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Music

Contents

	iii	<i>The Contributors</i>
KEITH NEGUS AND JOHN STREET	161	Introduction: the mediations of music and alcohol
ANGELA McSHANE	166	Drink, song and politics in early modern England
ANNEMARIE McALLISTER	191	Temperance battle songs: the musical war against alcohol
MARCUS O'DAIR	207	'Pardon me, I'm very drunk': alcohol, creativity and performance anxiety in the case of Robert Wyatt
GAVIN CARFOOT	222	'Enough is Enough': songs and messages about alcohol in remote Central Australia
ALISON C. EALES	231	'One bourbon, one scotch, one beer': alcohol sponsorship at Glasgow Jazz Festival, 1987–2001
ALASDAIR FORSYTH, JEMMA C. LENNOX AND MARTIN CLOONAN	245	'I'm there to play music not break up fights': gigging entertainers' experiences of alcohol-related misbehaviour by audiences and its impact on performance

Middle Eight

DAVE LAING	265	Drink, song and disorder: the sorry saga of the Licensing Act 2003
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Reviews

RICHARD OSBORNE	270	<i>Vinyl: The Analogue Record in the Digital Age</i> , by Dominik Bartmanski and Ian Woodward
BOB ANDERSON	272	<i>The Hank Williams Reader</i> , edited by Patrick Huber, Steve Goodson and David M. Anderson

DANIJELA ŠPIRIĆ-BEARD	273	<i>Turbo-Folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia</i> , by Uroš Čvoro
KENNY FORBES	276	<i>Please Allow Me to Introduce Myself: Essays on Debut Albums</i> , edited by George Plasketes
GUSTAVO BORCHERT	278	<i>Between Nostalgia and Apocalypse: Popular Music and the Staging of Brazil</i> , by Daniel B. Sharp
DAVID McGUINNESS	280	<i>Let's Talk About Love: Why Other People Have Such Bad Taste</i> , by Carl Wilson
JEAN HOGARTY	281	<i>Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives</i> , by Martin Dowling
DAI GRIFFITHS	283	<i>Going into the City: Portrait of the Critic as a Young Man</i> , by Robert Christgau
CHRISTOPHER DOLL	286	<i>Pop-Rock Music: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in Late Modernity</i> , by Motti Regev
ELIZABETH FORD	288	<i>'I Hear America Singing': Folk Music and National Identity</i> , by Rachel Clare Donaldson
JOHN STREET	290	<i>Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy</i> , by Danielle Fosler-Lussier
JAREK PAUL ERVIN	291	<i>Networks of Sound, Style and Subversion: The Punk and Post-Punk Worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975–80</i> , by Nick Crossley
ALISON BLAIR	293	<i>The Twenty-First-Century Legacy of The Beatles: Liverpool and Popular Music Heritage Tourism</i> , by Michael Brocken

# The Contributors

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ANNEMARIE MCALLISTER is senior research fellow in history at the University of Central Lancashire, and has written widely on the cultural, social and political history of the UK temperance movement. Her most recent book, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class* (2014), is a popular history to complement the three exhibitions she has

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ANGELA MCSHANE is the head of early modern studies for the V&A/RCA postgraduate programmes in history of design, and is currently a visiting fellow at the University of Sheffield. She has published widely on the subject of 17th-century political broadside ballads and on the material culture of drinking, including chapters in collected editions and journal articles in *Past and Present* and *Journal of British Studies*. A monograph, *The Political World of the Broadside Ballad in 17th Century England*, is forthcoming. She is the Co-I on two related ESRC- and AHRC-funded projects: *Intoxicants and Early Modernity in England, 1580–1740* (<http://www.intoxicantsproject.org/>) and *Hit Songs and their Significance in 17th Century England* (<https://www.facebook.com/100HitSongs>).

