mary who comes to find her father in the barroom late at night:

Father, dear father, come home with me now!  
The clock in the steeple strikes one;  
You said you were coming right home from the shop,  
As soon as your day's work was done.  
Our fire has gone out, our house is all dark,  
And mother's been watching since tea,  
With poor brother Benny so sick in her arms,  
And no one to help her but me.<sup>196</sup>

The song continues with the father refusing to come home and ends with brother Benny dying from neglect, his last words being "I want to kiss Papa good-night." The story and music were indeed so sentimental that "tears rolled down the cheeks of even the most callous" listeners.<sup>197</sup> By portraying women (and to a lesser degree children) not simply as complacent members of the domestic sphere but in the somewhat unorthodox role as active and even aggressive protectors of the home, the dry songs are able to frame women's rights as necessary for correcting the moral, spiritual, and social imbalances brought on by excessive drinking. It is in this way that the dry music did not only reaffirm existing hegemonic ideals and social groups, but also modified and interpreted them.

Although men were chronically viewed by dry activists as susceptible to the evils of drink, many songs do acknowledge that, with the help of women and children or even on their own accord, males (especially those of suitable class, ethnicity, race, and religion) are able to reform their ways and become active prohibitionists. Declarations like "Hail brothers released from the cup and the bowl" or "Cheer up, Prohibition men, we'll surely win the fight" suggest a strong cooperative spirit amongst men in support of the dry cause.<sup>198</sup> A few dry songs are even written to be sung by male voices.<sup>199</sup> Some lyrics find it conceivable not only for "Temperance men [to] raise [their] standard" but even for drunkards to cherish their family and return to their home as pious and "sobered men."<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Henry C. Work, "Come Home, Father," in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 83.

<sup>197</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 246

<sup>198</sup> "We Are Strong," in *Trumpet Notes*, 112; "Cheer Up Prohibition Men," in *Prohibition Songs*, 4.

<sup>199</sup> Breck and Tibbalis, "To Make Men Free," in *New Anti-Saloon Songs*, 43.

<sup>200</sup> Work, "Song of a Thousand Years," in *Trumpet Notes*, 74; "Unfurl the Temperance Banner," in *Prohibition Songs*, 42.

Such a scenario is not only depicted as creating “Happy Temperance Men” but also content children and a “smiling...wife.”<sup>201</sup>

Whether it be through prejudice or pity, hortation or imprecation, dry music helped protect and promote the prestige of the social groups most closely associated with the dry movement. In doing so, it also seems to have reflected many of the real concerns and fears prevalent within the more dominant Victorian social groups. The rise of labour activism, the related influx of non-white and non-Anglo-Saxon populations, and the persistently high levels of alcohol consumption by males of various backgrounds all threatened the stability of the native bourgeois population, and perhaps its women most of all.

#### MUSIC'S ROLE IN ORGANIZING THE DRY MESSAGE

Lyrical and musical content alone does not entirely account for the success of the dry movement. Organizational properties also played an important role. Although the dry sponsorship of dominant Anglo-Protestant values and social groups may have theoretically made the dry message accessible to large numbers of people, the efficiency with which the message was produced, transmitted, and received also determined its success. Dry music was intricately involved in each of these components. Promotion of a large-scale goal and hierarchy made the production of the dry message both uniform and widespread in focus. The use of diverse and powerful modes of communication broadened the transmission of the dry message. In addition, the standardization of the musical experience within dry settings normalized the reception of the message.

In large part, the efficiency of the dry message was a product of its uniformity and focus on large-scale organization and unification; these were natural legacies of Protestantism and militarism, but they were also pragmatic (and perhaps consciously used) means of achieving wide scale success for the cause. Despite a focus on the home and the nation, many songs promote the ultimate postmillennialist goal of temperance/prohibition as a worldwide moral victory:

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<sup>201</sup> “Happy Temperance Men,” in *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*, 168; Hood and Sherwin, “The Water Drinker,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 167.

We'll work united, brave, and strong  
 Until the whiskey power  
 Throughout the world, shall surely know  
 God's clock has struck the hour<sup>202</sup>

Other songs vow to “Make the Map All White” or to shine the “rays” of temperance from “pole to pole.”<sup>203</sup> In this context, the power of music to unite the entire world in praise of God and temperance is expressed by announcements such as “The wide world is waiting a new holy song” or “Let every tribe and every tongue/That bound creation's call/ Now shout in universal song.”<sup>204</sup> The emphasis here on extensive focus as a prerequisite for world salvation is perhaps one of the main reasons why dry culture was able to unify smaller organizations into a large-scale movement.

Ever since Lowell Mason outlined the positive effects of musical participation on “habits of order,” dry songs had been used to organize how people interact and relate to each other.<sup>205</sup> Modeling itself after the Protestant church and perhaps partly after militaristic evangelical institutions such as the Salvation Army, the various factions of the dry movement possessed a strong institutional hierarchy that facilitated the flow of information and the unity of the dry message. Although dry music was popular at all levels, it does seem to have had a close connection to the more elite members of the movement.<sup>206</sup> Most notably, many senior-level dry advocates were compilers of songs and songbooks, including American WCTU leaders like Anna A. Gordon and Elisha A. Hoffman, and Canadian advocates such as the secretary of the Dominion Alliance, Francis S. Spence.<sup>207</sup> Although a high rate of anonymity and pseudonymity makes it difficult to discover the composers and lyricists behind many of the dry songs, those that are known also tended to reside in the upper echelons of the movement.<sup>208</sup> These include many of the above-mentioned movement leaders as well as leaders of Protestant denominations such as

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<sup>202</sup> Smith and Lowry, “God’s Clock Has Struck the Hour,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 4.

<sup>203</sup> “Make the Map All White,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 24; “Unfurl the Temperance Banner,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 42; see also Hoffman, “No Surrender,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 7.

<sup>204</sup> “International Temperance Hymn,” in *Hymns for Use in WCTU Meetings*, 4; “All Hail the Power of Jesus’ Name,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 139.

<sup>205</sup> As quoted in Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival,” 24.

<sup>206</sup> It does seem likely that local songs existed, but the majority of researched songs appear to originate from upper levels of dry organizations and to have been disseminated in a top down manner.

<sup>207</sup> see F.S. Spence, *The Campaign Manual* (Toronto: Pioneer Office, 1902, 1908, 1912).

<sup>208</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 179-182

Charles Wesley and Lowell Mason.<sup>209</sup> A great many other songs, according to one compiler, were written by “many of the foremost songwriters” of the day.<sup>210</sup> Some, like Canadian John M. Whyte, were successful professional hymn-writers and active Protestants, while others, including Henry C. Work and the Hutchinson Family were popular songwriters with strong leanings towards social progressivism.<sup>211</sup>

Dry music’s promotion of hierarchy helped facilitate a top-down structure of the dry movement, which in turn can be said to have facilitated a singular focus in the attainment of dry goals. Because much of the musical control was held in the hands of the higher-ranking activists, it is to be expected that the interests of the movement’s leaders and those who closely resembled them would benefit most from the dry songs. It is likely in this capacity that, over time, the dry movement was able to transform alcohol regulation from a social/moral issue into a predominantly political one.<sup>212</sup> During the early years of the movement, temperance pledges and white ribbons became popular tokens of support for the movement, and songs like “Royal Revival Pledge Song” and “White Ribbon Rally Song” continued to endorse them into the twentieth century.<sup>213</sup> However, by the 1890s many, if not most, songs began to encourage legal enforcement to some extent. Dozens of songs became devoted to the subject.<sup>214</sup> These songs focused on denigrating the liquor laws that allowed saloons to be licensed, criticizing alternate policies to prohibition such as drinking

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<sup>209</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 246.

<sup>210</sup> Stearns and Main, *Trumpet Notes for The Temperance Battle-Field*, 2.

<sup>211</sup> The Hutchinson Family was an enormously popular traveling musical group that predated the WCTU and popularized temperance protest songs which, unlike those of the women’s union, were only minimally infused with religious sentiment. As leading members of the popular music scene in North America at the time, the group fully embraced temperance and other social causes of the day with songs like “Get off the Track,” “Freedom’s Train—Emancipation,” “One Hundred Years Hence,” “King Alcohol” and “If I Were A Voice.” Jean Stonehouse, “We Have Come from the Mountains: Hutchinson Family Singers,” *New England Journal of History* 51, no. 1, (1994): 60-67; Braham, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*, 164.

<sup>212</sup> Sanders aligns himself with Blocker’s cyclical interpretation of the temperance movements by claiming that many dry songs carried on the earlier tradition of moral suasion despite an obvious trend towards politicization. See Sanders, 261; Blocker, *American Temperance Movements*.

<sup>213</sup> P.J. Owens and Charles Edward Prior, “Royal Revival Pledge Song,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 177; “White Ribbon Rally Song,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 75.

<sup>214</sup> See Hoffman and Work, “Just a Little Ballot,” in *Songs of Victory*, 17; Williams and Lowry, “Vote it Out,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 105.

in moderation, and encouraging people to further the movement's success that was garnered by previous plebiscites on alcohol regulation.<sup>215</sup>

While political action gained widespread popularity, the publications of dry leaders, including Elisha A. Hoffman's book *Prohibition Songs*, Willard's lyrics for "Prohibition Round," and the Silver Lake Quartet's "Prohibition Bells," represented some of the earliest or most well-known songs on the subject. It is the unified focus with which executive members pushed for prohibition, using songs and other means, that likely attached political action to the existing ideological and social underpinnings of the movement. Indeed, by focusing on political action, the majority of songs help reify and codify the dominant Anglo-Protestant values exerted by members of the dry movement within secular society. While general cooperation within society is understood to bring about antiliquor laws,<sup>216</sup> more often, voting for prohibition is shown to produce a happy (Victorian) family with "a bright-eyed child that will laugh, and caper"; conversely, not voting against it is shown to destroy many families' children.<sup>217</sup> Announcements such as "Do you love the flag so true?/Vote that way. Vote that way" suggest that the nation also benefited from political action at the polls.<sup>218</sup> Legal alcohol enforcement was also used to reiterate the social biases that dictated the nature of dry unity. Songs censure those who benefit from the revenue derived from the liquor licenses, including "whiskey men" and politicians.<sup>219</sup> They also endorse the power and rights of dry activists, including middle-class women, whose potential enfranchisement is framed as a "just demand" based on the consideration that the "Men who vote have womanhood behind them."<sup>220</sup>

Lastly, prohibition laws are described by the songs as being a secular translation of Christian devotionality. Several songs encourage the listeners with clichéd phrases such as

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<sup>215</sup> On the theme of licensed saloons, see John Halton, "Dare We a License Give," in *Trumpet Notes*, 149; Williams, "Down in the Licensed Saloon," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 32; On the theme of moderation see: Hoffman and Root, "Vote For Prohibition," in *Prohibition Songs*, 3; Hoffman, "Free Your Town," in *Prohibition Songs*, 14; On the plebiscite see: Whyte, "The Plebiscite Verdict," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 53; Whyte, "The Plebiscite and Revenue," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 36.

<sup>216</sup> Whyte, "Down With the Traffic," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 4.

<sup>217</sup> "Sons of Liberty," in *Prohibition Songs*, 55; Martin and Gabriel, "Was It You," in *Prohibition Songs*, 5.

<sup>218</sup> Ed Moore, "A Dry Ontario," in *Prohibition Songs*, 56.

<sup>219</sup> Whyte, "There's a Sound of Going," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 24; Whyte, "The Plebiscite and Revenue," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 36; W.F. McCauley and H. Truhn, "Three Young Politicians," in *New Anti-Saloon Songs*, 90.

<sup>220</sup> "Those Who Vote," in *Prohibition Songs*, 47; Whyte, "For God, Home, and Native Land," in *Nuggets of Gold*, 23.

“vote as you pray.”<sup>221</sup> Similarly, voting is seen as a moral exercise, entailing those who vote to be “willing to fight for God and right.”<sup>222</sup> However, through political action the spiritual salvation associated with temperance takes on more secular connotations. Thus, moral victory often gets overshadowed by victory at the ballot-box and “freedom” is just as often associated with a psychological state as with a spiritual one.<sup>223</sup> The ties to religious imagery and ideology, however, remain strong in other ways. Licensing liquor is viewed as causing the death of drinkers, it is equated with the coming millennium, and it is also equated with religious metaphors such as the “dawn.”<sup>224</sup> Voting is also frequently associated with war metaphors, for example with the songs “Onward Christian Voters” and lyrical references to “Good bullets from the ballot box” or “political musket[s].”<sup>225</sup> Dry lyrics endorse music too as a powerful force for political action. In one song music is said to rival prayer and political action in uniting the movement: “With ballot, prayer and song/ We’ll work united, brave and strong.”<sup>226</sup> In the song “Prohibition Bells,” the sound of bells is taken to be a musical expression of the liquor ban itself, and in this way is connected to “bringing freedom to the land,” “ringing in the right,” and “bringing cheer to woman’s heart.”<sup>227</sup>

While organizational aspects of the movement would have expedited the transmission of the dry message, the mode in which the message was communicated would have determined the rate and breadth of its dissemination at large. Therefore it is significant to note that dry music was attached to the most far-reaching and accessible modes of communication of the late nineteenth-and early twentieth-centuries, including both performed and printed media.

As an art form, music must be performed in order to be at its most affective and effective. The Wesleys and Mason understood this. Their efforts to enhance music’s presence in church services, their creation of singing schools, and other successful

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<sup>221</sup> Mrs. Ed Hand and William J. Kirkpatrick, “Vote as You Pray,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 40; “Cheer Up, Prohibition Men,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 4.

<sup>222</sup> “Those Who Vote,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 47.

<sup>223</sup> Whyte, “A Song for Canada,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 5.

<sup>224</sup> Whyte, “Who Killed This Man,” in *Nuggets of Gold*, 13; Work, “Song of a Thousand Years,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 74; Moore, “Ontario’s Rally Song,” in *Prohibition Songs*, 60.

<sup>225</sup> “Onward Christian Voters,” in *Lyrics and Borrowed Tunes*; “Tis Time to Swing Our Axes,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 57.

<sup>226</sup> “God’s Clock Has Struck the Hour,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 4

<sup>227</sup> Silver Lake Quartette, “Prohibition Bells,” in *Trumpet Notes*, 111.

endeavors all provided many new opportunities for church-goers to sing and be heard. This taste for performing in new musical venues was passed on to dry advocates. As expressed in WCTU leaders autobiographies, the practice of antiliquor unions singing to patrons in saloons was a common occurrence in the United States and perhaps elsewhere.<sup>228</sup> Other references demonstrate dry music to have been sung at temperance resorts and to have been provided as gifts to local dry unions.<sup>229</sup> Some dry journals included promotions of new compositions wherein requests, such as the following, were submitted: “See that...[the tune] is at once practiced and sung at division, at home, at open division, at public meetings, at plebicitte [sic] rallies, at district division. *Everywhere*.”<sup>230</sup> Similarly, *The Teetotaler’s Hand-Book* includes several dozen poetic and musical selections “adapted to various tastes and capacities...[which] may be exceedingly useful in enlivening public meetings and social gatherings...anniversaries and soirees.”<sup>231</sup>

Another common use of songs occurred during lectures and speeches at dry meetings. Indeed, a brief survey of reports or minute-books from almost any level of the WCTU will reveal a strong reliance on music. This is especially true of the national, regional, and local level WCTU organizations. For instance, during the 1900 British Columbia WCTU annual convention, President Marian Grant quoted extensively from several different songs and poems throughout her address to the union.<sup>232</sup> Even the organizations that appear to have neglected singing during meetings seem to have accepted its general significance as evidenced through their publications.<sup>233</sup> Musical theatre was yet another venue for the performance of pro-temperance music. Numerous productions were rehearsed and performed by dry associations both large and small. *Ten Nights in a Barroom* was perhaps the most well-known dry play of the period, performed on stage for at least a half century following its debut in 1864. The play was based on a novel by the same name, and featured Henry C. Work’s “Father, Come Home.”<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 193-194; Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 340; Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 102, 229.

<sup>229</sup> Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 115-116

<sup>230</sup> “Jubilee Campaign Chorus,” *Sons of Temperance*, June 1897, 2.

<sup>231</sup> Scott, *The Teetotaler’s Hand-book*, iv

<sup>232</sup> British Columbia Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the British Columbia Women’s Christian Temperance Union, Seventeenth Annual Convention*, 21-23.

<sup>233</sup> See *Songs of Victory; Camp Fire* 1, no. 1 (1894); F.S. Spence, *The Campaign Manual*.

<sup>234</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 38.

The titles of dry songbooks perhaps provide the most precise information about where and by whom the songs were performed. Perhaps the most common location of dry music performances was at temperance meetings.<sup>235</sup> Indeed, one contemporary observer finds music's importance in meetings to be evidenced simply by "the very length of the hymns sung."<sup>236</sup> But music was prevalent at related but less frequent events, including glee clubs, "the home circle," medal contests (for temperance pledges), patriotic services, prohibition rallies, Sunday schools, Juvenile temples, religious meetings, entertainments, evenings of song, medal contests, reform clubs, prohibition camps, "all meetings in the interest of reform," and so on.<sup>237</sup> Similarly they were intended to be performed by all temperance and prohibition organizations, including Bands of Hope, WCTU choirs, temperance schools, and other juvenile societies.

Performance-based dissemination of dry music was certainly of prime importance to the success of the movement, but the fact that each preceding reference was derived from written sources suggests that printed media was of particular importance as a distributor and documenter of the dry message. Emerging mass-printing technologies of the nineteenth century often favoured the publication of religious and classical music, and therefore would have been receptive to the dry activists.<sup>238</sup> Both Mason and the Wesleys

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<sup>235</sup> See, for example: Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Moncton Branch. *Hymns for Use in W.C.T.U. Meetings*; J.W. Hopkins, *The Templar Hymn Book: With Tunes, for Temperance Meetings, Including All Odes in Use in the Good Templar Order* (Birmingham: Templar Printing Works, 1906).

<sup>236</sup> Peterson, "Rum, Ruin, and Revival," 27.

<sup>237</sup> William Dressler, *Temperance Echoes: A Collection Of Sacred and Secular Music Suitable for Temperance Gatherings, Glaee Clubs, and the Home Circle* (New York: J.L. Peters, 1874); Coleman, *The Temperance Songbook: A Peerless Collection of Temperance Songs and Hymns for the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Loyal Temperance Legion, Prohibitionists, Temperance Praise Meetings, Medal Contests, Etc*; Charles Millard Fillmore, *Fillmores' Prohibition Songs: A Collection of Songs for the Prohibition Campaign, Patriotic Services, and All Meetings in the Interest Of Reform* (Cincinnati: Fillmore & Bros., [1900?]); Anna A. Gordon, *The Temperance Songster: A Collection of Songs Compiled Primarily for Use in Medal Contests, Suitable for W. C. T. U. Choirs, General Temperance Meetings, Prohibition Rallies, Etc.* (Cincinnati, Ohio : Fillmore Music House, c1904; Penney, *Rallying Songs for Young Teetotalers: Designed for Bands of Hope, Sunday Schools, Juvenile Temples, Loyal Legions, Temperance schools, and Other Juvenile Societies*; C.H. Mead, G.E. Chambers, and W.A. Williams, *Silver Tones : A New Temperance and Prohibition Song Book, Containing the Most Popular Songs Sung By The Silver Lake Quartette: For Use in W.C.T.U., Temperance, and Prohibition Party Work, Religious Meetings, Entertainments, Evenings Of Song, etc.* (Warnock, Ohio : W.A. Williams, 1892); William Hoyle, *Hoyle's Hymns and Songs: For Temperance Societies and Bands of Hope* (London: S.W. Partridge, [1887?]); Silver Lake Quartet, *Prohibition Bells and Songs of the New Crusade for Temperance Organizations, Reform Clubs, Prohibition Camps, and Political Campaigns* (New York : Funk & Wagnalls, 1888).

<sup>238</sup> See Keillor, *Music in Canada*, chapters 5 and 6.

had been aware of the power of the printed word and note, and their enthusiasm heralded a surge in the writing and publication of Protestant hymnals.<sup>239</sup> Mason also wrote extremely popular hymns and songbooks including his 1850 publications of *Carmina Sacra* and *The New Carmina Sacra*. These two songbooks sold more than eight hundred thousand copies combined, “an astonishing number for a culture yet to dive completely into the mass production and distribution techniques that arose during then especially after the Civil War.”<sup>240</sup> Although he was American, Mason’s ideas spread quickly to British North America. In fact, the *Colonial Harmonist*, published in the Canadian colonies as early as 1832, reflected Mason’s influence by including several of his recent tunes.<sup>241</sup> The early emphasis on publication and distribution provided a substantial legacy for dry activists.

Indeed, an enormous amount of dry music was printed and distributed from the mid-1800s right up until the enactment of prohibition. Dozens were published in songbook compilations. During this same period, at least 150 songs were individually distributed as sheet music in North America.<sup>242</sup> This massive output was at least partially a result of musical borrowing, which allowed lyrics, melodies, styles and themes to be recycled over and over again.<sup>243</sup> Though most dry music came from the United States, quite a few songs and compilations originated from Canada.<sup>244</sup> Most were distributed on a national or international level, but those that were not, usually found publishers within the most populous cities.<sup>245</sup> As discussed, dry music was also abundant in journals and periodicals, manuals and handbooks, biographies, fiction writing, and even brochures for

<sup>239</sup> Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival,” 17-21.