MARCUS O'DAIR is a senior lecturer in popular music at Middlesex University; his research interests include popular music biography, new business models in the music industries and the potential of blockchain technology for the creative economy. His book *Different Every Time: the Authorised Biography of Robert Wyatt* (2014) was shortlisted for the Penderyn music book prize and was a Radio 4 book of the week. Marcus has written for publications including the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, the *Financial Times*, the *Irish Times*, *Uncut* and *Jazzwise*, and is a regular studio guest on BBC 6 Music and BBC Radio 3. He was a session musician with Passenger and has more recently released three acclaimed albums (*Ninja Tune*, *Lo Recordings*) as one half of Grasscut.

# Introduction: the mediations of music and alcohol

Music and alcohol have long been connected. It is a connection to be found in song lyrics; in the tragic and comic circumstances of performers' lives; in the economic transactions between artists, music industries and the purveyors of beer, wine and spirits; during communal singing in alehouses and taverns; within and without dancing bodies in speakeasies and discos; and among the convivial or intimidating behaviour of fans at gigs and festivals. This special edition of *Popular Music* is intended as a contribution to understanding the role of alcohol in music, as a facet of historical change, human interaction, individual creative practice, economic behaviour and political process. It is quite deliberately designed to be much more than a survey of song lyrics about drinking or anecdotal tales about drunken musicians.

Songs about drinking have featured across space and throughout history – from ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome to the tales sung by medieval troubadours and broadside ballad peddlers in Europe, across folk traditions throughout the Americas and in vernacular music making around the continents. This aspect of musical repertoires is unmistakable and would feature in any lexicon of the global languages of song. However, alcohol features in many other guises in popular music, and is often deeply embedded in the dynamics and relationship through which music is made and sold, performed and appreciated. The selection of papers in this special edition of *Popular Music* explore how the meaning and making of popular music and the actions and attitudes of musicians are mediated by alcohol.

That the contemporary commodified production, distribution and consumption of music is dependent on intermediaries is a truism. Many of those intermediaries are now receiving close scrutiny from scholars. The intermediaries are typically the various music company personnel, media organisations, agents and managers, consultants and data analysts, publishers, streaming services and collecting societies. There are many more. However long the list, it tends to be confined to individuals and institutions, and indeed the stories in this special edition are populated by a lively compendium of such characters and organisations. Arguably, though, we might treat alcohol as an intermediary. It is, after all, involved in all stages of the production and circulation of music; it also takes many forms. It is a stimulant, sponsor and site. It is material presence and ideological battlefield. Its movements through musical life are shaped by institutional interests, collective beliefs and individual endeavour.

In advocating the use of the terms intermediary and mediation we are not wishing to align ourselves with, nor privilege, a specific theoretical stance. We draw from the way these words are used in a variety of everyday situations, as much as we acknowledge their resonances in Adorno's critical theory, Bourdieu-inspired perspectives on cultural production, and actor network theory with its suggestion that non-human objects can have agency. But if we are to approach alcohol as mediator and intermediary, there is the question of how best to study it. This is an issue of disciplines and fields, and of perspectives and approaches. In this special issue, we

represent just some of these approaches to the mediations of music and alcohol. The articles each draw on substantive research and scholarship, all addressing the inter-relationships between those making music, the characteristics of songs and performances, and the dynamics of audience engagement. A number of themes emerge, opening up important avenues for further research and discussion.

## **History**

It is fitting that we have two major contributions that not only give an insight into the relationship between music and alcohol in particular historical periods, but which challenge the still implicit orthodoxy that characterises the overwhelming majority of submissions to this journal (and indeed the field of popular music studies more generally). This is the assumption that the study of popular music begins somewhere around the middle of the 20th century. In this issue we reach back to the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Doing so helps to establish the persistent links between drink and music, but it does more than establish continuities, it also raises questions about the factors that intervene and shape the relationship.

Angela McShane maps the beginnings of a commercial music industry in London in the late 1500s, a time when recreational drinking too was on the increase. She argues that social drinking and commercial music production became irrevocably linked – an association that also included ties to religion and politics. Annemarie McAllister's historical perspective is that of the temperance movement of the late 19th century. Her focus is on a movement that set itself against the evils of alcohol by using music to carry its message and to mobilise its supporters. There are elements of this story in Gavin Carfoot's account of how songs narrate the risks to health of drink among Australia's First People.

## **Politics**

Music and alcohol have both been the subject of law, separately and, more importantly, together. The regulation of one has often been because of its association with the other. This connection is brought vividly to life in the historical studies by McShane and McAllister, who jointly highlight the important ways in which alcohol, music and musicians are rooted in political struggles, movements and institutional constraints. For McShane, the civil wars of the mid-17th century provide the genesis for a spate of 'loyal-health drinking songs'; for McAllister, it is the temperance movement and its middle-class activists, fearful of the threat that working-class disorder poses to their values and privileged position. Both McShane and McAllister reveal how alcohol and music combine to constitute collective identities, whether factional or national, and how this combination is deployed to comment on the political order or on social decay. This same capacity can then become the basis of policy interventions. Carfoot's Australian case study highlights how composing, recording and circulating songs about alcohol can help to articulate a sense of community, out of which can come initiatives to counter the ill-effects of alcohol use.

Key to the politics of music and alcohol is the licensing system. Licensing serves to determine what is permissible for whom. McShane notes, for example, that licences issued in 1619 indicated what might be consumed at what cost by the

poor. Echoes of this practice, and of the temperance movement, appear in Dave Laing's wry account of the UK Licensing Act of 2003. The Act sought to confront anxieties about the alliance of live music and alcohol. It did not specify how much drink could be consumed, but it did limit the number of musicians in a licensed bar and the size of the audience. An illustration of the type of 'misbehaviour' that such political intervention seeks to control, along with the 'hassles' posed for musicians performing on stage in premises licensed for alcohol, is detailed in Alasdair Forsyth, Jemma Lennox and Martin Cloonan's study of musicians as 'gigging entertainers'.

## Industry

The political regulation of music and alcohol is driven by governmental endeavours to maintain order in, and control over, public spaces. One way to achieve this is to attempt to ban alcohol, as happened during Prohibition and which continues in countries like Saudi Arabia and Iran. Attempts to restrict alcohol according to moral principles and concerns about its impact on health sit uneasily with an awareness of alcohol's commercial value. Alcohol is a major source of revenue. This is not lost on either governments or businesses with a stake in music. Almost all the articles here explore the ways in which alcohol and music are interrelated through industrial processes, commercial transactions and business dealings.

Alison Eales's article on alcohol sponsorship in Glasgow is revealing of how the interests of corporate sponsors may coincide and clash with the goals of event managers. She reveals how a type of alcohol dependency has affected the festival circuit. The financial support provided by drinks corporations can have implications for the character and content of the event. Sponsorship is not direct advertising, but it is a form of financial investment and a return on investment is anticipated. From the independent local brewery supporting a specific community and its musicians (such as brass bands in Yorkshire in northern England) to multinationals such as Diageo (Smirnoff, Guinness, Moët & Chandon, Hennessy), each is seeking to establish brand affiliation with particular audiences. This alerts us to the tensions that arise when brands and sponsors seek to intervene in music making – an issue ripe for further research as revenues from the sales of recordings decline and musicians seek alternative sources of financial support.

## Creative individuals

On occasions the presentation of a musician's public self is indelibly linked to alcohol consumption, as in Frank Sinatra's use of Jack Daniels as a droll stage prop for his saloon bar numbers, or in the publicity accorded to Amy Winehouse's struggles with booze and drugs. Even back in the 16th century, the identity of ballad writers was mediated by alcohol; their epitaphs linked the singer to drink, as detailed by McShane.