<sup>240</sup> Branham and Hartnett *Sweet Freedom’s Song* 52, 48; Peterson, “Rum, Ruin, and Revival,” 22.

<sup>241</sup> John Beckwith, “Tunebooks and Hymnals in Canada, 1801-1939,” *American Music* 6, No. 2. (Summer, 1988), 198.

<sup>242</sup> This estimate was derived by combining the long list of dry songs was derived by Mott compilation and by the author’s own archival research. See Mott, “A Bibliography of Song Sheets.”

<sup>243</sup> Branham and Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom’s Song*, 164.

<sup>244</sup> For sheet music see: Clarence Lucas, *Four Temperance Songs* (St. Catherines, ON: D.V. Lucas, 1906); Adele Edmonds, “The True Way: Successful Song” (London, ON: Adele Edmonds, 1916); Frank M. Hadcock, “The Pilgrim’s Call” (Toronto: Whaley, Royce and Co., 1912). For songbooks, see: Elisha A. Hoffman, *Prohibition Songs* (Toronto: Ontario Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1910); Dominion Alliance, *Songs of Victory* (Toronto: Dominion Alliance—Ontario Branch, 1907-1919); *Trumpet notes of the Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton: 1889); J.N. Stearns and H.P. Main *Trumpet Notes for the Temperance Battle-Field* (Hamilton, Ont.: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1890); John Whyte, *Nuggets of Gold for Temperance Campaigns*, (Toronto: W Briggs, 1898); Woman’s Christian Temperance Union. Moncton Branch. *Hymns for Use in W.C.T.U. Meetings*, (Moncton: Moncton WCTU, 1888).

<sup>245</sup> *Nuggets of Gold* was published by three different companies in Toront, Montreal and Halifax respectively. Whyte, *Nuggets of Gold for Temperance Campaigns*, 1898.

anti-drinking tonics.<sup>246</sup> In many of these, particular compositions were heavily promoted or complete musical scores and lyrics were included, sometimes on a full page spread.<sup>247</sup> The more popular songs were included in different publications at the same time, and most of these were often republished in subsequent editions.

Although editors and compilers speak of the songs' reception "by most enthusiastic crowds in our largest cities," the extent to which these printed songs were distributed across the continent cannot currently be quantified.<sup>248</sup> Nevertheless, approximate rates can be estimated. The covers or front pages of most dry publications do show their asking prices, and therefore it is known that songbooks and sheet music cost between approximately five to fifty cents depending on size and popularity. Even by historic standards this meant that they were affordable to people with minimal amounts of disposable income. The fact that most compilations were sold for discounted prices in bulk, by the hundred or even thousand (presumably to temperance unions and congregations), suggests that the distribution of these books numbered at least in the several thousand. This estimate seems to be confirmed by the 13,000 copies published of *The Band of Hope Songster*, the only dry songbook known to reveal the actual number of printed copies.<sup>249</sup>

As powerful and pervasive as printed music was, it also included biases that strengthened its attachment to dominant social identities. The simple fact that the majority of published songs employed proper musical notation systems precluded anyone from playing them who was not already trained to read music or to play it on an instrument. So despite the relative affordability of the material itself, it would also require musical training

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<sup>246</sup> During the decade or so leading up to prohibition legislation, *The White Ribbon Tidings* regularly included five to ten excerpts or full quotations of songs and poems in each issue. See *The White Ribbon Tidings* 15 July 1908 – 1 August 17; *The Campaign Manual*, compiled by the preeminent Canadian prohibitionist Francis Stephens Spence, and republished at least three times between 1902 and 1912, became an official manual of the Ontario Dominion Alliance. The first two editions contain seven full pages of temperance songs, including hymns, political rallying songs, and patriotic tunes. Spence, *The Campaign Manual* (1902), 5,78-84; Spence, *The Campaign Manual* (1909), 121-124. Also see: *The Sons of Temperance Record and Prohibition Advocate*, 1898; Scott, *The Teetotaler's Hand-Book*; Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*; Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*; Shaw, *The Curse of Drink*; Walter K. Fobes, *The Alcohol, Tobacco, and Opium Habits: Their Effects on Body and Mind and the Means of Cure with Temperance Songs and Hymns* (Boston, Mass.: W. K. Fobes, 1895).

<sup>247</sup> *The Sons of Temperance Record and Prohibition Advocate*, June 1898, 10; *Sons of Temperance Record*, June 1897, 2.

<sup>248</sup> Whyte, *Nuggets of Gold for Temperance Campaigns*, i.

<sup>249</sup> J.N. Stearns, *The Band of Hope Songster* (New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House, 1886).

and expensive musical instruments such as a piano. Therefore, printed songs were implicitly engineered to favour middle-class families who had the time and money to afford musical training and who regularly invested in pianos, which they placed in their parlours as status symbols. Likewise, printed music tended to preclude large swaths of lower income people, who usually lacked both the money and the inclination to invest in musical training and instruments.

While music enhanced the dissemination of the dry message by providing it with powerful modes and technologies of communication, it also worked to enhance the reception of the message in all its forms. This was achieved through music's role in the standardization and routinization of the temperance experience. Dry music's standardization manifested itself in many ways, including its instrumentation. Virtually all songs are written to be sung, most of them to be sung in harmony by a chorus. If there is accompaniment the implication is that it is to be played by piano or organ. Music also had a routinizing effect on temperance meetings, often being used to open and/or close the meetings (sometimes with other devotional practices).<sup>250</sup> Some songs were even given titles like "Initiatory Ode," "Opening Hymn," "Raising Ode," and "Closing Ode" to signify their importance as gateways of temperance experience.<sup>251</sup> Although the true intentions of using songs in this way is unknown, it was likely a result of music's affectivity normalizing dry members by placing them all in a similar state of mind, and the lyrics' facilitation of a shared focus and common goals. Dry journals, too, often included new temperance songs or poems at the beginning or towards the end of the publication. For instance, the temperance periodical *The Sons of Temperance Record* was especially adamant in its support of music, and started most issues with a new temperance song or poem.<sup>252</sup> Likewise, *White Ribbon Tidings*, the main publication of the WCTU, often placed a lyrical

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<sup>250</sup> See Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Maritime WCTU*, 10; British Columbia Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the British Columbia Women's Christian Temperance Union*, 11. Where music, recitations, and prayers are not specifically referred to, the minutes usually mention "devotional exercises" that open and close the meetings. It seems likely that this was shorthand for those ritualized activities, including musical performances, that were so ingrained in meetings to such a degree that further descriptions were unnecessary. British Columbia Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Report of the British Columbia Women's Christian Temperance Union, Seventeenth Annual Convention*, 12.

<sup>251</sup> See Stearns and Main, *Trumpet Notes*, 178-183.

<sup>252</sup> *The Sons of Temperance Record*, September 1897, 1; *The Sons of Temperance Record*, June 1898, 1.

verse on its front page, and, towards the end of the publication, included more poems and songs within the “The Home Circle,” and “Mother Talks” sections.<sup>253</sup> In a sense, these acted as a printed-equivalent to the opening and closing devotional exercises of the temperance meeting. The use of music as bookends to the temperance experience fostered routinization within the movement and would have helped in uniting temperance participants towards a common goal.

Music was intensely involved in the promotion and success of the dry cause. And while it frequently paralleled other types of proselytizing media in its goals, it was often distinct in its approach and process. Like a great deal of dry propaganda, music presented a rational argument for abstaining from alcoholic beverages by focusing on the physical and mental aspects of drinking (or not drinking). However, music was also exceptional in its ability to transcend these rational arguments and empirical observations in pursuit of a more emotional argument based on spiritual enlightenment. This transcendence resulted not only from the sheer emotional power of music but also from the way it was understood by those who wrote, performed, and heard it. Musical borrowing, the process that linked the dry cause to the spiritual realm, was crucial to this form of proselytism. Hypertextual references to existing hymns and religious writings allowed dry songs not only to align the dry cause with Protestant Christianity, but also to embed the concepts of temperance and prohibition into the very heart of Christian ideology. Different types of musical borrowing, including parodies, pastiches, and covers, seem to have provided distinct and particularly adept ways of imbuing the anti-drink message with strong Christian connotations.

Beyond the realm of spirituality, musical borrowing also succeeded in conflating the dry cause with other popular institutions of the day, including the family, the nation and the military. Borrowing was complemented by sentimentalism and other lyrical/musical devices in order to frame the temperance issue in a particular way and to promote cooperation and focus within the movement itself. While cooperation was linked to the success of the movement and unity on all levels of social experience, its rhetorical engineering was such that it tended to politically promote the socially dominant groups of the day, which favoured white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and an emerging female identity.

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<sup>253</sup> See *White Ribbon Tidings* 1904 – 1917.

The Victorian hegemony was strengthened by the efficiency of the movement, which used high levels of organization and print-technology engineered to disseminate the dry message quickly and broadly to a mainly middle-class clientele.

Beyond these achievements, the overall success of the movement is likely to have benefited from the conscious acknowledgement of its role in the dry cause by different sources and sectors of society. Music itself was recognized to be heavily embroiled in the very definitions of prohibition, temperance, and even prayer—at times describing them, at other times substituting them.<sup>254</sup> Direct statements also demonstrate that music was consciously associated with the ability to achieve prohibition by enhancing physical and mental health, spiritual devotion, unity among members, and the organization and standardization of the dry experience. The variety and abundance of sources that argue these points demonstrate a widespread acceptance of them amongst the dry membership.

This self-acknowledgement and popular praise for music appears somewhat unique in comparison to other dry modes of expression. Indeed, some dry activists argued that song was a persuasive tool comparable or superior to any other rhetorical device. And it is true that the music's printability made its message more easily disseminated and therefore more likely to gain widespread appeal than other performance-based propaganda. Its brevity and repetitive structure also made it easier to learn and remember in comparison to other performed propaganda such as theatre, speeches, or sermons.<sup>255</sup> However, it is the unique emotional effect of music that has been most extolled by dry activists. For example, in his 1842 *Boston Temperance Songster*, Robert Potter noted that "in many instances, where every other means have failed, the electrifying influence of song has aroused the individual to a sense of his danger, and sent conviction to his heart."<sup>256</sup> In *The Temperance Musician*

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<sup>254</sup> In a similar study on metaphor use during the prohibition, Richard W. Leeman argues convincingly that, within (non-musical) printed forms of propaganda, dry activists literally equated notions of temperance and prohibition with Christian notions of salvation. This chapter deviates slightly from Leeman's argument in the sense that it does recognize the use of non-literal metaphors by the dry cause and that it demonstrates temperance/prohibition to have occasionally been interpreted as a prerequisite of salvation, but not as salvation itself. It does, however, argue that the two ideas were, if not synonymous, then in many cases tantamount to each other. Richard W. Leeman, "Believing and Make-Believing: Christian Metaphors for and Against Prohibition" *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 4, no. 1 (1989): 19-37.

<sup>255</sup> Fiction writing reiterates this point by relaying stories that describe the quiet attentiveness that accompanied singing and prayer, but the flagging attention that came with preaching. Shaw, *The Curse of Drink*, 251.

<sup>256</sup> Branham, *Sweet Freedom's Song*, 75.

published in 1853, editor A.D. Fillmore underscored the crucial importance of song in establishing and maintaining a temperance society. He asserted that temperance bands should practice regularly and only have meetings after many inspirational songs have been prepared. Speeches, prayers, and other presentations he claimed should always be interspersed with “appropriate songs” so as to be more effective.<sup>257</sup> This attitude was carried on into the twentieth century, by publications such as *The Campaign Manual*, which advised that “suitable musical selections between addresses may make the meeting more enjoyable, and the speeches more impressive and effective.”<sup>258</sup> It is clear that music helped make the dry cause what it was.

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<sup>257</sup> Branham, *Sweet Freedom's Song*, 74-75.

<sup>258</sup> Spence, *The Campaign Manual* (1912), 37-38.

## CHAPTER 3: WET MUSIC

The first chapter of *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair's 1904 bestselling realist fiction novel, stands out as one of the most well-known depictions of wet music's role in North American drinking culture during the years leading up to prohibition.<sup>1</sup> It is set in the backroom of a saloon where a Lithuanian wedding reception is taking place. Here much of the money and most of the emphasis seems to be directed towards musicians and alcoholic beverages.<sup>2</sup> In this inebriated environment, Sinclair focuses on the music and the musicians as a primary means of improving the atmosphere and heightening the celebratory experience:

The musicians—how shall one begin to describe them? All this time they have been there, playing a mad frenzy—all of this scene must be read, or said, or sung, to music. It is the music which makes it what it is....<sup>3</sup>

So enlivening are the tunes that when the musicians stop, having played to the point of exhaustion, a “painful and terrifying scene” ensues.<sup>4</sup> The book, a muckraking account of the turn-of-the century Chicago meat-packing industry, became an overnight success and served as a bugle call for heightened labour activism. However, it can also be lauded for capturing the vital and intricate relationship that existed between music and drinking cultures during this period.

Considering the important role of music within wet culture, this chapter aims to complement the now established reasons for dry success in the years leading up to prohibition with reasons for wet failure. Relatively little has been written on this topic although it seems to have been of almost equal importance to the attainment of prohibition. Most temperance histories focus on dry successes but depict wet culture as insular and its resistance as unorganized and unfocused, constituting little more than the

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<sup>1</sup> Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1906). Despite the novel's obviously fabricated story-line, Powers claims this contribution to realist fiction was “tantamount...to direct observation.” Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 15.

work of small intemperance societies, liquor industry promotional groups, and the occasional political confrontation.

Drink and saloon historians have not disputed these conclusions, but they have demonstrated drinking cultures to have been more complex and organized than previously thought. Inspired by methods of inquiry that seek to understand how “[d]rinking...derives its meaning from its social context and setting,”<sup>5</sup> drink historians have convincingly demonstrated that, through the centuries, drinking establishments have fostered distinct and intricate subcultures based on voluntary sociability, celebration, entertainment, communication, and even political action.<sup>6</sup> Heron and others have shown that wet factions during the years leading up to prohibition did organize themselves, as exemplified by the Licensed Victuallers’ Associations, the Canada Brewers and Maltsters’ Association, and the Merchants’ Protective Association, which used advertising and political lobbying to further their cause.<sup>7</sup> Powers, Delottinville, and Rosenzweig have also highlighted different reasons for wet decline pertaining to demographic changes (e.g. creation of suburbs) and the development of alternate recreational and organizational facilities (usually outgrowths of the saloons themselves).<sup>8</sup>

More comparative studies of wet and dry cultures and histories that treat pro-drink and anti-drink groups as part of an integrated whole demonstrate drinking conditions to have been constantly negotiated based on a complex and fluctuating network of sociocultural considerations—ones that were based on a working-class male saloon culture but that often incorporated Anglo-Saxon Protestants, women, and the middle classes.<sup>9</sup> Regardless of these contingencies, it is nevertheless agreed that drinking culture was in

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<sup>5</sup> Barrows and Room, *Drinking*, 7. Also see Dwight Heath, *International Handbook on Drinking Cultures*.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (New York: Longman, 1983); David W. Conroy *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Barrows and Room, *Drinking*.

<sup>7</sup> Heron, *Booze*, “Chapter 6: Wet Voices”; Smart, *Northern Spirits*, 24-25; Jim Baumohl, “Inebriate Institutions in North America, 1840-1920,” in *Drinking in Canada*, 92-114.

<sup>8</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 234-235; Peter DeLottinville, “Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889,” *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (1981/82): 9-40; Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> Heron, *Booze*; Hamilton, *Sobering Dilemma*; Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*; Warsh, *Drink in Canada*; Warsh and Blocker, *The Changing Face of Drink*; Robert A. Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

general terms what Rosenzweig calls “*alternative*—separate and distinct from the dominant society.”<sup>10</sup>

The goal of this chapter is two-fold. It seeks to enhance current understandings by demonstrating wet music, and therefore wet culture, to have been both highly developed and highly alternative. More importantly, it aims to demonstrate music’s fundamental role in preventing this alternative wet culture from resisting dry ascendancy. The first section of this chapter deals with wet music’s depiction and promotion of secularism as a counter-cultural ideology. The second section focuses on the songs’ ability to unite social institutions and identities, and how these efforts were largely incongruent with the interests of contemporary hegemonic groups. The last section examines how the efficiency of the wet message was hampered by localization and fragmentation within and between drinking communities. Specifically, the intention is to demonstrate how the wet music of this period maintained a popular but countervailing culture that reified and exploited ideologies, institutions, aesthetics, and technologies that were less effective at promoting their cause than those of the dry movement.<sup>11</sup> The origins of wet music culture were more circuitous and varied than dry music.

#### MUSIC’S ROLE IN CREATING A WET IDEOLOGY

The roots of late nineteenth and early twentieth century English Canadian drinking culture had always been more or less based on non-Christian ideals. Indeed, most western drinking cultures derive much of their worldview from the classical Greek and Roman worship of the god Dionysus/Bacchus. Bacchanalian worship used wine to enable orgiastic, ecstatic rites and constituted an important means of social, psychological, and spiritual release.<sup>12</sup> The Greek symposium, later adopted by the Etruscans, became a prime venue for the Dionysian/Bacchic rituals to be carried out. It was a location where individuals could

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<sup>10</sup> Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*, 223.

<sup>11</sup> Because there are simply fewer non-musical archived sources on the subject of drinking music, this chapter has placed relatively greater reliance on generalized secondary source analyses that further the topic, including Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*.

<sup>12</sup> Carl Ruck, “The Wild and the Cultivated: Wine in Euripides’s ‘Bacchae,’” in *Persephone’s Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion*, eds. R. Gordon Wasson et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Ezio Pellizer, “Outlines of a Morphology of Symptotic Entertainment,” in *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 182-183.

“ignore distractions of the workaday world and focus on pleasurable and elevating activities while drinking wine.”<sup>13</sup> Here alcohol was often used to enhance fellowship, health, romance, and pleasure, whilst rejecting wealth, politics, security and other mundane concerns.<sup>14</sup> Music and poetry, especially that penned by the bard Anacreon and his imitators, were regularly employed to praise the effects of drinking and in this way came to reaffirm and enhance the effects of drinking.<sup>15</sup>

According to Papakonstantinou, Murray, and others, the revelry and focus on personal achievement that typified Bacchanalian attitudes (and music) within the symposium contrasted with the hegemonic ideology of the day.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, Bacchic worship was always infused with a counter-culture status. As a suppressed religion, Bacchanalianism came to share much in common with early Christianity, and for this reason came to influence it greatly, at least in its love of alcohol.<sup>17</sup> However, as Roman Catholicism gained pre-eminence, Bacchanalian hedonistic tendencies increasingly conflicted with Christian ideals. The ideologies became so divergent that the image of Pan, long associated with Bacchus, was adapted as the image of the Christian devil.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Bacchic culture continued to exist in some form or another. Over the centuries, its pagan origins and its incongruity with Christian ideology retreated from its mystical connotations and heightened its status as a counter-culture ideology. By the Renaissance period wet culture started to become strongly tied to the secularism that was gaining prevalence at the time.<sup>19</sup> During the early modern period, aristocratic drinking clubs of England continued many of the licentious and counter-cultural practices associated with Bacchanalianism.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 34.

<sup>14</sup> Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 218.

<sup>15</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 35.

<sup>16</sup> Zinon Papakonstantinou, “Drinking Songs, The Politics of Opposition and the *Symposion* in Classical Athens,” in *The American Philological Association* <<http://www.apaclassics.org/AnnualMeeting/01mtg/abstracts/Papakonstantinou.html>> (12 October 2007)’ Oswyn Murray claims that the “*Symposion* became in many respects a place apart from the normal rules of society, with its own strict code of honour...and its own willingness to establish conventions fundamentally opposed to those within the polis as a whole.” Murray, *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 34; Ruck, “The Wild and the Cultivated,” in *Persephone’s Quest*.

<sup>18</sup> J. B. Russell, *The Devil: The Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 126, 170-71, 254.

<sup>19</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 33.

<sup>20</sup> Murray, *Symptotica*, 159.

In Britain, as elsewhere in Europe, Bacchanalian-inspired music also became ingrained in the contemporary drinking culture, and in doing so became a primary means of upholding the tenets of the Bacchic, secular lifestyle. Rather than being sung in religious gatherings like dry music, during the medieval period early British wet music was sung at inns, feasts, balls, assemblies, subscriptions, flower shows, debating and gambling clubs, as well as musical concerts and recitals.<sup>21</sup> During the Elizabethan era, taverns became economically and culturally tied to theatres, thereby establishing the foundation for an urban entertainment industry.<sup>22</sup> Musical performances remained a persistent component of the English alehouse into the early modern period, and although the drinking establishments were exposed to increasingly strict policies that sometimes prohibited entertainments, music's importance remained intact.<sup>23</sup> Over the years, tavern music became exposed to an ever-changing series of styles. Medieval minstrel music gave way to ballads, and ballads eventually gave way to commercial instrumental and art music as well as hymns and chorales.<sup>24</sup> Yet, over the centuries the Bacchanalian theme remained intact, especially within social drinking clubs.

Starting in the eighteenth century, public alehouses and other drinking establishments began to hire theatrical, musical, and circus performers on a regular basis.<sup>25</sup> From these more entertainment-oriented public drinking houses developed the music hall—a venue catering mostly to working-class crowds and consisting of a variety of short stage acts including dances, comedy, acrobatic and circus routines, and skits that were performed nightly for drinking audiences.<sup>26</sup> In this setting song was of central importance, and when it was not itself a main act it often supported others. The initial intention of entertainment was to amuse patrons while they drank and to encourage them to buy more drinks.<sup>27</sup> However, in linking the physical consumption of alcohol to musical performance, song for the first time became commodifiable on a grand scale. It is at this

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<sup>21</sup> Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Some noted playwrights and poets, including Christopher Marlowe, formed a tavern association. Ingle, "Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song," 35-36.

<sup>23</sup> Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 258, 322

<sup>24</sup> Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 155, 321-323

<sup>25</sup> Ingle, "Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song," 36-37; Laurence Senelick, "Moonlighting in the Music Hall: The Double Life of Charles Rice" *Theatre Survey* 34, no. 2 (1993): 28-42.

<sup>26</sup> Senelick, "A Brief Life and Times of the Victorian Music-Hall," 383.

<sup>27</sup> Ingle "Music Halls," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 430-431.

point that the mass music industry was born. Although the music could now be produced for financial profit, the emotional power of music lent it an importance that extended far beyond mere economic interests. Social historian Laurence Senelick claims that the music hall “fulfilled the need for an urbanized mythology, and was a true expression of both the real life and the fantasies of its audiences.”<sup>28</sup> As a vector for both economic and emotional/imaginative interests, wet music clearly contrasted with the moral/spiritual interests of dry music.

To satiate the musical demand of a diverse population and the economic demands of music hall professionals, a large variety of music genres were adapted to suit the stage. These included styles and themes borrowed from the “folk” songs of older traditions and from “popular” songs written specifically for the stage.<sup>29</sup> The growing demand for entertainment encouraged music halls to import particularly popular acts or musicians of the day from other localities thereby creating a larger industrial network. With this network in existence, songs were for the first time able to become major national and international “hits,” and performers were able to become equally well-known “stars.” Thus, one of the biggest hits of the music hall era was called “Champagne Charlie,” and it was sung by the Great Mackney, the music hall forum’s greatest sensation.<sup>30</sup>

During the mid-nineteenth century a variety show equivalent was gaining tremendous popularity in North America. Like the British music hall, it was initiated when American and Canadian saloon-keepers began hiring trained “glee clubs” to enhance the enjoyment of the evening. As musical performances and variety shows gained popularity, small stages were installed in drinking establishments; in Canada the largest and most well-known of these included Toronto’s Apollo Tavern and Montreal’s Horseshoe Saloon.<sup>31</sup> Concert saloons, as they were often called, mixed drinking and entertainment to such a degree as to confuse observers and participants of their primary role. Of this close relationship, one observer remarked:

[I]t is often hard to tell whether we are dealing with a saloon or with an amusement enterprise.... The two meet and mingle. Is it a theatre saloon,

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<sup>28</sup> Senelick, “A Brief Life and Times of the Victorian Music-Hall,” 376.

<sup>29</sup> Senelick, “A Brief Life and Times of the Victorian Music-Hall,” 378.

<sup>30</sup> Ingle, “Music Halls,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 431.

<sup>31</sup> Heron, *Booze*, 110-111.

or a saloon theatre? Is it a concert hall where drinks are served, or a saloon where music is furnished? There is little upon the surface to determine.<sup>32</sup>

The 1880s saw the advent of the vaudeville theatre, an entertainment venue that evolved from the concert saloon but that was more entertainment-based and more widely popular than its predecessor. Although it mimicked the basic format of the British music hall, vaudeville was also distinct from its counterpart. As heavily influenced as it was by saloon culture was, vaudeville also incorporated the entertainment traditions found within circus and menagerie acts.<sup>33</sup> A great deal of vaudeville also drew from the African-American minstrelsy tradition, which, for decades, had been central to the North American popular music industry.<sup>34</sup> This minstrelsy influence is particularly important because much of black music culture endorsed a relatively free-loving and permissive attitude that in many ways paralleled Bacchic ideals. According to Spaeth, the influential black dance music of New Orleans was “unashamedly orgiastic, like much of the ceremonial of that other jazz ancestor, voodooism.”<sup>35</sup> It is likely that these free-wheeling, spontaneous characteristics of black music were in fact what made it so attractive to wider audiences and therefore so influential to popular music.<sup>36</sup>

What is interesting about vaudeville theatre is that in spite of its saloon origins, alcohol was not always served during shows. This was particularly true in Canada, where many vaudeville venues restricted drinking either as a result of “pressure from [dry-influenced] licensing authorities...or in the hopes of attracting a wider audience” that found little comfort in saloons of any variety.<sup>37</sup> This chapter argues that an absence of drinking did not preclude these particular vaudeville establishments from wet culture. As Powers points out, a great deal of vaudeville music was exchanged both “horizontally from

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<sup>32</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197; Raymond Calkins, *Substitutes for the Saloon* (New York: Arno Press, 1901), 23.

<sup>33</sup> Gerald Bartley Bruce Lenton, “The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto: From 1899-1915” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983), 11-21.

<sup>34</sup> John E. DiMeglio, *Vaudeville, U.S.A.* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1973); Albert F. McLean Jr., *American Vaudeville as Ritual* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); McNamara, *The New York Concert Saloon*; Samuels and Samuels, *Once Upon a Stage*; Lenton, “The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto.”

<sup>35</sup> Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America*, 423-424.

<sup>36</sup> See John E. DiMeglio, *Vaudeville, U.S.A.*, 1973; Albert F. McLean Jr. *American Vaudeville as Ritual*. 1963.

<sup>37</sup> The Klondike and other frontier areas were exceptions to the trend for separating music from saloons. Heron, *Booze*, 111, 175.

saloon to local saloon” and “vertically...from local barrooms...to the national vaudeville circuit.”<sup>38</sup> Reciprocally, vaudeville stage performances would often diffuse into the amateur singing tradition of neighbourhood saloons.<sup>39</sup> Concert saloons and vaudeville theatres often shared stables of music professionals; indeed, concert saloons often provided the “training ground” for entertainers and managers that would later move to vaudeville venues.<sup>40</sup> The fluidity with which songs and people were exchanged created a continuum between the saloon and the vaudeville theatre. Of course not all vaudeville music was wet and not all wet music was performed on the vaudeville stage but the close relationship between the two would entail a certain alignment, even codependence.

Two of wet music’s most significant legacies were its hedonistic lifestyle and its secular ideals, both of which emphasized the physical and mental benefits of alcohol over spiritual ones. Various organizations and individuals abundantly acknowledged these attitudes during the years leading up to prohibition. The short-lived periodical *The Advocate*, one of the few Canadian liquor industry publications of the late-nineteenth century, encouraged the sloughing off of an abstemious and temperate disposition in favour of a high-spirited and somewhat indulgent one. This attitude was usually achieved through publication of songs and poetry, as well as anecdotes, jokes, and opinion pieces throughout the periodical and especially in its “Sporting” section.<sup>41</sup> The physical and mental effects of this pleasure-seeking and secularism were somewhat reaffirmed by the Committee of Fifty, a non-partisan coalition of progressive professionals that surveyed saloon life in America to investigate issues associated with the use and abuse of alcoholic beverages.<sup>42</sup> Despite some members’ condemnation of saloons as dens of iniquity, many Committee reports actually acknowledged the “general atmosphere of freedom...which men crave” and the heightened thought, feeling, and action that results from this.<sup>43</sup> Particularly

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<sup>38</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 189-190

<sup>39</sup> Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 21; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197

<sup>40</sup> Lenton, “The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto,” 47.

<sup>41</sup> See *The Advocate*, 8 February, 1894, 16; *The Advocate*, 31 January 1895, 1.

<sup>42</sup> John S. Billings and Francis Greenwood Peabody, *The Liquor Problem: A Summary of Investigations* (New York: Arno Press, 1970, 1905), 3; Calkins, *Substitutes for the Saloon*.

<sup>43</sup> Royal L. Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” *The American Journal of Sociology*, 6, no. 3 (November 1900), 294. Though the views expressed by the “Committee of Fifty” are often judgmental and supercilious in their treatment of bars and drinkers, they certainly fall short of the disdain articulated by outright prohibitionists or temperance activists.

interesting is the Committee's consensus on the benefits of wet music for mental and emotional health: "Some who frequent the saloon for the sake of the music find their thoughts are clearer, their hearts lighter, and their hardships forgotten more easily."<sup>44</sup> George Ade, a journalist observer of American saloon life, similarly noted that drinking, along with the songs that so often accompanied it, provided a "relief from the monotonies of daily life," and a channel for creative expression — something that "submerged poets and would-be Carusos...[could] do with their evenings."<sup>45</sup> In this way music functioned as an emotional outlet for performers, participators, and audience alike or what Powers calls "a socially acceptable vehicle for the expression of frustrations, disappointments, and regrets."<sup>46</sup>

Some of the most valuable resources discussing the specific importance of music to the wet cause come from songbook compilers and editors, most of whom wrote large introductions to their various compilations.<sup>47</sup> Frank Shay, for instance, avowed that music and alcohol act in conjunction with each other to break down the "walls of puritanic repression."<sup>48</sup> Clifford Leach dedicated his book to the "legion of folks among us in whom the 'joy of living' naturally bubbles up in the form of singing."<sup>49</sup> Sigmund Spaeth also appreciated music as a means of attaining the "highly desirable state of uninhibited naturalness."<sup>50</sup>

Some editors found that mental and physical benefits of drinking were compounded by more spiritual ones. For instance, Christopher Morely lauded music and alcohol for their ability to instill confidence and joviality,<sup>51</sup> but he also pointed to more transcendent

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<sup>44</sup> Calkins, *Substitutes for the Saloon*, 206.

<sup>45</sup> "Caruso" in this context refers to Enrico Caruso, a hugely popular Italian opera singer during the turn of the twentieth century. George Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon: Not Wet—Not Dry, Just History* (New York: R. Long and R.R. Smith, 1931), 66, 119.

<sup>46</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 205

<sup>47</sup> Although this section quotes songbooks from outside of this period (i.e. from the 1920s), they are appropriate because they specifically refer to pre-prohibition drinking culture.

<sup>48</sup> Frank Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions: Songs and Ballads of Conviviality* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1927), 7.

<sup>49</sup> Clifford Leach, *Bottom's Up: A 'Loving Cup' Filled to the Brim with Songs for All Sorts of Convivial Occasions* (New York: Paul-Pioneer Music Corp, 1933), [i]

<sup>50</sup> Sigmund Spaeth, *Let's Sing and Be Merry: Songs for a Good Time*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. ([New York]: Calvert Distillers Corp., 1937), 4.

<sup>51</sup> Cameron Rogers, *Full and By: Being a Collection of Verses by Persons of Quality in Praise of Drinking* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1925), xxx.

qualities by contending that “It was on a grapevine swing that man first teetered a little nearer the stars.”<sup>52</sup> And although Morely emphasized the importance of Bacchic morality he also combined it with Christian metaphors by making claims such as “[Bacchus] is still sometimes a god,” “the lover of wine believes in miracles; he lives them,” or “the rib of our old Adam earth...by Eden-miracle rises the feminine spirit of wine.”<sup>53</sup> In *Songs of the Vine*, William Hutchinson placed greater emphasis on the secular benefits of drinking and music, even refusing to apologize for his anthology’s admittedly non-Protestant themes.<sup>54</sup> However, he perhaps harkened back to classical Bacchic mysticism by proposing that the creative and artistic value of wet music made it not only a vehicle for worldly celebration and the advancement of the written and sung art forms, but also as a way composers and performers could “touch extremes” and “soar in...[their] cups to dizzy heights untouched by the prosaic drinker.”<sup>55</sup> The transcendental effects of wet music were also portrayed in *The Jungle*, wherein Sinclair praised music’s power to change “the rear room of a saloon...to a fairy place, a wonderland, a little corner of the high mansions of the sky.”<sup>56</sup>

Analyzing the wet songs themselves provides insight into the wet values outlined above. “Bacchus fill the bowl” or “Come, Thou Monarch of the Vine” represent a few of the dozens of songs that make direct allusions to classical Bacchanalian culture.<sup>57</sup> These references brought with them Bacchic notions of health. Within the wet repertoire, the physical benefits of drink are said to include protection from cold, maintenance of a healthy

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<sup>52</sup> Christopher Morely “Foreward” in *Full and By*, xxx, xxviii.

<sup>53</sup> Rogers, *Full and By*, xxviii.

<sup>54</sup> William George Hutchinson, *Songs of the Vine: With a Medley for Malt-Worms* (London: A.H. Bullen, 1904), xix-xx.

<sup>55</sup> Hutchinson, *Songs of the Vine*, xxiii, xxvi, xxxviii-xxxix.

<sup>56</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 5.

<sup>57</sup> William Brown, “A Round,” in *Toasts and Tipple: A Book of Conviviality*, eds. Wallace and Frances Rice (Chicago: M.A. Donohue, 1914), 44; “Come, Thou Monarch of the Vine,” and “Io, Bacchus to Thy Table,” in *Songs of the Vine*, 15-16; Where the god of wine is not addressed directly wet songs reaffirm their connection to classical antiquity in general by employ Latin lyrics and make reference to other classical gods such as Lyaesus, Prometheus, Venus, Cupid as well as the Muses, Graces, Virtues, and Fates. See “God Lyaesus, Ever Young,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, ed. John McClure (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1918), 264 ; Smith, “A Tune for Benjamin Franklin’s Drinking Song ‘Fair Venus Calls,’” E.A. Fenstad and Lincoln Colcord, “Stein Song (University of Maine)” (New York: Carl Fishcer, Inc., 1910); Thomas Moore, “Fill the Bumber Fair!” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 15; P. Mascagni, “Drinking Song” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 106; Walter Mapes, “Mihi st propositum in taberna mori [I Plan to End My Days in a Tavern],” in *A Tankard of Ale*, ed., Theodore Maynard (London: E. Macdonald, 1919), 181.

back, heart, head and lung, as well as the alleviation of hunger and thirst.<sup>58</sup> Beyond physical health, however, alcohol was chiefly lauded for its effects on the mind. As one songbook title suggests, alcohol could have positive effects on “...*All Occasions: Witty, Sad, Gay, Wise, and Otherwise*.”<sup>59</sup> Countless songs make declarations like “Hail the wine as it sparkles/ For it banishes all troubles beseech” or “Then drink round about till sorrow be drowned,” acknowledging alcohol’s role in assuaging hardship, troubles, and discomfort of any kind.<sup>60</sup> More than treating cares and sorrows, songs also portray alcohol as bringing happiness and joy to those who imbibe, as demonstrated by references to a “cheerful glass,” “a cup o’kindness,” the “Jolly Toper,” “the wine...gaily flowing,” and “Bacchus’ joys.”<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, wet music was occasionally acknowledged as achieving much the same results as drinking in this respect. Within the repertoire, music, like drink, is said to “drive dull care away” and bring upon “fair weather.”<sup>62</sup> In some instances, the two are believed to share the same roles and the same goals: “Let us drink and be merry, dance, joke, and rejoice/ With claret and sherry, theorbo voice!”<sup>63</sup>

Although songs extolled the primary importance of drinking and music for their ability to generate joy, David Ingle suggests that they were also involved in the mental and emotional fortification of individuals, including the enhancement of imagination.<sup>64</sup> Fittingly, several songs within the repertoire succinctly equate drinking with bravery, as

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<sup>58</sup> John Still, “Back and Side Go Bare,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 29; John Ford and Thomas Dekker, “Cast Away Care,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39; John Fletcher, “A Drinking Song,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 8; “In Cellar Cool,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 217.

<sup>59</sup> *Toasts and Ballads Suitable for All Occasions: Witty, Sad, Gay, Wise, and Otherwise* (Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd., 1910).

<sup>60</sup> Mascagni, “Drinking Song” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 106; “A Health to All Good Fellowes,” *A Tankard of Ale*, 32.

<sup>61</sup> “A Bumper of Good Liquor,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 161; “Auld Lang Syne,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 60; “Jolly Toper,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 151; Mascagni, “Drinking Song” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 106; John Dyer, “Down Among the Dead Men,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 126; This role corresponds to Ric Northrup Caric’s work on pre-industrial leisure activities in the United States, which, although outside the scope of this project, argues that drinking and (implicitly) music acted as a dispeller of care and a generator of joy in the lives of late eighteenth-century artisans. Ric Northrup Caric. “To Drown the Ills That Discompose the Mind.”

<sup>62</sup> “Begone! Dull Care,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 37; Frederic Bullard and Richard Hovey, *The Stein Song, or It’s Always Fair Weather When Good Fellows Get Together*, vinyl disc, performed by Harry Macdonogh and the Haydn Quartet (Berliner Gram-O-Phone Co. of Canada, 1907), issue 5136.

<sup>63</sup> A theorbo is a now obsolete stringed musical instrument resembling a lute. Thomas Jordan, “Let Us Drink and Be Merry,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 20.

<sup>64</sup> Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*.

with the following verse: “Courage is a wine that’s heady/And fear is a throat that’s dry.”<sup>65</sup>

Some songs also claim that drinking induces honesty and other virtues:

For when sparkling wine went round  
Never saw I falsehood’s mask  
But still honest truth I found  
In the bottom of each glass<sup>66</sup>

Others link alcohol to charm, wisdom, and wit:

Wit’s electric flame  
Ne’er so swiftly passes,  
As when through the frame  
It shoots from brimming glasses.<sup>67</sup>

This emphasis on wit and charm combined with the Bacchic emphasis on losing inhibitions often manifests itself as humour and light-heartedness within the repertory. For instance, some songs employ double-entendre or other plays on words, as with the title “Under the Anheuser Bush” which simultaneously refers to a type of vegetation and the beer company by the same name (Anheuser Busch).<sup>68</sup> Other songs employ irony, such as “Out of the Grog-Shop,” wherein the narrator blames inanimate objects such as the road, street lamps, and the moon as being drunk but never himself.<sup>69</sup> Some songs were considered comical for breaking taboos or for using obscenities and descriptions of scandalous behaviour.<sup>70</sup> Other songs use humour to diffuse the seriousness of negative or tragic events such as death or war.<sup>71</sup> With specific reference to alcohol, humour is regularly used to make light of the negative outcomes of drinking such as fighting with friends or not having enough money to buy new clothes.<sup>72</sup> The most common type of

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<sup>65</sup> “Stand to Your Glasses,” in *Drawn from the Wood: Consolations in Words and Music for Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, ed. Frank Shay (New York: Macaulay Co, 1929), 51.

<sup>66</sup> Richard Brinsley Sherisan, “Song from ‘The Duenna’,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 50.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Moore, “Fill the Bumper Fair,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 15; also see Ford and Dekker, “Cast Away Care!” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39.

<sup>68</sup> Harry Von Tilzer and Andrew B. Sterling, “Under the Anheuser Bush” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co., 1903).

<sup>69</sup> Robert B. Brough, “Out of the Grog-Shop,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 33.

<sup>70</sup> Weston Le Barre, “The Psychopathology of Drinking Songs: A Study of the Content of the ‘Normal’ Unconscious” *Psychiatry* 2 (1939): 203-212.

<sup>71</sup> Safford Waters, “Mike McCarthy’s Wake” (New York: Harding’s Music House, 1894); Harry C. Clide and J.J. Sweeney, “Pat Malone Forgot that He Was Dead” (New York: Petrie Music Company, 1895); “Twenty Years Ago,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 466.

<sup>72</sup> “Little Brown Jug,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 270; “Next Morning,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39.

humour, however, involves the absurd. References to sneezing chickens, battles fought with a slide trombone, and doors opened with a cigarette are among many examples scattered throughout the repertory.<sup>73</sup> These are accompanied by nonsense phrases such as “Polly-Wolly-Doodle” and “Ta-ra-ra-boom-der-é,” or onomatopoeias like “gluggity, gluggity, glug!”<sup>74</sup>

Within the popular music industry, songs that strongly promoted health, happiness, and humour became common enough to be labeled as their own sub-genre of “stein songs.” The most well-known of these were appropriately named “Stein Song” and “Heidelberg (Stein Song),” the latter of which proclaims: “Better than riches of worldly wealth is a heart that’s always jolly/ Beaming with happiness hope and health warmed by love divine.”<sup>75</sup> Some of the most commercially successful songs were written (or co-written) by Harry Von Tilzer, one of the preeminent songwriters of the early twentieth century, and a noted proponent of wet culture. His most popular wet hits included “Down Where the Wurzbürger Flows” and “Under the Anheuser Bush,” but he wrote at least half a dozen more within the same vein.<sup>76</sup> The strong emphasis on health and well-being found within folk songs and popular stein songs allowed wet music to take on much the same role as the alcoholic toast. For this reason it is not surprising to find that many songs included toasts to good health and happy lives within their lyrics and titles. These include “Let the Toast Pass,” “Here’s a Health” and many more.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> “Polly-Wolly-Doodle,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 52; “Twenty Years Ago,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 466; “Tale of Lord Lovell,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 136.

<sup>74</sup> “Polly-Wolly-Doodle,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 52 “Ta-ra-ra-boom-der-é” in *A History of Popular Music in America*, 168, 258-259, 286, 292, 363; George Colman the Younger, “The Friar,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 17.

<sup>75</sup> Frank Pixley and Gustav Luders, “Heidelberg(Stein Song)” (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1902).