Perhaps more commonly, alcohol features as part of a narrative deployed by critics, commentators and journalists when writing about musicians (like Billie Holliday or Hank Williams) and other creative individuals such as painters, poets and novelists. Sometimes alcohol consumption is unflectively celebrated as a spur or facilitator of creativity, quite regardless of evidence to the contrary. Marcus

O'Dair's biographical study of Robert Wyatt challenges such simplistic assumptions. Wyatt's relationship to alcohol features prominently, but its role is treated as nuanced and complex, not simply a route to inspiration, but in large part psychological support. Like many creative artists, but also like many people dealing with occupational stress, Wyatt drank alcohol to counter performance anxiety. Equally, Wyatt imbibed to overcome his inhibitions and apprehension of songwriting, to enable him to undertake a craft that he found difficult – a skill he perceived that others could do in a more enthusiastic and effortless manner.

## Events, performances and audiences

Just as artists may come to rely on alcohol as an aid to performance and composition, so drink is often an unavoidable component in the public consumption of music, whether the musicians like it or not. The sponsorship of venues and festivals is evidently central to this story, as is the effect that this has on the kind of music that is performed. But there is a further story to be told.

Although there are many occasions when music is played and heard in the absence of alcohol (whether on state occasions, in religious ceremonies or in youth clubs and community centres), the consumption of alcohol has an evident impact on *how* music is performed. Artists might seek to restrict the consumption of alcohol at live concerts; Abdullah Ibrahim and Neil Young, among others, have insisted on the bar shutting during performances in order to avoid noise and disturbance, and to aid their concentration and audience engagement. Unlike the frequently boisterous behaviour at 17th- and 18th-century Venetian Opera, 21st-century classical performances rarely take place to the accompaniment of chinking glasses, but the bar is anything but deserted during the interval (and at Glyndebourne operas, vast hampers and bottles of champagne are favoured between acts).

It is popular music where alcohol is most commonly present during the performance. What this means for the performer, a topic that has rarely if ever been addressed before, is the subject of the article by Forsyth, Lennox and Cloonan. From interviews with musicians, they reveal how performers deal with, and try to manage, the drinking (and drunk) audience. They suggest that this is a performance skill that rivals hitting the right note or striking the right chord. It can be vital for those mainstream musicians seeking to 'entertain' the crowd (and there are some genres and sub-genres in which drunkenness and antagonism is part of the pleasures for band and audience alike). As the authors point out, it is a skill for which musicians have little formal training, and about which their professional knowledge is acquired solely through experience.

One technique to which performers resort, particularly within the folk genre, is to incorporate the drinking into the event. But even those who wanted to ban alcohol used song, as McAllister points out, to spread the message of temperance.

This special edition of *Popular Music* explores an under-studied subject and demonstrates how songs about alcohol and musicians' encounters with drink should be understood in different times and circumstances, ranging from the politics of everyday life and individual biography to the exceptional politics of revolutionary social change. The articles here suggest some methodological routes for understanding how alcohol is mediated by, but in turn mediates songs, musical creativity and performance. It highlights how any meanings that might be derived from listening



to recordings or reading sheet music and lyrics are indelibly marked by ordinary and extraordinary human relationships, struggles and conflicts.

In summary, the articles illustrate multiple aspects of the relationship between music and alcohol, encapsulating a range of perspectives and a variety of disciplinary approaches. Together they make a powerful case for further study of the mediating and intermediary role of alcohol in the process of creating and consuming music.