<sup>76</sup> Harry Von Tilzer and Vincent Bryan, “Down Where the Wurzbürger Flows” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Publishing Company, 1902); Von Tilzer and Sterling, “Under the Anheuser Bush”; Harry Von Tilzer and James Oliver O’Dea, “Song to the Foaming Stein” (New York: York Music Co, 1902); Harry Von Tilzer, Addison Burkhardt and Aaron Hoffman, “Mum’s the Word” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co., 1904); Harry Von Tilzer and Andrew B. Sterling, “On the Banks of the Rhine with a Stein” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co., 1905); Harry Von Tilzer and Vincent Bryan, “Hello Mr. Stein” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co., 1907); Harry Von Tilzer and Jack MaHoney “Schooners that Pass in the Night” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co., 1908); Harry Von Tilzer and Vincent Bryan, “Good Old German Beer” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishig Co., 1909).

<sup>77</sup> Richard Brinsley Sheridan, “Let the Toast Pass,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 7; Thomas Jordan, “Here’s a Health,” in *Queen’s University Song Book* (Toronto: Whaley, Royce, Co., 1903), 31.

The physical, mental and emotional dividends associated with drink were strongly attached to Bacchic notions of excess and self-gratification. Dozens of songs encourage drinkers to “Drink Deep,” “Drink Forever,” “obey only Pleasure’s commands,” “Fill the Goblet Again!” and otherwise imbibe heavily in alcoholic beverages.<sup>78</sup> This emphasis on drinking to the point of inebriation is linked to other similarly decadent behaviours. Perhaps the most popular tune in this vein is “Champagne Charlie,” one of the greatest hits of the British musical hall. The original version and its various sequels describe the main character as an excessive drinker who treats life as a “spree,” who plays billiards and card games, who “always knows when to ‘begin’/ But never when to stop,” and who is always willing to “take a smile.”<sup>79</sup> Another popular tune “Si’s Been Drinking Cider” by Irving Berlin recounts the antics of one drinker who plays practical jokes on his friends, tells inane stories, and never “give[s] a good gosh darn.”<sup>80</sup> Some songs praise alcohol even despite their harmful effects the morning after.<sup>81</sup>

While the emphasis here is mainly on hedonistic lifestyles, some songs do relate excess drinking back to its more ancient spiritual role. In fact, that common lyrical practice of describing alcoholic beverages as “spirits” suggests an embedded belief in the divine properties of drink.<sup>82</sup> Some songs are more specific, claiming that drinking is one of the only ways to “rise above this earthly mass.”<sup>83</sup> In nineteenth century Bacchanalian songs, Ingle similarly describes a theme he calls “antiworldliness,” the open rejection of wealth, politics, or even security as admirable life goals. Many of these attitudes are exhibited prevalently in the wet repertoire, such the exuberant spending habits of “Champagne Charlie” or the emphasis on happiness over worldly wealth in “Heidelberg.”<sup>84</sup> Here too, music is understood to play an important complementary role in the pursuit of wet

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<sup>78</sup> Oliver Marble, “Drink Deep,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 42; For “Drink Forever,” see “A Bibliography of Song Sheets”; John Wolcot, “Who Dares Talk of Hours” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 43; Lord Byron, “Fill the Goblet Again!” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 67.

<sup>79</sup> George Leybourne and Alfred Lee, “Champagne Charlie” (Philadelphia: Lee and Walker, [n.d.]); George Cooper and Alfred Lee, “Champagne Charlie Is My Name” (New York: William Hall and Son, 1868).

<sup>80</sup> Irving Berlin, *Si’s Been Drinking Cider*, vinyl disc, performed by Arthur Collins and Byron Harlan (Columbia Graphophone Company, 1915), issue A1754.

<sup>81</sup> See Willard Thompson, “Razzle Dazzle” (New York: Willis Woodward and Co., 1887); Hugh Howards, “Brandy and Soda,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 27.

<sup>82</sup> See Moore, “Fill a Bumber Fair!” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 15; “Sparkling Piper Heidsieck,” in *Weep Some More My Lady*, 182.

<sup>83</sup> Philip Freneau, “The Parting Glass,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 63.

<sup>84</sup> Leybourne and Lee, “Champagne Charlie”; Pixley and Luders, “Heidelberg (Stein Song).”

morality; in “The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous” among others, band music at drinking establishments is considered integral to the revelry that takes place there.<sup>85</sup>

It is quite obvious that the moral and spiritual disposition of the wet songs did indeed contrast with the Protestant evangelical doctrines associated with dry music. However, this is not to say that wet secularism completely ignored Christian interests or sensibilities. Indeed, many wet songs are set in biblical times or involve biblical characters.<sup>86</sup> Many involve contemporary religious events such as Christmas and New Year’s celebrations, or Christian practitioners like monks, priests, and saints.<sup>87</sup> Some songs actually recount stories of drunken friars, and a significant number of wet songs, including “Back and Side Go Bare,” are in fact written by the eminent clergy members of past centuries.<sup>88</sup> Occasional references are made to the Christian heaven or to God, as with the following: “God grant the founder of this feast/Each Christmas keep good cheer.”<sup>89</sup> Most of these references, however, specifically allude to the Catholic rather than evangelical faith, leaving little that corresponds to the religious tenets of the dry side. The God referred to in the last song, for example, is “not censorious/When his children have their fling” and in that he “rejoic[es] to see/ His children as pleasant and happy as He.”<sup>90</sup>

Some songs target Christianity or religion directly. In his psychoanalytical examination of drinking songs, Weston Le Barre finds lyrics to demonstrate rebelliousness and mockery towards religious attitudes, as for instance with one ribald line that declares “To Hell with all religion.”<sup>91</sup> Likewise, within the wet repertory some songs recount stories of people who speak out against clergy members, or maintain that, while “the Church is

<sup>85</sup> Dan McAvoy, “The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous” (New York: Sol Bloom, 1903).

<sup>86</sup> See “Old Noah,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 70; “Old Noah’s Invention,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 88; R. Maynard, “Booze is There,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 52.

<sup>87</sup> “Wassail Song,” in *Songs of the Vine*, 8; Frank X. Finnegan, “A Toast For Christmas,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 55; “New Year’s Eve,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 162; Owen Jones, “Friar’s Song,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 147; Walter Mapes, “Jovial Priest’s Confession,” in *Full and By*, 33; W. Harrison Ainsworth, “Saint Giles’s Bowl,” in *Songs of the Vine*, 204.

<sup>88</sup> See Hutchinson, *Songs of the Vine*, xxv; Archdeacon Walter Mapes, “Mihi st propositum in taberna mori [I Plan to End My Days in a Tavern],” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 181; Bishop Still, “Back and Side Go Bare,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 29; Owen Jones, “The Friar,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 147.

<sup>89</sup> “A Health,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 25; “Wassail Song,” in *Songs of the Vine*, 8; “All You That Are Good Fellows,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 42.

<sup>90</sup> Richard Hovey, “The Stein Song,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 48; See also: William Blake, “The Little Vagabond,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 18.

<sup>91</sup> Le Barre, “The Psychopathology of Drinking Songs,” 205.

cold;/...the Alehouse is healthy, and pleasant, and warm.”<sup>92</sup> Such counter-Christian attitudes are entrenched in wet culture to such a degree that many of the repertoire’s main themes and metaphors inherently contradict Christian counterparts. Sea, war, and royalty metaphors are infrequent and wholly secular in tone.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps more notably, the theme of mortality, the emphasis on time, and the metaphors of day and night are decidedly different from those within the dry repertoire.

In the wet repertoire, mortality is discussed almost as frequently as in dry songs, but rather than being mainly associated with sinners and drinkers, death is understood to be the inevitable conclusion to everyone’s worldly existence. Songs such as “Down Among the Dead Men,” “*Mihi Est Propositum in taberna mori* [I plan to end my days in a tavern],” and declarations such as “drink to the dead already/ A toast to the next to die!” demonstrate alcohol to play a significant role in the positive acceptance of death.<sup>94</sup> Some songs portray drink as helping individuals die more peacefully or even to evade death altogether.<sup>95</sup> The most far-fetched, humorous, and blasphemous of these portray recently deceased individuals temporarily coming back to life in order to partake in the drinking and festivities at their wake.<sup>96</sup> This embracement of mortality relate back to Caric’s understanding of death in pre-industrial society as a means of overcoming individual cares and woes.<sup>97</sup>

This acceptance of fatality combined with the traditional wet promotion of indulgence appears to have cultivated a widespread emphasis on the immediate enjoyment of pleasure and health rather than the suspending of these benefits until after death.

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<sup>92</sup> Blake, “The Little Vagabond,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 18.

<sup>93</sup> See for example MaHoney “Schooners that Pass in the Night”; “We Be Soldiers Three,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 360; “Old King Cole,” in *Drawn from the Wood*, 55.

<sup>94</sup> Dyer, “Down Among the Dead Men,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 126; Mapes, “Mihi st propositum in taberna mori [I Plan to End My Days in a Tavern],” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 181; “Stand to Your Glasses,” in *Drawn from the Wood*, 51; Powers connects these songs to the ‘jazz funeral’ in New Orleans, a tradition especially prevalent in the African-American community, which strongly associated music and drinking in the celebration of an individual’s life and the acceptance of his or her death. See Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 44.

<sup>95</sup> Thomas Love Peacock, “Three Times Three,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 47; John Fletcher, “A Drinking Song,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 8.

<sup>96</sup> Safford Waters, “Mike McCarthy’s Wake”; Clide and Sweeney, “Pat Malone Forgot that He Was Dead.”

<sup>97</sup> Caric, “To Drown the Ills That Discompose the Mind.”

But die I this day or tomorrow...  
 Let no sad funeral bells be ringing  
 But tinkling glasses be your plan  
 And on my tombstone be inscribed;  
 'This man was born, lived, drank and died  
 And now he lies here who imbibed  
 In all life's joy the purple tide."<sup>98</sup>

This excerpt, along with other lyrics that incorporate expressions like "*Post mortem nulla voluptas* [there is no pleasure after death]"<sup>99</sup> or declarations like "Come, let's drink it while we have breath,/ For there's no drinking after death"<sup>100</sup> effectively link drinking and living to pleasure and death to the absence of these things.

Beyond references to life and death, the emphasis on quick gratification also seems to have translated into a counter-evangelical focus on the present tense. There exist a few songs that relate stories of historical events, and some, like "Auld Lang Syne" or "I Cannot Sing the Old Songs," that somewhat nostalgically look back to days gone by;<sup>101</sup> however, the vast majority of wet songs are written about contemporary events and issues of immediate concern. Very few emphasize future concerns to the degree that millennialist-centered dry songs do. Those pieces that look positively to the future are balanced by several that treat it disparagingly:

The luckless wight, that still delays  
 His draught of joys to future days  
 Delays too long--for then, alas!  
 Old age steps up, and --breaks the glass!<sup>102</sup>

Wet culture also stands out as counter-Christian in its assessment of the metaphors of light and dark, or day and night. Most wet songs addressing this theme tend to renounce the day and embrace the night:

<sup>98</sup> "My Comrades" in *Let's Sing and Be Merry*, 16.

<sup>99</sup> Jordan, "Let Us Drink and Be Merry," in *Toasts and Tipple*, 20.

<sup>100</sup> Dyer, "Down Among the Dead Men," in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 126.

<sup>101</sup> "Auld Lang Syne," in *Toasts and Ballads*, 60; "I Cannot Sing the Old Song," in *Drawn from the Wood*, 112; "Old Noah's Invention," in *The Stag's Hornbook*, 88; "Christofo Columbo," in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 43.

<sup>102</sup> On positive views of the future see "Old Folks At Home" in *Toasts and Ballads*, 56; "Old Rosin, The Beau," in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 361; "New Year's Eve," in *The Stag's Hornbook*, 162; on negative interpretations of the future see Freneau, "The Parting Glass," in *Toasts and Tipple*, 63.

O'er the flowing midnight bowls  
 Oh how happy we shall be!  
 Day was made for vulgar souls;  
 Night my boys for you and me!<sup>103</sup>

Occasionally, the songs speak of nighttime festivities spilling over into the next day,<sup>104</sup> but, more often, songs such as “We Won’t Go Home Till Morning” and “Next Morning” suggest that the dawning of day is associated with sobriety or the unpleasant aftereffects of drinking. Interestingly, some songs absorb the dominant Christian endorsement on day and light by imbuing drink with special “lighting” powers. This much is made apparent by suggestions such as “This bottle’s the sun of our table/ His beams are rosy wine” or descriptions of alcoholic drinks as “liquid light.”<sup>105</sup> Instead of using alcohol to drown the sorrows of the night, some songs point to music’s own ability to “make the midnight ring.”<sup>106</sup>

Some wet themes do not directly contradict dry doctrine, but the weight they place on secular rather than spiritual behaviours distinguishes them from Christian ideals. Many wet songs endorse sports of all kinds, including gambling, hunting, racing, and team activities.<sup>107</sup> Likewise, several pieces focus on adventure, often recounting the escapades of real-life figures such as Christopher Columbus or Casey Jones, and often taking place in exotic lands or time periods.<sup>108</sup> Worldly concerns are also expressed by the abundance of romance-themed songs. Tender songs of passion and love will be discussed in greater detail later, but it is important to note that love, in its sought, attained, and unrequited forms, constitutes a significant theme in the wet repertoire. It includes such well-known songs of the day as “Drink to Her,” “The Girl I Left Behind Me,” “Now I’m Resolved to

<sup>103</sup> William Grant, “Care Drowned,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 275.

<sup>104</sup> “In Praise of Icken’M,” in *Drinking Songs and Other Songs*, ed. W.R. Titterton (London: Cecil Palmer, 1928), 10.

<sup>105</sup> Richard Brinsley Sheridan, “The Friar’s Chorus,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 54; “Sparkling and Bright,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 43; In his study on the culture of darkness, Bryan Palmer reiterates this perception, observing that fraternalism within taverns was a “was a night quest for light.” See Bryan Palmer, *Culture of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 213.

<sup>106</sup> Wallace Rice, “A Toast For New Year’s Eve,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 61.

<sup>107</sup> “Stagolee,” in *Faces Along Bar*, 180-187; “The Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo,” in *Read’Em and Weep*, 136; Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 22.

<sup>108</sup> Columbo,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 43; “Casey Jones,” in *Read’Em and Weep*, 136; “Abdul Abulbul Amir,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 82.

Love No More,” and “My Wild Irish Rose.”<sup>109</sup> One popular tune, “Sweet Adeline,” has in fact been deemed the most popular of all Tin Pan Alley songs to be sung in saloons.<sup>110</sup> Frequently, drinking is demonstrated to augment romantic feelings, to help cope with unreciprocated love, or even to replace love.<sup>111</sup> Often music, rather than drink, is given the responsibility of capturing love’s intensity and beauty, as with the following example:

Her every tone is music's own  
Like those of morning birds  
And something more than melody  
Dwells ever in her words<sup>112</sup>

The romantic functions of drink and music seem to be supported by a widespread use of typically romantic or sentimental music harmony and rhythm. A great number of wet songs are written as waltzes or ballads to be performed at slow to moderate tempo.<sup>113</sup>

This promotion of counter-Christian values had always instilled a certain resistant spirit in wet culture. Since classical times, drinking was understood to augment oratory skills (by “unhinging the tongue and...bolstering courage”) and it was also understood to increase political criticism.<sup>114</sup> For these reasons, traditional drinking establishments became known as bastions of political activity.<sup>115</sup> Senelick suggests that the music hall setting, despite its focus on “personalities rather than issues, slogans rather than movements,” also contributed significantly to the formation of public opinion and political attitudes during the years leading up to prohibition.<sup>116</sup> However, perhaps due to centuries

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<sup>109</sup> Thomas Moore, “Drink to Her,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 23; “The Girl I Left Behind Me,” *Drawn from the Wood*, 124; “Now I’m Resolved to Love No More,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 416; For “My Wild Irish Rose,” see Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 119.

<sup>110</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 204; Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America*, 334.

<sup>111</sup> On augmenting romantic feelings see: Fred De Gresac, Harry B. Smith, Victor Hubert, “All Your Own I Am: Champagne Song” (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1911); Eddie Leonard, “Ida Sweet as Apple Cider” (New York: Edward B. Marks and Joseph W. Stern, 1903); On unreciprocated love see: Austin Dobson, “The Maltworm’s Madrigal,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 13; On alcohol as a replacement for romance see Joseph McCarthy and Percy Wenrich, *Sweet Cider Time When You Were Mine*, vinyl disc, performed by Henry Burr and the Peerless Quartet (Camden, NJ: Victor Talking Machine Company, 1916), issue 17969; “O Good Ale, Thou Art My Darling,” in *Full and By*, 136.

<sup>112</sup> “A Health,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 25; See also: Grenadier Guards Band, *Wine, Wife, and Song* (Berliner Gram-O-Phone Co. of Canada, 1904), issue 5559; Moore, “Drink to Her,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 23.

<sup>113</sup> See for example “Beer Waltz” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 66; *Toasts and Ballads Suitable for All Occasions*.

<sup>114</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 36.

<sup>115</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 36-38; Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 219.

<sup>116</sup> Laurence Senelick, “Politics as Entertainment,” *Victorian Studies* 19, no. 2 (December 1975), 180.

of repression by hegemonic forces and perhaps due the Bacchanalian emphasis on passive self-gratification rather than self-activation, wet culture had become decidedly complacent.

One of the few times wet music, even wet culture, organized a significant resistance to dry laws was during the English Restoration period, when wet songs were used to criticize recent restrictions on drinking. However, despite the popularity of the songs, they were defensive measures rather than proactive precautions and the restrictions were short-lived in any case.<sup>117</sup> The weakness of wet resistance during the English Restoration period did not provide a strong model from which to coordinate an opposition to the dry movement. For this reason, it is perhaps not surprising to find that the wet repertoire rarely assaults the prohibition movement directly. There are only a few songs that censure water-drinkers and one song that refutes the sinfulness of alcohol on account of its biblical attribution to Noah.<sup>118</sup> The most aggressive of these calls the average prohibitionist a crank and humorously suggests any supporter of “personal liberty” should “with your boot help him scoot, help in scoot out on all fours.”<sup>119</sup>

While the wet cause might have been ineffective at challenging the aggressive and relentless attacks of the dry cause, it would be wrong to say that wet resistance was non-existent during this period. Instead, what wet resistance did exist was generally informal, indirect, and inconspicuous. Although it never whole-heartedly took on the drinking cause, active members of the labour movement did erect some popular musical resistance to the advances of the dry cause. American labour activists Joe Hill, Mac McClintock, and Jack Walsh, for instance, were well-known songwriters who wrote famous satires of dry songs. In the United States, some of their songs quite literally had to compete with Salvation Army bands that constantly positioned themselves outside of saloons.<sup>120</sup>

During the period in question, the small amount of wet resistance that did exist was constituted by satirical parodies of songs popular within the temperance movement. These

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<sup>117</sup> W. T. Marchant, *In Praise of Ale* (London: G. Redway, 1888), 135-181.

<sup>118</sup> Richard Brinsley Sheridan, “Don Jerome’s Song,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 37; Thomas Love Peacock, “The Men of Gotham,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 37; “Dangers,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 419; “Old Noah’s Invention,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 88.

<sup>119</sup> Edward F. Edwards, “Turn the Crank: A Plea for Personal Liberty” (Chicago: Metropolitan Music Co., 1886); There are small number of politically motivated wet songs from before the period studied. These include “The Old Whiskey Jug” which was encouraged drinking in the face of dry efforts. Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 240-241.

<sup>120</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 194-195.

usually took the form of what Ewing calls pseudotemperance or pseudopathetic songs, but which may also be called musical pastiches. These songs possess the style and lyrical themes associated with temperance but are instilled with sardonic undertones through various means, such as over-exaggerating dry claims and criticisms, using ribald language, alluding to secular immorality, or ending with a line that betrays the insincerity of what came before. One well-known parody of a dry song, by the famous vaudeville singer Charlie Case, tells the story of a “poor young man” who moves to the city and is tempted into the drinking lifestyle. The story culminates with the drunken man breaking the tambourine of a Salvation Army lassie. Instead of dwelling on the plight of the innocent girl, however, the story relates how the girl fought back by kicking the man in the head. The song ironically ends with a plea for self-moderation, not for the harm it causes to innocents but rather for the harm that so-called innocents can cause to drinkers.<sup>121</sup> This song, along with pastiches like “I Never Drink Behind the Bar” and “Don’t Be Addicted to Drinking” finish with a statement that reveals the sarcasm of the preceding discussion of temperance.<sup>122</sup>

Case’s song is remarkably reminiscent of an earlier dry composition about a young man who is tempted to drink, repents and promises to return home;<sup>123</sup> for this reason it might fit into the musical parody category of wet satire. Indeed, many parodies of popular dry songs were rewritten to support the wet cause, including “Pie in the Sky” which was composed as a wet response to “In the Sweet Bye and Bye,” and “You Never Miss de Lager Till the Keg Runs Dry” which was adapted from the original “You’ll Never Miss the Water till the Well Runs Dry.”<sup>124</sup> Sometimes the direct replication of a dry song in a wet setting was enough to achieve the desired effect. For instance, the cliché of the drunken father and pleading daughter made popular by the perennial dry favourite “Father, Come Home” was covered frequently by vaudeville performers wanting to satirize the temperance cause. According to Powers, these musical satires may have influenced some audiences more than the original versions.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America*, 303.

<sup>122</sup> Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 94. Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 241.

<sup>123</sup> Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep*, 192.

<sup>124</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 195; Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 241-242;

<sup>125</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 38.

Beyond borrowing, any type of wet resistance is scarce but nevertheless present. Often with the aid of music, wet journals such as *The Advocate* reported on the successes and failures of the wet forces or attacked the values and political actions of the anti-drink corps. One particularly pertinent article attempts to refute the staple argument of the prohibitionists that finds drinking to be the work of the devil and its partakers to be of a similarly evil breed. To debunk this assumption, the author turns to well-loved Scottish poets and song-writers including Robert Nicoll, Robert Fergusson, and Robert Burns who all wrote extensively in high praise of drink.<sup>126</sup> Thus, the songs are meant to demonstrate that respectable artistic figures, who were likely admired by the dry advocates, promoted libation on the whole.

Even more vaguely, some songs seem to encourage disrespecting the law in certain situations. For instance, a small number of tunes remark on alcohol's ability to inspire the fighting spirit in drinkers and to make individuals "scorn to submit to the watch or constable."<sup>127</sup> A few songs also describe individuals who make alcoholic beverages clandestinely, drinkers being arrested for being rowdy, or the owner of a gin-mill preventing policemen from taking away his sign.<sup>128</sup> Other tunes, including folk hero songs like "Jesse James" or murder-ballads like "Stagolee" and "Frankie and Johnny" promote the maintenance of a personal code of honour even if it means taking the law into one's own hands.<sup>129</sup>

The wet repertoire's minimal opposition might also have been a result of its openness to minimal amounts of self-regulation. Despite its endorsement of pleasure-seeking attitudes and counter-Christian themes, wet music did not completely lack all sense of Christian morality. Bacchanalian attitudes did place value on hedonism but it is important to note that, at least originally, they also endorsed some degree of moderation. For instance, the ritual practice of mixing wine with water in Bacchic celebrations was used to

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<sup>126</sup> "The Drink Traffic in Caledonia Fifty Years Ago" *The Advocate*, 31 January 1895, 1.

<sup>127</sup> Ingle, "Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles," 23; Ford and Dekker, "Cast Away Care!" in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39.

<sup>128</sup> Joseph H. Santly, Joseph McCarthy, and Howard E. Johnson. *Moonshine Sally*, vinyl disc, performed by Henry Burr and Albert Campbell (Columbia Graphophone Co., 1916), issue A2067; J.P. Harrington and George Le Crunn, "The Late and Early Club" (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1893); Charles H. Johnson, "The Little Sign is Still Above the Door" (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1890).

<sup>129</sup> "Jesse James," in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 84; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 187.

prevent drinkers from becoming too noisy or aggressive.<sup>130</sup> Anacreon, too, urged moderation as a means of equilibrating romantic inclinations with social and intellectual pursuits.<sup>131</sup> In this capacity, Carl Ruck suggests that the cultivation of wild grapes into intoxicating beverages was a means of balancing the “atavistic ‘wild’ side of man and the ‘cultivated’ side of civilization.”<sup>132</sup> This attitude continued into the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. For instance, one major proponent of the Committee of Fifty, Royal Melendy, remarked on the moderate drinking of saloon singing societies, as well as the “soul-stirring” and care-freeing effect of saloon performances, but he also acknowledged the clean and decent music found within most vaudeville concerts.<sup>133</sup>

Many songs also reveal wet culture to be informally self-regulating. A number of songs encourage drinkers to “wisely partake of the generous juice,/ But don’t forfeit the boon by excess or abuse.”<sup>134</sup> Several songs, including “R-E-M-O-R-S-E” and “Brandy and Soda,” speak seriously about hang-overs and other side-effects of drinking, and even humorous songs acknowledge the “train of woes” that arrive the morning after a bout of heavy drinking.<sup>135</sup> Some, like “Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes” use love as a replacement for drinking, while others, including “I’m on the Water Wagon Now,” endorse giving up drinking outright, at least for a limited period of time.<sup>136</sup> In his extensive work on nineteenth-century British drinking songs, Ingle also discovers evidence of self-regulation. For instance, he finds that many songs written about rakes often end badly, and often describe the protagonists as remorseful for their drunken mistakes. Some of these songs portray characters who undergo a process of rehabilitation, the earliest examples of which are said to have provided a model for later temperance songs.<sup>137</sup> These self-

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<sup>130</sup> Murray, *Sympotica*, 6, 143.

<sup>131</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 34-35.

<sup>132</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 33. Ruck, “The Wild and the Cultivated,” in *Persephone’s Quest*.

<sup>133</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 190. Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 304; Royal L. Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 6, no. 4 (January 1901): 445.

<sup>134</sup> “Old Noah’s Invention,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 88.

<sup>135</sup> “R-E-M-O-R-S-E,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 11; Howards, “Brandy and Soda,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 27; “Next Morning,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39.

<sup>136</sup> “Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes,” in *Queen’s University Song Book*, 42; For “I’m on the Water Wagon Now,” see Mott, “A Bibliography of Song Sheets.”

<sup>137</sup> Unfortunately, it is unclear how many of these “bad” circumstances were treated as serious concerns and how many were treated, in Ingle’s words, as an “afterthought.” Ingle “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” and “Appendix C: English Song Themes, 1600-1900,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 219, 222, 729; Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 22.

regulating functions of wet music extended beyond drinking practices into other issues of daily life. For instance, in her work on the murder ballads in American saloons, Powers argues that folk songs like “The Streets of Laredo,” “Stagolee,” and “Frankie and Albert,” all of which focus on brutal slayings, helped delineate the boundaries of acceptability within saloon culture while at the same time recapitulating notions of honour.<sup>138</sup>

#### MUSIC’S ROLE IN THE UNIFICATION OF WET CULTURE

The same openness that allowed wet music to incorporate Christian morality and self-regulation tendencies is likely linked to the cooperative spirit that was so much a part of wet culture. Cooperation and conviviality among individuals was likely inherited from the ecstatic rites of Bacchic worship, which facilitated omnibenevolent tendencies by using wine and song to loosen the societal constraints that normally prevented people from interacting together on an intimate basis. In this way, indulgence necessitated diffuse and indiscriminate affection between participants. As such, Bacchanalian parties and orgies entailed high levels of commensality, spontaneous group cooperation, and fellowship.<sup>139</sup> An emphasis on group unity was avidly maintained throughout the period, as exemplified by saloons with names such as “The Freedom,” “The Social,” or “The Club” which all captured that “general atmosphere of freedom, that spirit of democracy, which men crave.”<sup>140</sup> Unmarred by the dichotomizing tendencies that were so much a product of dry “militarism,” conviviality became a normal feature of wet culture and was expressed in many ways. One such way was called “treating” and it entailed the buying of rounds for others as a compliment or expression of friendship.<sup>141</sup> Amateur group singing represented another common means of attaining conviviality and soon became a mainstay of European and North American drinking cultures.

The use of music within a typical drinking session of the period gave music a distinct and important role as a gateway to the all-loving tendencies inherited from or inspired by Bacchic tradition. Songbook compilers Chesterton and Titterton highlighted the role of

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<sup>138</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 182-187.

<sup>139</sup> Murray, *Sympotica*, 5-7, 159, 178-182; Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 34.

<sup>140</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 294.

<sup>141</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 93-118; Warsh 7-8

song in maintaining the long tradition of “festive chorus, which is one of the oldest things of human history.”<sup>142</sup> Some of the most avid proponents, however, interpreted music as more important than alcohol in attaining the desired goals commonly associated with drinking. Frank Shay asserted that, while drinking leads to feelings of conviviality and fellowship, it is the participation in song that determines the speed and intensity with which these things are attained.<sup>143</sup> In a short thought experiment tracing the course of a typical evening for group of friends at a bar, Shay argues that singing was one of the central goals of the evening on account of its natural affiliation with friendship and joviality.<sup>144</sup>

Within the wet repertoire, several dozen wet songs derived out of the Bacchanalian tradition echo this emphasis on friendship and conviviality as primary goals of drinking and singing.<sup>145</sup> Some songs make jovial references to “My Comrades,” “auld acquaintance” or “boys,” which indirectly suggests a sociable atmosphere.<sup>146</sup> Many make the connection between drinking and conviviality more evident, as for example with “Ode for a Social Meeting,” “One Bumper at Parting” or “Hail, Hail, The Gang’s All Here.”<sup>147</sup> Conviviality is likewise a requisite theme of any stein song that emanated from the popular music industry.<sup>148</sup> In a few cases, alcoholic beverages are themselves labeled as “friends.”<sup>149</sup> One witty lyric goes yet farther, describing the process whereby the drinker and drink metaphorically and physically transform into one:

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<sup>142</sup> Chesterton and Titterton, *Drinking Songs and Other Songs*, 1928 viii

<sup>143</sup> Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 7.

<sup>144</sup> Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 9.

<sup>145</sup> This corresponds to Ingle’s estimate that approximately twenty-five percent of the British songs published between 1800 and 1913 promoted fellowship as a major theme Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 23.

<sup>146</sup> “My Comrades” in *Let’s Sing and Be Merry*, 16; “Auld Lang Syne,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 60; “Face on the Barroom Floor,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 163.

<sup>147</sup> “Ode for a Social Meeting,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 112; Thomas Moore, “One Bumper at Parting,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 86; “Hail, Hail, The Gang’s All Here,” in *Bottom’s Up*, 8; Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 60.

<sup>148</sup> See for example, E. B. Sutton, “Give Me a Song That’s Gay” (Toronto: Whaley, Royce, 1904).

<sup>149</sup> Vincent Byran and Seymour Furth, “Budweiser is a Friend of Mine” (New York: Shapiro Music Publisher Co., 1907).

Now stretch all the strength of your brains!  
 I drink—and the object  
 Is lost in the subject;  
 Making one entity  
 In the identity  
 Of me and the wine in my veins!<sup>150</sup>

In the songs, such convivial drinking is understood to benefit the individual and community in multifarious ways. As already established, musical toasts were a common feature of drinking occasions. For this reason, songs that involved a toast “to those that love us” or “A Health to All Good Fellowes” effectively linked the presence of friends with individual health and well-being.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, many wet songs suggest that communal drinking banishes guilt and fear, creates “a jovial ragged ring,” and causes participants to “speak truly,” laugh, and rejoice.<sup>152</sup> Some lyrics aver that social drinking “will end a contest quicker/ Than justice, judge, or vicar,” or claim that the deeper the quarrel the more one should drink.<sup>153</sup> Some songs enter music itself into the equation, describing “an honest old friend and a merry old song” as the primary requirements for a successful night of drinking.<sup>154</sup> Others relay music’s importance in creating merriment and relieving individual cares about reputation and status:

For it's always fair weather  
 When good fellows get together  
 With a stein on the table  
 And a good song ringing clear<sup>155</sup>

This last song is an example of the common musical practice known as barbershop harmonizing. Barbershop songs, or four-part harmony “gang songs” as Spaeth calls them, were performed by professionals and amateurs alike and included such popular tunes as

<sup>150</sup> John Stuart Blackie, “Concerning I and Non-I,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 53.

<sup>151</sup> Robert Burns, “With a Pair of Drinking Glasses,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 57; “A Health to All Good Fellowes,” *A Tankard of Ale*, 32.

<sup>152</sup> Freneau, “The Parting Glass,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 63; “The Jolly Beggars,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 16; “A Health to All Good Fellowes,” *A Tankard of Ale*, 32.

<sup>153</sup> “A Bumper of Good Liquor,” in *The Stag's Hornbook*, 161; also see Ford and Dekker, “Cast Away Care!” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39.

<sup>154</sup> Henry Carey, “A General Reply,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 41; “With an Honest Old Friend and a Merry Old Song,” in *Songs of the Vine*, 132.

<sup>155</sup> Bullard and Hovey, *The Stein Song*; also see “The Jolly Beggars,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 16.

“Sweet Adeline” and “Down Where the Wurzbürger Flows.”<sup>156</sup> Barbershop quartets were so regularly prone to impromptu vocalizing in saloons that Powers suggests they might well have been called “barroom quartets.”<sup>157</sup>

This form of wet conviviality was described as being most successful within the confines of the drinking establishment or the personal social network. Titles like “Out of the Grog-Shop,” “There is a Tavern in Town,” “Landlord, Fill the Flowing Bowl”<sup>158</sup> and innumerable songs about or set within saloons demonstrate this focus. Non-musical sources also reiterate the centrality of the saloon to the unifying tendencies of drinking and music. The Committee of Fifty relates the benefits of music to the health of the local community by concluding that, more than simply satisfying alcoholic urges, local saloons quenched a common thirst “for fellowship, for amusement, and for recreation.”<sup>159</sup> It also acknowledged that professional music was heavily ensconced in the unifying capabilities of musical entertainment, suggesting that “the corps of musicians who play nightly in each of the better class of bar-rooms in most cases justify the extra expense by an increase in patronage.”<sup>160</sup> Even in spite of a haughty resentment towards the cheaper music/dance halls, the Committee accepted that concert saloons were often “unobjectionable and sometimes do a real service to the community.”<sup>161</sup>

And although the development of professional stage performances tended to create a performer-audience division that did not exist in convivial saloon culture, music halls, vaudeville theatres and other popular outgrowths of wet saloon culture were also understood to be capable of inducing social unification. Audience interaction with performers was frequent and often expected within these venues. This entailed singing along, dancing, cheering (or heckling) and any other modes of expression that would

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<sup>156</sup> Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep*, 212; Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America*, 334; Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 119; Von Tilzer and Bryan, “Down Where the Wurzbürger Flows.”

<sup>157</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 204.

<sup>158</sup> Brough, “Out of the Grog-Shop,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 33; “There is a Tavern in Town,” in *University of Toronto Song Book*, 38; “Landlord Fill the Flowing Bowl,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 54.

<sup>159</sup> Billings and Peabody, *The Liquor Problem*, 147.

<sup>160</sup> Calkins, *Substitutes for the Saloon*, 206.

<sup>161</sup> Calkins, *Substitutes for the Saloon*, 23, 165, 330; The important role that wet music played in creating community is also implied by the Committee’s frequent recommendations for the renovation of music education and the facilitation of musical performances outside the bounds of drinking establishments. See Calkins, *Substitutes for the Saloon*, 124, 177-179, 206.

facilitate a more participatory atmosphere.<sup>162</sup> Al Jolson, one of the biggest stars of the vaudeville stage, even attempted to eradicate the performer-audience division altogether by having a ramp built down the center of the stage and out into the crowd.<sup>163</sup> According to vaudeville historian Gerald Lenton, “If the world in the vaudeville theatre was a surrogate for the audience’s everyday world they had to feel as much a part of it as they did of the world outside the theatre.”<sup>164</sup>

This avid musical support of saloon culture and its outgrowths weakened wet culture’s ability to oppose dry culture by making it difficult to endorse hegemonic social institutions such as the home and the nation. Wet references to home in fact constitute little more than a few covers of popular songs such as “Home, Sweet Home” or “My Old Kentucky Home,”<sup>165</sup> which are countered by an almost equal number of songs focusing on individuals without fixed homes or nuclear families, such as “Tinker’s Song,” “The Little Vagabond,” “The Wild Rover,” and a large number of sailor songs.<sup>166</sup> Wet references to the nation are more abundant. For instance, observers of saloon culture have testified to the frequency and enthusiasm with which national anthems and other patriotic songs were sung, especially during times of war.<sup>167</sup> One patriotic song, “To Anacreon in Heaven,” made interesting connections between drink and national loyalty by having its melody and harmony borrowed for the American national anthem. However, the wet repertoire actually possesses little more than a few references to “God Save the Queen.”<sup>168</sup>

The wet musical preference for subordinate social institutions (i.e. the saloon) over hegemonic ones (i.e. the home and nation) was echoed in its broader support of subordinate social identities such as the lower classes, ethnic and racial minorities, and non-dry gender roles. The lack of militaristic attitudes within the wet repertoire actually

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<sup>162</sup> Senelick, “The Victorian Music-Hall,” 379; McNamara, *The New York Concert Saloon*.

<sup>163</sup> Ken Bloom, *Broadway: Its History, People, and Places: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 266.

<sup>164</sup> Lenton, “The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto,” 499.

<sup>165</sup> John Howard Payne, “Home, Sweet Home,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 59; “My Old Kentucky Home,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 57.

<sup>166</sup> “Tinker’s Song,” in *Songs of the Vine*, 23; Blake, “The Little Vagabond,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 18; “The Wild Rover,” *Weep Some More My Lady*, 190.

<sup>167</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 298; Heron, *Booze*, 111.

<sup>168</sup> Heron, *Booze*, 111; “God Save the King,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 63; see also Alexander Muir, “Maple Leaf Forever,” in *Toasts and Ballads*, 61; “Here’s a Health Unto His Majesty,” in *Queen’s University Song Book*, 104.

made the wet culture quite open to social diversity, but during this period, it was not nearly enough to alter these subordinate affiliations.

Wet songs clearly demonstrate that drinking had long been practiced by all levels of society. Bacchanalian worship had traditionally been practiced by members of the privileged classes,<sup>169</sup> and in secular British society these eventually developed into “song-and-supper” clubs for aristocrats, “tavern-concert rooms” for the middle class, and “free-and-easies” for the working class, many of which sought to enrich drinking life with popular entertainment by presenting singers, actors and comedians.<sup>170</sup> The patrons of these locations also shared a love for Bacchanalian-themed songs written by members of gentlemen’s taverns who were well-educated in Bacchus/Dionysus mythology and poetry.<sup>171</sup> These activities were carried on into the early twentieth century. During this period, Melendy remarked on thousands of suburban well-behaved, and well-dressed people who attended rather respectable saloons in Chicago “principally for the music.”<sup>172</sup> Some vaudeville theatres, including Tony Pastor’s Opera House in New York or the Winter Garden in Toronto, were massive and elaborate constructions that attracted middle and upper class patrons too.<sup>173</sup>

Within the repertoire itself, songs make reference to drinkers of all class backgrounds. Some, like “A Catch Royal” or “The Tale of Lord Lovell,” concern royalty and nobility,<sup>174</sup> and other songs, such as “A Ballade of Professional Pride,” describe drinking members of the professional and middle classes.<sup>175</sup> In “Champagne Charlie” the main character is depicted as what was then known as a “swell” — a fashionably and expensively dressed person.<sup>176</sup> Moreover, Charlie’s penchant for champagne itself implies a certain degree of wealth on behalf of the protagonist, as do dozens of other songs that promote

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<sup>169</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 34; Murray, *Sympotica*.

<sup>170</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 37; Senelick, “Moonlighting in the Music Hall.”

<sup>171</sup> Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 218; Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 21.

<sup>172</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 302-305.

<sup>173</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 196; Lenton, “The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto.”

<sup>174</sup> Thomas Jordan, “A Catch Royal,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 83; “Old King Cole,” in *Drawn from the Wood*, 55; “Tale of Lord Lovell,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 136.

<sup>175</sup> Cecil Chesterton, “A Ballade of Professional Pride,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 172; see also “Tippling Philosophers,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 62.

<sup>176</sup> For a description of Champagne Charlie’s expensive clothes and habits, see Spaeth, *Read ‘Em and Weep*, 95.

“Moet and Shandon,” “Sparkling Piper Heidsieck,” as well as the “gentlemen’s predilection for wine and brandies” and other costly beverages over the beers and hard liquors typically favoured by the richer classes.<sup>177</sup> The strong presence of drink within turn-of-the-century middle-class culture is also denoted by the dozens of songs attributed to middle-class institutions such as universities and colleges.<sup>178</sup> These include several drinking songs found within University of Toronto and Queen’s University songbooks.<sup>179</sup>

Despite the obvious popularity of music and drinking in at least some sectors of the “respectable” classes, most accounts contend that wet music and wet musical venues of the nineteenth and early twentieth century did cater to working-class crowds, and this seems to have confirmed the dry depiction of middle-class sobriety.<sup>180</sup> Labeled “the poor man’s club” by the Committee of Fifty, the saloon was acknowledged as one of the few places working people could engage in inexpensive recreational and social activities.<sup>181</sup> In this way, the saloon’s status within working-class civil society has been interpreted as analogous to the Protestant church within middle-class society.<sup>182</sup> With regards to song, Melendy observed that musical performers in saloons were often members of the working-class, and even part of censured groups such as prostitutes.<sup>183</sup> He also averred that it was the multitude’s desire for amusement and lack of disposable income that crowded them into the cheaper concert saloons.<sup>184</sup> Sometimes, support for drinking culture was upheld by factions within the labour movement. In fact, according to Powers, by appealing to singing and saloongoing, “two pastimes already dear to many laborers’ hearts,” the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) encouraged workers of different backgrounds to unite and organize for the success of their movement.<sup>185</sup>

Within the repertoire, the vast array of songs that discuss saloon life belie a working-class emphasis in a great many songs. If they do not describe working-class drinking

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<sup>177</sup> “Moet and Shandon,” in *Read’Em and Weep*, 213; “Sparkling Piper Heidsieck,” in *Weep Some More, My Lady*, 182; “Rosy Wine,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 116; Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 220.

<sup>178</sup> Fenstad and Colcord, “Stein Song (University of Maine).”

<sup>179</sup> *University of Toronto Song Book*; *Queen’s University Song Book*.

<sup>180</sup> Senelick, “A Brief Life and Times of the Victorian Music-Hall,” 383.

<sup>181</sup> Billings and Peabody, *The Liquor Problem*, 147. Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 42, 197.

<sup>182</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197

<sup>183</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 300; Powers 196

<sup>184</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II,” 450.