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# Drink, song and politics in early modern England

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## Abstract

*Between about 1580 and 1690, early modern England experienced three interrelated developments: first, the growth of a successful commercial popular music industry, centred on London, which served a socially broad national market; secondly, the development of political parties, emerging from the political and religious turmoil of the period, which impinged significantly upon the newly burgeoning popular music industry and its markets; thirdly, a substantial increase in the per capita consumption of alcoholic drinks across all social classes, for reasons of sociability rather than health or nutrition. This article explores the unexpected effects of these changes on cultures of politics, drink and song across the whole period. In particular, it explores the way in which the Cavaliers of the 1650s and the new 'Tory' party of the 1680s used the medium of song to encourage excessive drinking and the political and social denigration of sobriety in order to promote loyal obedience.*

## I.

Between about 1580 and 1690, early modern England experienced three interrelated developments of particular interest to this special edition on drink and popular song. In the first place was the growth of a successful and sophisticated commercial popular music industry, centred on London, serving a socially broad national market. Specialist publishers sponsored, produced, and traded in songs written by a mish-mash of poets, playwrights, scholars and hacks. These were printed (usually words only) on one side of a large sheet, known as broadside ballads. The original 'single', literally millions of these sheets circulated in the period. More than 10,000 sheets survive in UK and US public archives today, but many tens of thousands more are now lost to us.<sup>1</sup> Ballad broadsides sold for about a penny a piece – equivalent to the cost of a quart of ale, a loaf of bread or a yard of cheap ribbon. But they could also be heard, read or memorised for free as the songs were performed publicly at markets and fairs, on the street or in local hostelryes, while the sheets were often pasted or pinned to the walls in homes and in alehouses and taverns.

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent, scholarly account of the majority of collections online, see the Ballads Online website: <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections>; for all political collections, including those that are not yet digitised, see McShane, A. 2011b. *Political Broadside Ballads in Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London and Brookfield, VT, Pickering and Chatto), henceforward PBB. Wherever appropriate, the PBB number either follows the ballad citation, or constitutes a ballad citation. Note that the publishing dates and details given in PBB may differ from online sources that still depend on older authorities.

Despite the relatively large archive of ballad sheets left to us, and an extensive knowledge of the tunes to which they were sung, frustratingly few records of writers, producers or performers survive. What little we do have, however, shows that the seventeenth-century trade in ballads was ubiquitous, extensive and potentially very lucrative.<sup>2</sup> Just over 400 individual printers, booksellers and publishers can be identified that were certainly involved in producing at least one ballad between 1600 and 1700.<sup>3</sup> A much smaller number – perhaps half – really specialised in the trade, however. Many operated independently, but by 1600 loose companies were formed of three to six publishers who jointly owned shares in the most popular ballad titles. They distributed their wares wholesale to pedlars and other retailers from large ballad warehouses based in London's West Smithfield. By the later part of the century, these companies controlled a large part (although never all) of the popular music trade (Blagden 1954).

In second place, the political and religious turmoil of the period under consideration impinged significantly upon the newly burgeoning popular music industry and its markets. Seventeenth-century Britain suffered bitter civil wars between King and Parliament in the 1640s. These were sparked by widespread fears of popery and arbitrary government. The wars culminated in the defeat of the royalist cause and the shock execution of the King in 1649. The 1650s saw the establishment of several 'puritan' republican governments, latterly under the control of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). His death was soon followed by the collapse of the puritan regime and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Religious and political tensions still mounted, however, especially around the Popish Plot (1678–81) and the Exclusion crises of the 1680s. From this factional politics emerged the world's first political parties – derogatively dubbed 'Whigs' and 'Tories'.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout this troubled period, royalists and parliamentarians in the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s, Whigs and Tories, Jacobites and Williamites in the 1680s and 1690s all strategically deployed the medium of popular song for political ends. Songs were used as military recruiters, as morale boosters, as emotional outlets and as party-political campaigning tools. Consequently, about a third of the songs that survive today deal with political subjects, either entirely or in part. From the 1640s, class and education increasingly divided this political song market. Elite satirical songs, which contained sophisticated literary, legal and political allusions, were further distinguished from the more popular retail trade ballad by their graphic format. Whereas the 'pop' songs of the period were issued in what was known as 'black-letter' type, with woodcut illustrations (see Figure 1), these more sophisticated political songs were printed using 'roman' type – known to contemporaries as 'white letter' – usually without illustration.<sup>5</sup> Most of these 'white-letter' songs were published by ideologically partisan printers. Although they were often expensively produced on large sheets of good quality paper, they were frequently distributed for free