<sup>185</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 195.

establishments, many songs describe the lives of working class people, including low-ranking soldiers and sailors.<sup>186</sup> Some songs, like “Jolly Beggars” and “Big Rock Candy Mountain,” glorify the hobo lifestyle or the poorest classes.<sup>187</sup> Some popular pieces, such as “The Face on the Bar-room Floor” or “The Son of a Gambolier,” even imply the impoverishing capacities of drinking, by relating tragic tales of old drinkers who have regressed from wealth to poverty.<sup>188</sup>

While working-class drinking might have been most heavily promoted within the wet repertory, wet music did on occasion provide opportunities for different classes to meet and interact. Indeed, an important tenet of traditional wet culture embraced a certain degree of what Ingle calls antiworldliness, by devaluing “title” and “treasure,” or claiming that “Money is trash, and he that will spend it/Let him drink merrily, Fortune will send it.”<sup>189</sup> The transcendental nature of music in general partially provided wet music, and the professional music industry in particular, with the ability to obliterate class and status differences. Consequently, there is evidence that higher-end business saloons would hire lower-end beer-garden orchestras for their “exquisite” musical taste,<sup>190</sup> and conversely that lower-end music spots would attract adventurous members of the middle or upper classes.<sup>191</sup> According to Melendy, by hosting well-known musicians and orchestras, saloons and beer-gardens in urban business sections were known to attract people from all over the city.<sup>192</sup> The vaudeville theatres and other mass entertainment venues that evolved out of lower-end concert saloons continued this trend, attracting an increasing number of “respectable clientele” over the decades.<sup>193</sup> The publishing companies of Tin Pan Alley also facilitated the mixing of class identities by releasing wet songs about various members of

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<sup>186</sup> “Mademoiselle From Armentières,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 145; “The Girl I Left Behind Me,” *Drawn from the Wood*, 124; Dyer, “Down Among the Dead Men,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 126.

<sup>187</sup> “The Jolly Beggars,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 16; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 192-195; also see Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 222.

<sup>188</sup> ; “Face on the Barroom Floor,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 163; “The Son of a Gambolier,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 106.

<sup>189</sup> “The Jolly Beggars,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 16; Ford and Dekker, “Cast Away Care!” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 39.

<sup>190</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 301-302.

<sup>191</sup> McNamara, *The New York Concert Saloon*, 93; Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 25.

<sup>192</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 301-302.

<sup>193</sup> Ingle, “Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song,” 37.

diverse economic backgrounds, such as “Hock Shop,” “College Stunts” or “Old King Joe.”<sup>194</sup> In this way wet music promoted drinking “In the palace, in the stable” and all points in between.<sup>195</sup>

The acceptance of difference that typified wet music’s treatment of class identities was less prominent in its treatment of ethnicity. Because the wet repertoire for this project focuses on English-language songs, many of the pieces are derived from Anglo-Saxon ethnicities. English and Scottish folk songs represent the greatest number of references to ethnic pride. For example, in his compilation of English drinking songs, Theodore Maynard claimed music to be one of the best indicators of a nation’s spirit and therefore a reliable guide to its history, asserting that drinking music displayed “all the good humour and pugnacity of...[the English] race,” while deriding other cultures such as the French.<sup>196</sup> Likewise, in his book *In Praise of Ale* Marchant disclosed that one of the reasons for choosing his particular subject was to promote English beer as superior not only to other alcoholic beverages, but also to their ethnic heritages.<sup>197</sup> The repertoire mimics this promotion of English culture with lyrics about typically British characters such as lords, or typically British places such as Sussex or Fleet Street.<sup>198</sup>

Despite the preponderance of British ethnic pride, and even despite the biases emplaced by an English-language repertoire, it is clear that many ethnic minority groups also used music to enhance or direct their own drinking experiences. French-Canadians had a strong tradition of wet music, the most famous of which was called “*Prendre un Verre de Bière Mon Minou*.”<sup>199</sup> The Irish and their descendants have also been noted for their strong tradition of singing and drinking, and have produced a rich array of popular sentimental songs including “Inishowen,” “Where the River Shannon Flows,” and “the

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<sup>194</sup> G.B. Brigham, “Hock Shop” (Chicago: G.B. Brigham, 1894); Arthur Longbrak and W.D. Selden Jr., “College Stunts” ([n.p.]: Southern Music Co., 1909); G. B. Brigham, “Old King Joel” (Chicago: National Music Company, 1885).

<sup>195</sup> Maynard, “Booze is There,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 52.

<sup>196</sup> Maynard, *A Tankard of Ale*, 18.

<sup>197</sup> Marchant, *In Praise of Ale*, 2-4.

<sup>198</sup> “Sussex Drinking Song,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 19; John Davidson, “Ballade of the Chesire Cheese in Fleet Street,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 168; “Tale of Lord Lovell,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 136.

<sup>199</sup> Yves Laberge “Representations of Drinking in Popular Music” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*; Marius Barbeau, *Folk Songs of French Canada*, (Yale University Press, 1925); Marius Barbeau, *Le Roi Boit: Troisième Partie du Répertoire de la Chanson Française du Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1987).

Cruikseen Lawn.”<sup>200</sup> Germans, like the Irish, were particularly renowned for their spontaneous saloon singing, and developed a vibrant assortment of wet folk songs including “*Ach du Lieber Augustin* [Oh you dear Augustin],” “Hi-lee! Hilo!” and “*Die Wacht am Rhein* [Watch on the Rhine].”<sup>201</sup> Men and often women of Danish, Ukrainian, Hutterite, Polish, Italian, Serbian, and Jewish descent also had their own drinking songs or wet music traditions.<sup>202</sup> According to Powers, the saloon culture of African-Americans also considered music “a principal source of ethnic pride, identity, and good times” that was capable of bringing together different traditions from various locales around the country.<sup>203</sup> Many urban black musicians performing in the early twentieth century, including Louis Armstrong, also found the atmosphere of saloons “an important stimulus to developing their musical styles as well as their rapport with the urban black population.”<sup>204</sup> Many of these non-Anglo-Saxon songs become popular to such a degree that they were able to enter mainstream culture.

In important ways wet music provided opportunities for contact and cooperation between different wet communities. Just as wet music had provided occasional connections between different classes, so too did it provide an opportunity for different ethnic and racial groups to meet, mix, and collaborate. According to Melendy, although many saloons were frequented by members of the same ethnic community, some drinking establishments did in fact foster a cosmopolitan clientele.<sup>205</sup> In particular, fraternal societies often sought to unite fellow-countrymen, including recent immigrants, through a “cultivation of the taste for [the] music, history, and poetry of the nation.”<sup>206</sup> Upton Sinclair’s portrayal of ethnic minority culture demonstrates more specific ways in which

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<sup>200</sup> William Maginn, “Inishowen” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 104; For “Where the River Shannon Flows,” see *The Old-Time Saloon*, 119; “The Cruikseen Lawn,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 41. Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 190.

<sup>201</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 190.

<sup>202</sup> Robert B. Klymasz and James Porter, “Traditional Ukrainian Balladry in Canada,” *Western Folklore* 33, no. 2 (Apr., 1974): 89-132; Helen Martens, “The Music of Some Religious Minorities in Canada,” *Ethnomusicology* 16, no. 3 (Sep., 1972): 360-371; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 190-191.

<sup>203</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 63, 191, 42.

<sup>204</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 189, 126, 44.

<sup>205</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 294.

<sup>206</sup> Royal Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II,” 434.

wet music was used as part of the ethnic integration process.<sup>207</sup> In *The Jungle*, a traditional Lithuanian dance tune is followed by a new song, “an American tune this time, one which they have picked up on the streets; all seem to know the words of it—or, at any rate, the first line of it, which they hum to themselves, over and over again without rest.”<sup>208</sup> Here, the “music of home” is thus juxtaposed with the repetitive attractiveness of “American music” and the shifting from one to another becomes a metaphor for the meshing of a subordinate culture with its dominant.

Some of the wet songs themselves sought to downplay ethnic and religious differences. For instance, one lyric urges one to not “give up the friend I have valued and tried/If he kneel not before the same alter as me,” while another example drolly contends that drinking at church allows God to “have no more quarrel with the Devil or the barrel.”<sup>209</sup> Commercial popular music also provided unique opportunities for the meeting of different ethnic and racial identities. Focused as it was on economic gain, the popular music industry was more interested in a song’s widespread appeal than the social identity it promoted. In this capacity, songs from or about diverse places from around the world were promoted by the music industry and subsequently gained widespread popularity. These included “The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous,” “Auld Lang Syne,” “Mademoiselle from Armentières,” “Mynheer Van Dunck,” “Omar Khayyam,” the stein songs of Harry Von Tilzer, drinking songs from Italian opera, and the songs that paid homage to French drinks such as “Sparkling Piper Heidsieck” or “Absinthe Frappe.”<sup>210</sup> Even during the early years of the First World War a song was published that promoted drinking the national drinks of all European countries as a way of encouraging neutrality and cooperation.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Powers refers to music’s role in this respect as an act of assimilation. However, the author feels that ‘integration’ is a more appropriate word because there is little analysis to show the nature and depth to which music facilitated the absorption of minority groups into the majority culture.

<sup>208</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 21.

<sup>209</sup> Thomas Moore, “Come, Send Round the Wine!” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 59; Blake, “The Little Vagabond,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 18.

<sup>210</sup> “Mademoiselle From Armentières,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 145; “Mynheer Van Dunck,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 26; “The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam,” in *The Stag’s Hornbook*, 119, 123, 165, 215, 379, 399; Von Tilzer and Bryan, “Down Where the Wurzbürger Flows”; . Mascagni, “Drinking Song” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 106; “Sparkling Piper Heidsieck,” in *Weep Some More My Lady*, 182; Glen MacDonough and Victor Herbert, “Absinthe Frappe” (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1904).

<sup>211</sup> Joseph Noel, J.E. Howard, and Herbert P. Stothart, “The Strictly Neutral Jag” (New York: M. Witmark and Sons, 1914).

During the years leading up to prohibition, however, the divisive qualities of ethnic and racial identities outweighed the uniting qualities of wet culture. This seems to be at least partially the product of the wet neglect of patriotic expressions. The development of ethnic-based drinking and singing groups also allowed groups to organize along ethnic lines. For instance, Germans “from all walks of life” became active participants in vocal and instrumental music societies, even orchestras, which met regularly in the backrooms of bars. These groups often performed within saloons, beer-gardens, and the like, and were avidly received by the German community at large.<sup>212</sup> In a similar way, Danes, Poles and other European groups also used music as a means for local-level organization and identity reinforcement.<sup>213</sup>

Ingle has even discovered major differences between drinking music of British origin. He has found that Irish Catholic songs tend to be most celebratory of the hard-drinking, pleasure-seeking, light-hearted lifestyle, Scottish songs (of the Presbyterian tradition) tend to be more critical of drinking, and English songs fall somewhere in between.<sup>214</sup> Some songs even promote difference on an even smaller scale such as the Irish songs about feuding families.<sup>215</sup> Many of these divisive tendencies were likely transplanted to North America. At this time even the assimilative power of commercial music also does not seem to have overpowered ethnic fragmentation. Within commercial wet music, the depictions of African-Americans in vaudeville songs were marred by superficial, often non-realistic stereotypes of black personalities. As such, vaudeville permitted regular contact between black and white cultures, but it did not create a relationship of any great depth.

Just as wet music was unable to prevent fragmentation along ethnic lines, it was also unable to completely discredit the dry portrayal of drinking as a uniquely male issue. Considering the traditional roles within western drinking culture, this is perhaps to be

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<sup>212</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 190-191; Mary Sue Morrow, “Singing and Drinking in New Orleans: The Social and Musical Functions of Nineteenth-Century German Mannerchore” *Southern Quarterly* 27, no.2 (1989): 5-24.

<sup>213</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 191, 42; Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II,” 437.

<sup>214</sup> David Ingle, “The Self-Image of the Irishman as a Hard-Drinker Reflected in Folksong,” *English Dance and Song* 61 (1999): 25; Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles.”

<sup>215</sup> Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 23; Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 224.

expected. The Bacchanalian tradition of the Greek symposium encouraged the social bonding of men; female courtesans were important and present, but they took a subordinate role.<sup>216</sup> The taverns and alehouses of Britain essentially continued this tradition into the nineteenth-century,<sup>217</sup> as did North American drinking establishments during the years leading up to prohibition.<sup>218</sup> For example, Shay's depiction of a typical night at the bar refers exclusively to the friendship and joviality of male attendees.<sup>219</sup> In studying this period, both Ingle and Powers demonstrate that musical participators in associations based around labour, ethnicity, fraternity, politics, and sociality were primarily made up of men.<sup>220</sup> Accordingly, the majority of wet songs have males as their central characters, and many lyrics make declarations such as "let us swill boys" or "Here let us sport/ Boys, as we sit" implying an exclusively male sense of conviviality. Even some songbooks, for instance *The Stag's Hornbook*, are specifically catered towards a male readership.<sup>221</sup> Very often the songs describe males in the process of producing or consuming alcohol, such as with "Si's Been Drinking Cider," "Simon the Cellarer," or "Willie Brew'd A Peck O' Maut."<sup>222</sup> Occasionally, this promotion of maleness spilled over into an exasperation with women. For instance, "An Old Bachelor," "Tonight's My Last Night Single"<sup>223</sup> and other praises of bachelorhood align with other works that complain about nagging wives or portray women as threats to male fellowship.<sup>224</sup>

Importantly, some wet songs are able to challenge the dry trope of the negligent and misogynistic male drinker, by using sentimentalism and appealing to Victorian gender

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<sup>216</sup> Murray, ed., *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, 6; Ingle, "Drink, Drama, Poetry and Song," 34.

<sup>217</sup> Ingle, "Representations of Drinking in English Songs," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 219.

<sup>218</sup> For example, Shay's depiction of a typical night at the bar refers exclusively to the friendship and joviality of male attendees. Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 9; In studying this period, both Powers and Ingle demonstrate that musical participators in associations based around labour, ethnicity, fraternity, politics, and sociality were primarily made up of men. Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 42, 53; Ingle, "The Self-Image of the Irishman as a Hard-Drinker Reflected in Folksong"; Ingle, "Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles."

<sup>219</sup> Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 9.

<sup>220</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 42, 53; Ingle, "The Self-Image of the Irishman as a Hard-Drinker Reflected in Folksong"; Ingle, "Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles."

<sup>221</sup> McClure, *The Stag's Hornbook*.

<sup>222</sup> Berlin, "Si's Been Drinking Cider"; J.L. Hatton, "Simon the Cellarer," in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 411; "Willie Brew'd A Peck O' Maut," in *The Stag's Hornbook*, 38.

<sup>223</sup> Tudor Jenks, "An Old Bachelor," in *The Stag's Hornbook*, 22; J.W. Mahan, "Tonight's My Last Night Single" (Boston: Daly Music Publishers, 1914).

<sup>224</sup> Heron, *Booze*, 114; Ingle, "Representations of Drinking in English Songs," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 221.

roles. According to Ade, males used alcohol and song to discharge any number of emotions, including the softer and more “feminine” ones. Accordingly, music created one of the few environments where grown men could shed tears.<sup>225</sup> In many cases, an “unwavering sentimentality” that actually praised women as much as prizefights and other “Saturday-night” male rituals was fostered.<sup>226</sup> Many wet songs actually exhibit general support for the gender roles endorsed by the dry movement. According to Ade, sentimentality had a major role in saloon drinking culture, providing the foundation for dozens of maudlin songs that extol the virtues of mothers. These included tunes such as “A Violet I Picked for My Mother” and “A Boy’s Best Friend Is His Mother,” the latter of which was composed by Joseph P. Skelly, whose excessive drinking habits have been directly linked to the sentimentality of his lyrics.<sup>227</sup> Another common sentimental subject, according to Ade, was of the poor innocent girl who was tempted and potentially exploited.<sup>228</sup> This type of praise for innocent females is compounded in some cases by condemnations of men that harm them. “Everybody Works But Father” and “Father Came Home with the Milkman” also portray male characters who treat women frivolously and take a light-hearted critical stance towards male indolence or drunkenness.<sup>229</sup> Some songs, however, are more censorious:

And may confusion still pursue  
The senseless women-hating crew;  
And they that women’s health deny,  
Down among the dead men let them lie!<sup>230</sup>

This type of pro-female song had been in existence in wet culture at least since the seventeenth century when a series of drinking songs were published called *The Roxburghe Ballads*. These songs portrayed “bad husbands” who underwent a process of self-realization, repentance, and rehabilitation. According to Ingle, these self-regulating wet

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<sup>225</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 205

<sup>226</sup> Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, Chapter 11; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197, 205.

<sup>227</sup> Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 125-126; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 199-201.

<sup>228</sup> Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 128-129.

<sup>229</sup> “Everybody Works but Father,” in *Bottom’s Up*, 109; Dave Manley, “Father Came Home with the Milkman” (New York: F.B. Haviland Publishing Co., 1914). Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 201. Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 124.

<sup>230</sup> Dyer, “Down Among the Dead Men,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 126.

songs actually provided a model for temperance propaganda of the nineteenth century.<sup>231</sup> The prevalence of sentimentality and Victorian gender roles in the wet repertoire was enough for Powers to suggest that “much of the music that appealed to the this masculine, streetwise audience was the same sort of wholesome fare one might expect to hear sung around the parlor piano in a middle-class Victorian household.”<sup>232</sup>

Although romantic themes do not quite conform to the sexually-reserved domestic environment envisaged by the dry culture, they do in fact represent the most frequent outlet for sentimentalism within the repertoire. Countless well-known compositions center around romance, including “Mademoiselle from Armentières” and “Sweet Adeline.”<sup>233</sup> Elsewhere in the repertoire, alcohol is employed either literally or figuratively to praise women. “Drink to Her” and “Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes” are the most well-known of this kind, but “Let the Toast Pass!” is perhaps the most comprehensive in its praise of maidens, maids, widows, queens, housewives, girls, nymphs, charmers, and damsels.<sup>234</sup> Some of these songs use music as a metaphor to describe a female muse’s beauty, as with the following excerpt:

Her every tone is music's own  
Like those of morning birds  
And something more than melody  
Dwells ever in her words<sup>235</sup>

While these references might represent the lustful musings of young love, even married salongoers are known to have appreciated their wives through song.<sup>236</sup> These examples and the abundance of lyrics referring to “Wine, Women and Song” or “Wine, Wife, and Song” in the repertoire elucidate a perceived synergy between drink, females, and music.<sup>237</sup>

More than simply inspired by women, wet music occasionally allowed women of certain backgrounds to participate in wet culture. It is likely that wedding receptions and

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<sup>231</sup> Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 222.

<sup>232</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197.

<sup>233</sup> “Mademoiselle From Armentières,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 145; For “Sweet Adeline,” see Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 204; Ade, *The Old-Time Saloon*, 119-120.

<sup>234</sup> Moore, “Drink to Her,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 23; Sheridan, “Let the Toast Pass,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 7.

<sup>235</sup> “A Health,” in *Toasts and Tipple*, 25.

<sup>236</sup> Heron, *Booze*, 114.

<sup>237</sup> For “Wine, Women and Song” see Mott, “A Bibliography of Song Sheets”; Grenadier Guards Band, *Wine, Wife, and Song*; Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 220.

community celebrations that included drinking or took place in barrooms were attended in some part by women related to the event in some way.<sup>238</sup> On more mundane occasions, females attending traditional saloons and barrooms needed to be accompanied by a male escort, had to go through “ladies entrances,” and were relegated to the backroom.<sup>239</sup> According to Christine Stansell, sometimes young female social groups sponsored dances of their own, “clubbing together for food and liquor, while male guests provided the music.”<sup>240</sup> The more professional wet music venues tended to be more female-oriented as well. Some concert saloons were purported by Melendy as providing a setting where “men and women...with their families...[could] enjoy an evening of pleasure.”<sup>241</sup> Some vaudeville theatres also allowed men and women to sit at tables, “drinking beer and smoking” while painted “bawdy girls” entertained them with popular songs and dances. The atmosphere here, according to Melendy, was rarely lewd.<sup>242</sup> Matinees at some of the more prominent vaudeville theatres were perhaps the most women-friendly wet occasions; here, unescorted groups of girls as well as mothers and children were in high attendance.<sup>243</sup> Women found even greater acceptance in songwriting/recording industries and vaudeville theatres, whose very existence outside the confines of the saloon was intended to attract larger female and even juvenile audiences.<sup>244</sup> Turn-of-the-century singer Nora Bayes, for instance, gained her stardom by recording a version of Harry Von Tilzer’s popular stein song “Down Where the Wurzbürger Flows.”<sup>245</sup>

The inclusion of females in wet culture made some effort to invert the negative connotations that the dry cause attached to male drinking, but it did not change the fact that drinking culture was largely controlled and oriented towards males. Most concert saloons and other professional wet music venues were still very much male-oriented. According to Lenton, “Any woman found frequenting a concert saloon lost whatever

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<sup>238</sup> See for example, Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 33-34; In the British context, traditional public alehouses also had a great deal of music that often attracted female patrons. Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 321

<sup>239</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 33.

<sup>240</sup> Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986), 92, as quoted in Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 129.

<sup>241</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197.

<sup>242</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 298.

<sup>243</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II,” 445.

<sup>244</sup> Heron, *Booze*, 111.

<sup>245</sup> Spaeth, *A History of Popular Music in America*, 302, 305.

reputation she had to start with, a circumstance that made it very difficult for the female performers.”<sup>246</sup> The stigma of being a female in a drinking establishment perhaps explains why many drinking songs were performed by female vaudeville performers dressed as men.<sup>247</sup>

The songs themselves reiterate this male-orientation by scandalizing female drinking. Ingle’s analyses of British wet music finds that the few songs which feature women as drinkers end badly a great many more times than songs about male drinkers.<sup>248</sup> Of those songs that refer to drinking females, most portray them as possessing the lower class or minority ethnic identities that were generally more welcoming of women drinkers. For instance, the well-loved tune “Little Brown Jug” depicts characters a of poor rural origin:

My wife and I live all alone  
In a little log hut we call our own  
She loves gin and I loved rum  
I tell you what, we have some fun<sup>249</sup>

Likewise, “Frankie and Albert” describes a female character who buys herself a beer after finding her husband has been unfaithful, but here the female drinker is most often considered to be both poor and black.<sup>250</sup> When class and race are not specified, lyrics describe unusual women with no moral compass. “Ta-ra-ra-boom-der-é” describes “a woman of great beauty if questionable virtue” who frequently attends concert saloons and cabarets; and “Moonshine Sally” tells the story of a girl who makes illegal “mountain dew.”<sup>251</sup> The few songs that discuss women drinkers of reputable class and ethnicity allude to more subtle discrepancies. For instance, one song that speaks of the drinking habits of Dame Margery also describes her as a matron with “a tongue...[who is] not very

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<sup>246</sup> Lenton, “The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto,” 45.

<sup>247</sup> Jessy Randall interprets cross-dressing female performers as either a symbol of drunken males’ preference for alcohol over the companionship of women or families, or alternatively as a “not-so-subtle suggestion that drunken men lack virility.” Jessy Randall “Drinking Songs (United States)” *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 209.

<sup>248</sup> Ingle, “Representations of Drinking in English Songs,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 223; Ingle, “Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles,” 25; Ingle, “The Self-Image of the Irishman as a Hard-Drinker Reflected in Folksong.”

<sup>249</sup> Joseph Winnder, “Little Brown Jug,” in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 270; also see Still, “Back and Side Go Bare,” in *A Tankard of Ale*, 29.

<sup>250</sup> “Frankie and Johnny,” in *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 74; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, chapter 9.

<sup>251</sup> For “Ta-ra-ra-boom-der-é,” see Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 187; Burr and Campbell, *Moonshine Sally*.

handsome, and not very young.”<sup>252</sup> Some do not discuss female drinking specifically but instead depict women who unrepentantly engage in licentious activities such as cheating, seducing, stealing, insulting, or fighting.<sup>253</sup> These limitations on female participation in drinking culture ensured that women would never enjoy the same status they attained within the dry movement.

#### MUSIC'S ROLE IN ORGANIZING THE WET MESSAGE

As in the dry movement, not only the content of the message, but also the efficiency of the message had a great deal to do with the success (or lack of success) of the cause. The success of the wet cause was restricted by its attachment to subordinate ideologies and social groups, but it was also a result of the efficiency of its production, transmission, and reception. Its endorsement of small-scale communities over large-scale unity and its lack of hierarchy made the production of the wet message fragmented, inconsistent, and sometimes conflicting. Its use of fewer modes of communication made the transmission of the wet message quite weak. And a lack of musical standardization within drinking experience impeded the reception of the wet message.

Although conviviality was a decidedly integral feature of wet music, it rarely extended to cooperation on the large scale, as achieved by the dry movement. For centuries, drinking occasions had always been organized around relatively small groups of people. This was partly because dominant forces had suppressed the organizing potential of the wet side,<sup>254</sup> and partly the result of an inherited worldview that emphasized leisure and devalued organization on any grand scale. In this way, the aforementioned references to friendship and conviviality set within the confines of personal social networks and drinking establishments demonstrate the limits of the wet repertory's focus on unity. Unlike

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<sup>252</sup> Hatton, "Simon the Cellarer," in *The Book of a Thousand Songs*, 411.

<sup>253</sup> Ingle, "Drink-Related Songs in the British Isles," 24; Ingle, "Representations of Drinking in English Songs," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, 223; "There is a Tavern in Town," in *University of Toronto Song Book*, 38.

<sup>254</sup> The secret rites of Bacchus, ostensibly including its musical rituals, were officially banned from Italy in a famous decree of 186 BC, apparently based on fears that Bacchic meetings were being used for political conspiracies. The sway that Bacchic cells had over its members was considered a threat to the authority of the family and of the patron-client system which linked members of society through vertical ties. These early restriction could have hampered the potential for future wet cultures to organize themselves in opposition to contemporary hegemonic norms.

temperance, this emphasis on locality was not balanced by national, or international goals. So whereas dry culture constituted a large and unified movement, its wet equivalent was made up of a series of drinking communities that were paradoxically both isolated and welcoming. According to Melendy, both the music and the general character of saloons “varie[d] with the neighbourhood.”<sup>255</sup> The emphasis on locality was connected to a lack of hierarchy. In North American society, this corresponds to what Warsh acknowledges as alcohol’s role as a “disinhibiter and dissolver of ‘hierarchy and structure.’”<sup>256</sup> As such, supporters of wet culture never formulated a leadership and hierarchy that directed beliefs and attitudes on the scale of the temperance cause.

All organizations that made use of wet culture in any capacity suffered from the weaknesses presented by this lack of organization, including a reliance on locality, divergent goals, and lack of leadership. Singing associations, fraternities, and other social societies constituted a significant number of musically inclined wet organizations, but these rarely exceed the confines of the neighbourhood or region. Because issues of class, race, ethnicity, and gender manifested themselves multifariously in every locality, these low-level organizations were unable to join forces in pursuit of wet goals. For instance, singing associations were often based along ethnic lines and fraternities mainly focused on a male patronage.<sup>257</sup>

Some large-scale institutions with well-defined hierarchies or leaderships were in fact strongly tied to both drinking and drinking music. However, their primary goals were contingent and divergent enough so that wide scale cooperation for the wet cause was never realized. For instance, the IWW and other organizations within the labour movement supported drinking culture and music, but their primary interest in working rights is known to have clashed with the interests of liquor industry magnates, some ethnic-based groups, and other organizations which supported drinking culture and drinking music.<sup>258</sup> Even within the labour movement there were considerable divisions. The leadership of the Knights of Labor, for instance, whole-heartedly supported the

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<sup>255</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 298-299

<sup>256</sup> Warsh, *Drink in Canada*, 6.

<sup>257</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II,” 434-437; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 190-191; Morrow, “Singing and Drinking in New Orleans”; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 191, 42; Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago II.”

<sup>258</sup> On the labour movement’s clash with ethnic-groups see Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 191-192.

temperance movement, but many of its members continued to drink and sing labour songs at bars.<sup>259</sup>

One of the most organized and unified outgrowths of drinking culture was the emerging mass music industry, and this was perhaps most equipped to instill social cooperation. Vaudeville companies and publishing companies like the Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Company possessed a strong and efficient hierarchy, and unlike other organizations, interest in mass appeal and financial profits required that the music industry be open to diverse types of music, interests, and people.<sup>260</sup> Organizations such as the Vaudeville Manager's Protection Association and the American Federation of Musicians, both created around the turn of the twentieth century, helped balance labour rights issues with business goals.<sup>261</sup>

However, the mass music industry had its own weaknesses at this time, and many of them were the result of the primary focus on financial gain. First, despite the fact that major vaudeville theatres in North America came to be controlled by an oligopoly of companies, financial goals provided most companies with a competitive spirit that prevented large-scale collaboration.<sup>262</sup> Second, in the event that larger companies were to merge, financial goals superceded the moral and political motivation needed to take an active stance towards the prohibition issue. Thus, the popular music industry might have paralleled the dry movement in strength, but not in goal. The problems created by financial goals were compounded by what has been observed as the saloon's continued reliance on locality:

The character of the neighborhood determines to a certain extent the character of the amusement which, in turn, working upon the younger members of the community, re-creates in them a taste for itself, becoming thus self-perpetuating as to its character.<sup>263</sup>

The localized, fragmented, conditional and acephalous nature of the wet cause is reiterated in the lack of musical borrowing within the repertoire. Whereas the dry repertoire devotedly used different types of borrowing to connect its cause to popular

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<sup>259</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 193

<sup>260</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197

<sup>261</sup> Lenton, "The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto," 163-172.

<sup>262</sup> See Lenton, "The Development and Nature of Vaudeville in Toronto."

<sup>263</sup> Melendy, "The Saloon in Chicago II," 445; Also see Melendy, "The Saloon in Chicago," 298.

themes and ideas of the day, the wet repertoire did not do this to any comparable degree. The notable examples of borrowing represent but a fraction of the amount of dry musical borrowing. Moreover, there are very few instances of parodies and pastiches which, by physically combining components of old songs and new songs together, are perhaps most capable of attaching the cause to other important themes of the day, as the dry side did with Protestantism or patriotism. There are several instances of music covers within the wet repertoire, but, emanating from popular music industry, these contain an array of eclectic (sometimes contradictory) themes that were generally too diverse to attach the wet cause to anything but romance, adventure, and humour.

Wet culture also suffered as a result of its relatively weak grasp on the most powerful modes of communication at the time. As already established, performance-based music was highly popular within wet culture. Although documented accounts of wet music performances are fairly rare, what sources are available do mention its sheer popularity within the saloon setting. While no quantitative data are available on the prevalence of amateur singing in drinking establishments, by all accounts patrons of saloons “did a considerable amount of singing.”<sup>264</sup> It can be presumed that music was in fact a highly popular form of self-entertainment within many social settings, and especially on the more light-hearted and celebratory of occasions.

The professionalization of the music industry allowed wet music to be performed outside the confines of traditional drinking settings. Some of these venues were enormously popular. For instance, those in Chicago and Toronto are known to have regularly entertained several thousand people a night.<sup>265</sup> The price of admission to these venues was fairly nominal, amounting to little more than twenty-five cents.<sup>266</sup> The more mundane but also more numerous vaudeville theatres and concert saloons were even cheaper, often charging no entrance fee, but expecting patrons to buy more alcohol.<sup>267</sup> Even non-drinking vaudeville theatres effectively expanded latent wet values outside saloon walls. However, traditional saloons, which resided at the heart of wet culture, were still somewhat reluctant to promote this expansion. For example, Melendy has calculated that

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<sup>264</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 197.

<sup>265</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 298.

<sup>266</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 305.

<sup>267</sup> Melendy, “The Saloon in Chicago,” 197, 305.

the only 14 of 163 workingmen's saloons in Chicago contained any form of professional live music performances.<sup>268</sup>

Technological innovations including the development of printed sheet music also helped expand nineteenth-century wet music beyond the walls of the drinking establishment. In printed form, songs could be learned and played within a multitude of settings by a variety of people who would normally not attend saloons or vaudeville theatres.<sup>269</sup> Importantly, printed music was accessible to middle-class families who were known to play music in the domestic setting. In this way, the music publishing companies of Tin Pan Alley and elsewhere became much influenced by both the (wet) vaudeville tradition and the (dry) middle-class demand for home music. Although these songs borrowed heavily from both saloon and vaudeville music cultures,<sup>270</sup> they also presented restrictions to the wet message. One problem pertains to quantity. Although wet music publications during this period exceeded 100, this number, along with the number of songbook publications were noticeably lower than the quantity of dry publications during the same period. Another problem with printed songs in general is that they were typically only suited for individuals who were capable of reading music. This meant that middle-class consumer tastes dominated Tin Pan Alley publications and that large swaths of working-class drinkers were excluded from the consumer market for printed music. This perhaps accounts for why most wet songbooks published during the period seem to be compilations of tunes circulating within the amateur and professional oral traditions, rather than vehicles for proactively disseminating the message, as they were in the dry movement.

The advent of sound recording technology, and particularly Edison's invention of the phonograph was able to bypass many of these restrictions emplaced by print-music; and perhaps for this reason some of the earliest recordings were in fact of drinking songs like "Stein Song" and "Heidelberg."<sup>271</sup> However, before the First World War, recorded-music

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<sup>268</sup> This figure is achieved by adding the eight saloons that provide live music with the six dancehalls calculated by the author. See Melendy, "The Saloon in Chicago," 293.

<sup>269</sup> Disher, *Victorian Song: From Dive to Drawing Room*.

<sup>270</sup> Printed music's heavy influence by saloon folk music and popular vaudeville music justifies this chapter's prevalent use of printed songs as representative sources of wet culture.

<sup>271</sup> Bullard and Hovey, *The Stein Song*; Frank Pixley and Gustav Luders, *Heidelberg, or, The Stein Song*, vinyl disc, performed by Harry Macdonough (Berliner, 1904), issue 1181.

players were quite scarce. Some drinking establishments acquired phonographs, alternately known as graphophones, gramophones, or “nickel-in-the-slot” music boxes, but the sound quality of these early devices was remarkably bad and a lack of amplification often required the use of “listening tubes” for the songs to be heard.<sup>272</sup> The feebleness of recordings and the restrictions of printed music during this period ensured that wet music culture was almost entirely reliant on oral modes of communication. This limited the dissemination of the wet message in significant ways.

Wet culture’s dependency on oral music did not only limit its powers of dissemination, it also inhibited standardization within the movement. By not relying on printed or aural records as references for how to perform songs, “covering” within wet music became more prone towards the tastes, desires, and traditions of particular audiences or participants. Thus, lyrics, vocal styles, instrumentation, and other musical components could differ in both subtle and obvious ways. The creation of these local adaptations, or “renditions,” created disjunctions between the different versions and thereby weakened the uniformity of the embedded message and the unity of different singing groups. One of the best examples of this is the ribald World War One tune “Hinky Dinky Parley Voo,” alternately known as “Mademoiselle from Armentières” which inspired dozens of different versions both during and following the war.<sup>273</sup> While recordings were still fairly atypical for this time period, two recordings of *Stein Song* clearly demonstrate the disparate effects of different versions. The earlier recording of this song is performed a cappella by a chorus of men singing in close (barbershop) harmony,<sup>274</sup> while the later version is performed mainly by one man singing in the operatic tradition with a small orchestra accompanying him. Upon comparing these two recordings closely it is clear that they likely appealed to different groups of people.

Of course organizational properties were not completely absent from wet culture. Many activities within traditional drinking settings and situations had become somewhat ritualized and routinized. One drinking ritual common among many drinking groups

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<sup>272</sup> Power, *Faces Along the Bar*, 206, 197.

<sup>273</sup> John Jacob Niles, *Hinky Dinky Barley Brew: A Cry from the Heart* (New York: Old Grist Mill Press, 1932).

<sup>274</sup> Bullard and Hovey, *The Stein Song*, 1907 (Issue 5136); Frederic Bullard and Richard Hovey, *The Stein Song*, vinyl disc, performed by Henry Burr, Graham Marr and the Columbia Stellar Quartet (New York: Columbia Graphophone Company, 1916), issue A5879.

consisted of a round of “treating” followed by the singing of songs and the telling of stories, and then repeated again by different individuals present.<sup>275</sup> The progressively more prominent placement of music over the course of a drinking session seems to have also taken on a ritualized role. In the first chapter of *The Jungle*, music is played by professionals right from the beginning of the party, and although drinking is commenced almost immediately thereafter, the participation in group singing by drinkers themselves becomes more frequent as the festivities continue. At first, “no one had to listen [to the music] who did not care; if he wished, meantime, to...sing himself, he was perfectly free.”<sup>276</sup> However, near the end of the celebration many people, all of whom had been drinking steadily, could be seen “in groups of two or three, singing, each group its own.”<sup>277</sup>

Shay discusses music’s role as perhaps more of an intentional goal of the drinking session. In his thought experiment about friends at a bar, Shay describes friends who would meet, order a round of drinks, and enjoy small talk concerning political matters of the day. However, everyone would know that this was simply “preparatory to the real business at hand,” and over time, the more formal interactions would disappear to be replaced by song.<sup>278</sup> As the evening continued, some new members would join the party, and others would withdraw. Those who had obligations elsewhere were often persuaded to stay by leading into a favorite tune. Even if the voices were untrained, as they usually were, it was the music and the festive atmosphere that became the focus of the party, not the beverages.<sup>279</sup> In *Bottom’s Up*, Clifford Leach echoes Shay’s declaration of music as a vital step in the drinking process. In this verse from the early seventeenth century, which he uses as the founding principle of his compilation, Leach places music much more as a part of a rather standardized process:

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<sup>275</sup> Heron, *Booze*, 119.

<sup>276</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 3.

<sup>277</sup> Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 20.

<sup>278</sup> Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 9

<sup>279</sup> Shay, *My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions*, 10

Drinking will make a man quaff  
 Quaffing will make a man sing  
 Singing will make a man laugh  
 And laughing long life doth bring  
 Says old Simon the King<sup>280</sup>

While music appears to have been turned to once inhibitions were sufficiently dampened with the help of alcohol, its specific role in the drinking experience is never formally defined or agreed upon. Unlike the dry movement, which consciously placed music at the beginning and end of meetings or publications in order to facilitate emotional and spiritual parity, wet cultures always participated in music impulsively at points throughout a drinking session. Sigmund Spaeth claims that as an individual drinks his inhibitions are removed and he instinctively burst into song, thereby creating a “highly desirable state of uninhibited naturalness.”<sup>281</sup> This spontaneous use of music is somewhat mimicked in wet publications such as *The Advocate* where songs are usually scattered throughout the journal and towards the end. So whereas the dry side attempted to unify and order the cause through logical and conscious use of songs (as bookends for both meetings and publications), the wet side employed music almost haphazardly. Here music was not used so much as an organizational tool but more generally as a ratifying tool for the activities that preceded it and a catalyzing tool for those that followed.

The professionalization and industrialization of music does seem to have helped standardize the wet music experience in certain ways. The building of stages in saloons for music performances, and programming of acts served to standardize and regulate the wet music experience both spatially and temporally. Bailey argues that the participatory atmosphere of the early popular music industry in tandem with the “routinized conduct of popular life” created knowingness in its audience, which “mobilized the latent collective identity of an audience.”<sup>282</sup>

Music has always played a unique and important role in wet culture. Perhaps more than any other mode of expression, it has traditionally been able to capture and articulate the abstract ideas and goals of drinking groups. Its effectiveness in this regard likely comes

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<sup>280</sup> The verse refers to Simon Wadloe, a seventeenth-century tavern keeper. Quoted from Leach, *Bottom's Up*, 5.

<sup>281</sup> Spaeth, *Let's Sing and Be Merry*, 4.

<sup>282</sup> Peter Bailey, “Conspiracies of Meaning: Music-Hall and the Knowingness of Popular Culture” Past and Present 144 (Aug., 1994): 167, 145.

from its extreme emotional sway over those who listen to or participate in it, and its lack of requisite tools (in its most simple form, music requires no instruments other than voice). These attributes made it accessible to almost everyone, regardless of technological or financial means. It is perhaps for these reasons that so many participants in wet culture were so naturally attracted to music, and it is perhaps for these reasons that music became the only formalized mode of expression within the traditional drinking setting beyond toasting. This solitary reliance on music contrasted with dry culture, which held music in high regard but also relied on other modes of expression to achieve its goals.

Music's significance to wet culture translated into a significant responsibility for its failure to resist the ascendancy of prohibition. For this reason, it can be concluded that an important reason for the enactment of prohibition was wet music's inability to support or generate hegemonic ideologies of the day. From its very inception, the wet lifestyle had continuously been a counter-culture, and wet music did a great deal to strengthen this connection. Despite the fact that it was open and adaptable to other popular music influences, its inherent alignment with secular ideals and institutions prevented it from establishing a substantial challenge to the Protestant ethic that characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The complacency that typified wet secularism during this time permitted an openness to Christian morality and a minor tendency for self-moderation. However, it probably also limited the degree to which wet culture could oppose dry demands, and, as Rosenzweig observes, the degree to which saloon culture could present a "direct challenge" (not simply an alternative) to dominant society.<sup>283</sup>

A lack of wet success during this period is also related to its inability to create or align with hegemonic social identities of the day. Unlike the temperance movement, nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century drinking culture negated any conscious affiliation with Victorian institutions such as the home and the nation, preferring instead the saloon. It was also unable to appeal to homogeneous social identities based on class, race and ethnicity, and gender. While this openness to different identities might have reflected the heterogeneity of popular culture and the eclectic tastes of the urban masses it did little to align drinking with those social groups that held power.

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<sup>283</sup> Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*, 223.

Another reason for the wet culture's lack of success relates to the inability of its music to organize and standardize the wet ideology to the same degree as the dry movement. The emphasis on localized conviviality rarely extended to large-scale cooperation as it did on the dry side. This localized nature of wet unity strongly affected the way drinking cultures perceived social organization. Lack of hierarchy, insular thinking, and lack of standardization prevented collaboration between the different organizations that supported drinking culture to some degree. With few large-scale aspirations, little leadership, and weak internal cohesion the wet culture created no uniform focus.

Although the spontaneous, localized, non-hierarchical, and subordinate nature of wet culture prevented it from erecting an opposition resilient enough to withstand the dry onslaught, these same attributes did not prevent the wets from upholding an alternative culture that was coherent, and at least as functional as the ethos put forth by the dry side. Although its financial goals restricted its ability to support the wet cause whole-heartedly, the popular music industry provided a great deal of potential to augment the status of this culture. Commercial music's partial derivation from drinking settings provided it with wet sensibilities. While its professional and industrial nature provided it with a degree of organization, a necessary foundation for wet resistance, it was ultimately not strong enough at the time to challenge the dry movement.

## CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

In combining insights from musicology with social histories of drinking and temperance/prohibition, this thesis has offered a musical history of the years leading up to prohibition in Canada. The history of alcohol and its regulation in Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cannot be understood completely without understanding the music that was so much a part of it. In many ways, the issues of drinking and prohibition existed through music. To demonstrate this point, this thesis has compared the “sound” arguments produced by wet and dry music and evaluated their capacity for reinforcing and molding hegemonic discourses of the period.

One conclusion is that the ideologies, identities, and modes of organization promoted by dry music were wholly more capable than wet music at linking dry culture to Victorian hegemony. Through explicit statements, metaphors, musical borrowing, and other subtle practices, dry music successfully embedded temperance/prohibition into Protestant evangelical morality and salvation. Infused with evangelical morality and aggressive militaristic attitudes, dry music extended this dichotomizing morality to social groups. It split the world into those people who were temperant, good, and worthy of salvation, and those people who were intemperant, tempted by evil, and unfit for salvation. By endorsing Victorian institutions like the home and the nation, it effectively divided these two groups along class, ethnic, racial, and gender lines. The spiritually and socially dichotomizing tendencies of dry music, inspired here by Protestant morality, are reflective of a profound tendency towards rationalization that was also exhibited within dry music. By promoting large-scale organizations, reinforcing hierarchy, employing efficient communication tactics and technologies, and standardizing dry experiences, dry music augmented the effectiveness and efficiency of the prohibition message.

While dry music was remarkably successful at carrying out these hegemonic processes, its success is better understood when contrasted with its wet counterpart. A close analysis of wet music has demonstrated that drinking culture, while part of Victorian culture, did little to reinforce the Victorian ideals of the day. Wet music did not generally

subscribe to evangelical notions of morality or salvation. Its morality encouraged indulgence more than abstinence, and its understanding of spiritual transcendence was both minimal and more secular. Lacking the militaristic and morally dichotomizing tendencies of dry music, wet songs focused more on conviviality and omnibenevolence and therefore promoted little of the social divisions fostered by the dry cause. However, the music's overt support of saloon culture and its openness to difference made it intrinsically accessible to a broad range of subjacent and decidedly non-"Victorian" identities. The lack of dichotomizing tendencies exhibited within wet culture reflects a certain lack of organization within wet culture as a whole. Wet music fostered only small-scale drinking communities, it devalued hierarchy and structure, it did little to unite diverse themes and people, it favoured relatively non-efficient and non-standardized methods of communication, and it promoted spontaneity over standardization when drinking and singing. These factors denied wet culture from ever becoming an organized movement.

Although the contrasting nature of wet music explains why it was unable to align itself with the hegemonic discourses of Victorian Canada, it also reveals many of the weaknesses of those very discourses. Following Gramsci, Schugurensky avers that truly successful hegemonies must create "an active consensus through the adoption of the interests of subordinate groups" and furthermore that the imposition of ideologies and the silencing of subordinate interests creates a fragile, passive consensus.<sup>1</sup> The preceding analysis has shown dry music to have been more adept at imposing and silencing subordinate interests than at adopting and incorporating them. Wet music on the other hand has exhibited a great deal more capacity for adopting some of the hegemonic values championed by dry songs. This includes a certain emphasis on moderation, regular displays of national pride, the adoption of middle-class gender roles and sentimentality, as well as the use of print-based technologies and small tendencies towards organization. Wet music's overall alignment with counter-hegemonic ideals ensured its subordinacy, but the tenacity with which it maintained these ideals helped prevent dry culture from creating an overly pervasive influence, or what Gramsci calls an "expansive hegemony."

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Schugurensky, "Chapter 1: Syncretic Discourses, Hegemony Building, and Educational Reform," in *Rethinking Hegemony*, ed. Thomas Clayton (Melbourne: James Nicholas Publishers, 2006), 24.

While the years under prohibition legislation in Canada fall outside the scope of this thesis, the inherent weaknesses of the dry discourse outlined above help explain why prohibition legislation was revoked in most Canadian provinces by 1930.<sup>2</sup> Almost immediately after the First World War, major changes became observable in North American society. Certain dry activists were exposed as fraudulent, even seeking to get rich from the underground liquor trade.<sup>3</sup> Scientific advances increasingly popularized excessive drinking as a medical/secular problem (alcoholism) rather than a moral/spiritual one.<sup>4</sup> Working class interests became more public as the result of increasing labour unrest. Ethnic-minority groups that typically did not support prohibition started to settle into cohesive communities. These immigrant populations were inflated by very high birth rates, particularly among Anglicans and Roman Catholics who also garnered little support for the dry movement.<sup>5</sup> At least partly as a result of enfranchisement, the understanding of female social and political power became more diverse. It now became more acceptable for middle-class female Protestants to abandon roles as wardens of sobriety and purity in favour of a different perception of female liberation — one that allowed drinking in private homosocial groups or even in public.<sup>6</sup>

This society in flux seems to have been much better suited to the wet culture's more open and eclectic worldview. cursory analysis of the music and musical experience related to alcohol during this period shows wet music to have continued its emphasis on secular concerns as well as its association with (now more empowered) subordinate social groups. Its adaptive nature also allowed wet culture to cultivate many of the properties it had lacked in the previous period. Wet music now became associated with jazz, itself a style that rebelled against traditional musical conventions and aesthetics. This music in turn became

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<sup>2</sup> The United States repealed national prohibition under the 21<sup>st</sup> Amendment in 1933.

<sup>3</sup> One notable example is the case of Chester Findly, a high-ranking prohibitionist from British Columbia who was accused of smuggling 700 cases of whiskey into the province with the intent of selling them for a profit of \$84,000. Hamilton, *Sobering Dilemma*, 149-151.

<sup>4</sup> See Joanne Woiaak, "A Medical Cromwell to Depose King Alcohol': Medical Scientists, Temperance Reformers, and the Alcohol Problem in Britain," in *The Changing Face of Drink*, 237-270; Joseph Gusfield "Benevolent Repression: Popular Culture, Social Structure, and the Control of Drinking," in *Drinking Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*.

<sup>5</sup> Smart, *Northern Spirits*, 33-34.

<sup>6</sup> The more public and secular of these female drinkers are associated with the well-known flapper image of 1920s. However, female drinking was also becoming more acceptable within less adventures and more conservative groups. see Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*.

associated with underground bootlegging establishments. These have become ingrained in American cultural lore as prime locations of prohibition resistance, but they were also present in Canada.<sup>7</sup> In Montreal, where prohibition was never fully invoked, jazz became a mainstay of legal drinking establishments such as night clubs.<sup>8</sup>

The cohesion of drinking and music occasionally culminated in formal political action. For instance, towards the end of the 1920s, John Philip Sousa, a composer and conductor known particularly for his military and patriotic marches, testified before the United States Congress against prohibition, arguing that it unfavorably affected American music theatre by divested drinking songs of their traditional social motivation.<sup>9</sup> The songs themselves also seem to have become more actively resistant of prohibition. “Save a Little Dram For Me,” “Everybody Wants a Key to My Cellar,” and “If I Ever Meet the Guy Who Made this Country Dry” are but a few of the dozens of popular tunes that openly denigrated prohibition laws.<sup>10</sup> At the same time there appears to be an increased promotion of moderation, including the hit “I Never Knew I Had A Wonderful Wife Until the Town Went Dry.”<sup>11</sup> The enhancement of moderation in wet songs seems to have been a subtle incorporation of dry values into what was fast becoming a dominant ideology.

Integral to this newfound resistance was the remarkable rationalization and reconfiguration of the wet culture within the confines of the popular music industry. Whereas the years leading up to prohibition had been characterized by localized amateur singing and an emerging wet popular music industry within concert saloons and vaudeville theaters, the 1920s were dominated by a highly organized powerful mass music industry that increasingly supported wet ideals. During this period, music publishing and performance companies achieved success on an unprecedented scale. The profit-driven nature of the music industry made it compatible with wet culture in several ways. First, as

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<sup>7</sup> Mark Miller, *Such Melodious Racket: The Lost History of Jazz in Canada, 1914-1949* (Toronto: Mercury Press, 1997), 152.

<sup>8</sup> John Gilmore, *Swinging in Paradise: The Story of Jazz in Montreal* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> “Drinking Song,” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica Online <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/171684/drinking-song>> (5 June 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Will E. Skidmore and Marshall Walker, “Save a Little Dram For Me,” (New York: Skidmore Music Co., 1920); Ed Rose, Billy Baskette and Lew Pollack, “Everybody Wants a Key to My Cellar,” (New York: McCarthy and Fisher, 1919); Harry Von Tilzer and William Jerome, “If I Ever Meet the Guy Who Made this Country Dry,” (New York: Harry Von Tilzer Music Publishing Co., 1920).

<sup>11</sup> Albert Von Tilzer, “I Never Knew I Had A Wonderful Wife Until the Town Went Dry,” (New York: Broadway Music, 1919).

the popular music industry became increasingly oriented towards the tastes and desires of the masses, it became less discriminating of social background than of talent. Second, it sought widespread appeal by promoting jazz and other rebellious or stylistically “spontaneous” and “free” musical expressions that emanated from early twentieth century drinking establishments. Third, its emphasis on mass consumption of popular music paralleled the consumptive qualities of drinking resistant wet songs. In this capacity, it is no coincidence that the wet resistance tune “The Moon Shines on the Moonshine” was one of the highest grossing popular songs of the 1920s, and that it was recorded by Bert Williams, a black immigrant from Antigua who grew up in a working class family and went on to become the most pre-eminent black entertainer of the vaudeville era.<sup>12</sup> The mass music industry’s heightened support for wet culture was augmented by its bureaucratic structure, its increasingly standardized performances, and its use of pervasive and powerful communication technologies including the radio and the jukebox, and eventually motion pictures.<sup>13</sup> These technologies in particular provided power to the mass music industry not only by bringing the wet message to wide audiences, but by negating the need for human agency in the choosing and performing of songs.<sup>14</sup> All these factors worked in synergy to institutionalize a popular spirit of resistance to constraint and openness to the unconventional throughout North America.

While popular music was expanding the power of the wet discourse, the dry music was contracting the dry discourse. The entire movement had responded to the fragility of dry dominance in one of two ways; either it maintained a rigid support for the traditional Victorian discourse, or it retreated from the prohibition cause altogether. In her study of the Ontario WCTU, Cook shows both these trends at play in outlining the organization’s shift from temperance to non-temperance goals, and from evangelicalism to fundamentalism, explaining the latter as an attempt to “reconfine women to the domestic

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<sup>12</sup> Allan Sutton, “The ‘Million Seller’ Fallacy: A Reappraisal of the 1920s Records Sales,” *Mainspring Press*, 2005 <<http://www.mainspringpress.com/millions.html>> (December 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 206. Also see chronology of entertainment

<sup>14</sup> Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 206; The powerful role of radio, recordings, and movies in this context seems to be a demonstration of Innis’ theory that new communication technologies or an imbalance in existing media can affect social change by altering preexisting monopolies of knowledge and power. Innis, *The Bias of Communication*. On wet musical theatre see John Bush Jones, *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of American Musical Theater* (London: University Press of New England, 2003), 56-57.

sphere.”<sup>15</sup> Dry retreat was also abundantly obvious in the movement’s music as well. A brief survey of the songs during this period shows that most lyrics avoid the topic of prohibition altogether, instead focusing on broader and vaguer goals: “There’s a greater task now calling, Carry On, Carry On;/ Catch a vision soul enthralling, Carry On, Carry On.”<sup>16</sup> More directly, the lyrics also tend to retreat from music and temperance as uniting forces. For instance, most of those songs that focus on dry unity now tended to primarily target children, as evidenced by titles like “When We All Grow Up to Be Twenty One” or “Bare Little Feet.”<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the most blatant and serious aspect of musical retreat, however, was simply the vast decrease in music output. Between the years 1920 and 1929, five known dry song compilations were published or likely distributed in Canada, most of them by the WCTU. This quantity stands in marked contrast to the twelve that were published in the previous decade and at least nine that were published the decade prior.

The foregoing thoughts provide a sketch of music’s role during the years of prohibition legislation. Beyond this, there exist many opportunities for studying wet and dry music outside the scope of this thesis. The previous analysis has been limited by its emphasis on what Simon Frith calls “the comparatively easy terms of lyrical-content analysis.”<sup>18</sup> Because lyrics were of primary importance to both wet and dry musical cultures it was necessary to analyze them first. However, it would be interesting to more thoroughly examine how the formalistic components of the songs (e.g. melody, harmony, rhythm) contributed to the development of wet and dry discourses. Likewise, it would be useful to study how music related to non-musical art forms such as visual art, fiction, and theatre.<sup>19</sup>

Another limitation of this thesis has been its focus on the commonalities that existed within wet and dry musical cultures, and the differences that existed between them. It would be valuable to study the internal workings of both wet and dry cultures, treating them as polyphonic discourses made up of multiple, distinct voices. Many questions could

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<sup>15</sup> Cook, “*Through Sunshine and Shadow*,” 201-204. Also, during the 1920s the WCTU began to be more interested in film censorship and female participation in the workforce and government. See Smart, *Northern Spirits*, 33.

<sup>16</sup> Anna A. Gordon, “Carry On,” in *Everybody Sing*, 18.

<sup>17</sup> Carolyn R. Freeman, “When We All Grow Up to Be Twenty One,” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, ed. Marie Elizabeth Dair ([Canada]: n.p., [1927]), 2. ; “Bare Little Feet” in *Happy Songs for Young Canadians*, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Simon Frith, *The Sociology of Rock* (London: Constable Ltd., 1978), 176.

<sup>19</sup> For representations of drinking and temperance in visual art, literature, drama, and film, see *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*.

be asked. How different was Canadian wet and dry music from its American counterparts? More specifically, how different was French-Canadian wet music from its English counterpart? In a different way, how was wet and dry music experienced by Canadians in Europe during wartime? It would also be interesting to study more closely how these composite wet and dry musical cultures interacted on a direct and indirect basis. It is known that singing drinkers would occasionally clash with aggressive temperance choirs in saloons, but there are surely different and subtler forms of wet and dry musical interaction. For instance, there appears to have been conflicts between wet and dry values at the individual level. Robbie Burns was known to have written songs in support of both drinking and temperance, and Stephen Collins Foster, the main purveyor of nineteenth-century sentimental ballads was an inveterate drunkard.<sup>20</sup>

This thesis has demonstrated the integral role music played in the Canadian prohibition issue, but its broader aim has been to elucidate music's unique role within general historical inquiry. Recapturing the lived experience of past eras must always be a goal of historical study; historians have too often neglected the imagined experience of a period. Just as important as what actually happened is how contemporaries perceived and understood what happened. According to musicologist Richard Middleton, popular forms of music have "always been concerned, not so much with reflecting social reality, as with offering ways in which people could enjoy and valorize identities they yearned for or believed themselves to possess."<sup>21</sup> In this capacity, music becomes a powerful historical tool in studying the role of imagination in past periods.

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<sup>20</sup> Ewing, *The Well-Tempered Lyre*, 191; Powers, *Faces Along the Bar*, 200.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1989), 249.

## APPENDIX: AUDIO RECORDINGS

The included recordings are audio renditions of some of the songs and themes discussed throughout the thesis. Please note that there were virtually no official recordings made of temperance/prohibition music during the early twentieth century, and only a few recordings have been made since then. The few available dry recordings were not prevalent in Canada and therefore have not been specifically discussed in the thesis. Nevertheless, the recordings address many of the central themes mentioned in chapter two.

In contrast to its dry counterpart, wet music's progressive absorption into the North American mass music industry ensured that dozens of wet songs were recorded during the first decades of the twentieth century. The songs included here are representative selections of those recordings, and they also correspond to specific songs referred to throughout chapter three. Accompanying all the recordings are lyrics and a brief description of different lyrical/musical components that pertain to this study.



## DRY RECORDINGS

### Track 1: "I Will Vote for Home and Mother"<sup>1</sup>

This song is typical of the choir-based, piano-accompanied songs of the dry movement. The lyrics address issues of home protection, family, and political action. The melody is reminiscent of a Protestant hymn.

VERSE 1: Hear our dear old gray haired mothers,  
Praying for our home and others',  
We must answer now, my brothers,  
"Home and Mother" or "saloon."

CHORUS: I will vote for home and mother,  
Vote for sister, wife and brother,  
Vote for my boy and some others,  
Vote to save them from saloons.

VERSE 2: See our brothers reeling, falling,  
Sisters flee from crimes appalling,  
Wife and little children calling,  
For protection from saloons.

CHORUS: I will vote for home and mother, (etc.)

### Track 2: "Dead March of the Saloon"<sup>2</sup>

This song is also typical of the choir-based, piano-accompanied songs of the dry movement. The lyrics combine aspects of Christian morality and salvation with metaphors of war and death, concerns about the family, and a call for political action. The melody is borrowed directly from the popular Civil War song "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp."

VERSE 1: Tramp, tramp, tramp, in the drunkard's way,  
March the feet of a million men,

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Ramsey and Charles M. Fillmore, "I Will Vote for Home and Mother," in *Temperance Music*, vinyl disc, performed by The American Music Group (Champagne, Ill: American Music Group Publishing Co., 1982), issue LP S260-02.

<sup>2</sup> Mary T. Lathrop and William J. Kirkpatrick, "Dead March of the Saloon," in *Temperance Music*, vinyl disc, performed by Neely Bruce and The American Music Group (Champagne, Ill: American Music Group Publishing Co., 1982), issue LP S260-02.

If none shall pity and none shall save,  
Where will all this marching end?

The young, the strong, and the old are there,  
In woeful ranks as they hurry past  
With not a moment to think or care  
What the fate that comes at last

CHORUS: Tramp, tramp, tramp,...  
They are rushing madly on,  
Tramp, tramp, tramp,...  
What a fearful, ghastly throng;  
Rouse citizens rouse, and shout the battle cry  
Close the vile saloon, and let the state go dry.

VERSE 2: Tramp, tramp, tramp, to a drunkard's doom,  
Out of boyhood so pure and fair,  
Over the thoughts of his love and home,  
Past the check of a mother's prayer,

Onward and swift to a drunkard's crime,  
Over the plea of the wife and child,  
Over the holiest ties of time,  
Reason lost and soul gone wild.

CHORUS: Tramp, tramp, tramp,...(etc)

VERSE 3: Tramp, tramp, tramp, hear the onward march  
Of the valiant, the good and the true,  
Who in the name of the Lord of Hosts  
Have a work they unite to do

Come to the help of the just and right  
Keep steady on till we win the fight,  
Lift up the banner and wave it high,  
For the victory now is nigh.

CHORUS: Tramp, tramp, tramp,...  
To the rescue one and all,  
Tramp, tramp, tramp,...  
Hear the drunkard's pleading call,  
Rouse citizens rouse, and shout the battle cry  
Close the vile saloon, and let the state go dry.

## WET RECORDINGS

**Track 3: "The Stein Song (It's Always Fair Weather)"<sup>3</sup>**

This piece is performed *a cappella* by a small male vocal group, singing in close (barbershop) harmony. Although the song is recorded in a studio, it is reminiscent of the convivial atmosphere of a drinking club or saloon. The lyrics infer alcohol's (and music's) involvement in the promotion of cheer, hope, love, and especially male camaraderie. They also speak of alcohol's ability to figuratively transform night into day.

VERSE 1: Give me a rouse, then, in the May-time  
For a life that knows no fear  
Turn night-time into day-time  
With the sunlight of good cheer

CHORUS: For it's always fair weather  
When good fellows get together  
With a stein on the table  
And a good song ringing clear.  
(repeat chorus)

VERSE 2: Oh, we're all frank and twenty  
When the spring is in the air  
And we've faith and hope aplenty  
And we've life and love to spare

CHORUS: And it's birds of a feather  
When good fellows get together  
With a stein on the table  
And a good song ringing clear.  
(repeat chorus)

**Track 4: "Under the Anheuser Bush"<sup>4</sup>**


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<sup>3</sup> Bullard and Hovey, *The Stein Song*, 1907. Specific reference to the title or content of the song is found on pages 79, 81, 83, 94, 113, and 114.

As with a great deal of early-twentieth-century Tin Pan Alley and vaudeville music, this song is performed by a vocalist and accompanied by a small horn ensemble. Among other things, the lyrics employ word play and humour. They also discuss alcohol's association with romantic escapades, the endorsement of German culture (including its music and beverages), the promotion of joy and the banishment of woe.

VERSE 1:   Talk about the shade of the sheltering palms  
               Praise the bamboo tree and its wide spreading charms  
               There's a little bush that grows right here in town  
               You know its name, it has won such renown

VERSE 2:   Often with my sweetheart just after the play  
               To this little place then my footsteps will stray  
               If she hesitates when she looks at the sign,  
               Softly I whisper, "Now Sue don't decline."

CHORUS:    Come, come, come and make eyes with me,  
               Under the Anheuser Bush  
               Come, come, drink some "Budwise" with me  
               Under the Anheuser Bush  
               Hear the old German band  
               Just let me hold your hand, yah!  
               Do, do, come and have a stein or two,  
               Under the Anheuser Bush.

VERSE 3:   Rave about the place where your swells go to dine  
               Picture Sue and me with our sandwich and stein  
               Underneath the bush where the good fellows meet,  
               Life seems worth living, our joy is complete

VERSE 4:   If you're sad at heart, take a trip there tonight  
               You'll forget your woe and your eyes will grow bright  
               There you'll surely find me with my sweetheart Sue  
               Come down this evening I'll introduce you.

CHORUS:    Come, come, come and make eyes with me (etc.)

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<sup>4</sup> Harry Von Tilzer and Andrew B. Sterling, *Under the Anheuser Bush*, vinyl disc, performed by Billy Murray (Edison Records, 1904). Specific reference to the title or content of the song is found on pages 80 and 81.

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