<sup>2</sup> On the tunes of the broadside ballads, see Simpson (1996). On the ballad trade in the early 17th century, see Rollins (1919), Spufford (1981), Wurzbach (1990), Watt (1991). On the later century, see McShane (2010a, 2011a). This is explored further in my forthcoming monograph, *The Political World of the Broadside Ballad in Seventeenth-Century England*, Ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> I have calculated these numbers from the lists of publishers compiled by the EBBA and Ballads Online websites, combined with my own list of political publishers. Of 406 known publishers, printers and sellers, 294 were involved in the production of at least one 'political' ballad.

<sup>4</sup> The literature is extensive. For excellent overviews, see Braddick (2008) and Harris (2005, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, 1680. *The Loyal Tories Delight* (PBB 557): <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31242/image#>.

among the 'right' kind of people, or were posted up in key public spaces, such as the doors of public buildings in cities like London, or on market crosses and whipping posts in smaller towns and villages.

The popular market also traded in political songs – about a quarter of 'black-letter' ballads were concerned in some way with affairs of state – but these songs tended to focus on royal affairs (coronations, births, weddings and deaths), warfare, treason trials, or they expressed concern for Protestantism at home or abroad. A number also railed against social injustice and satirised the manners and corruption of the rich in society. It was also in this more popular format that recruiting ballads – often in the form of love songs – appeared. Although their language and level of allusion was simpler, however, and their satire and insults were more measured than white-letter songs, even the careful and conservative popular song market could become fiercely partisan during the political turmoil of the mid- to late century.

In a third development, taking place from the late sixteenth century onwards, Britain experienced a substantial increase in the *per capita* consumption of alcoholic drinks across all social classes, for reasons of sociability rather than health or nutrition (Clark 1983; Smyth 2004a; Withington 2007, 2011, 2013; Brown 2008; Hailwood 2014). As recreational drinking grew apace, alehouses, taverns and inns also grew in number. In 1577 there was one alehouse for every 142 heads of the population; by the 1630s it was 1:95; by 1700 it was 1:87 (Clark 1983, pp. 44–7). Puritan or Cavalier, everyone needed alcoholic drink in early modern Britain. Small beer was drunk by young and old for breakfast, while full-bodied beer was considered nutritious and essential to health; indeed, from 1619, standard alehouse licences stipulated that the poor were entitled to purchase a quart (two pints) of strong ale or beer for no more than a penny. On average, working adults may have consumed at least four quarts (about 4 litres) of small and full-bodied ale or beer a day (Smyth 2004a, p. xviii). Wine was imported and subject to customs and excise taxes, so was much more expensive than homemade ale or locally brewed beer; nevertheless, it was thought to have medicinal properties and was increasingly consumed recreationally by ordinary men and women, as well as by the rich (Curth and Cassidy 2004). As one concerned writer declared: 'Heretofore wine was only sold in Apothecaries shops, and drunk rather in time of sickness than in health: now its vented in Tavernes, as if it grew in the Thames' (Florilegus 1649, p. 20). Wine benefited from an influential literary tradition going back to classical times and was revered as a drink that enhanced the wit and social status of drinkers (Scodel 2002; Smyth 2004a, 2004b; O'Callaghan 2007). Crucially, it was also central to the religious ritual of communion drinking, a connection that irrevocably linked it to church and state (McShane 2014). This shift in recreational drinking habits led, on the one hand, to a series of 'moral panics' by governing and religious authorities looking to control the dangers of heavy drinking, particularly among the lower orders and, on the other hand, to a plethora of classically inspired literary and musical peons in praise of the grape and the grain (Clark 1983, Ch. 7; Withington 2001; Scodel 2002; Smyth 2004a, 2004b; Nicholls 2011; Richards 2014).

While the connections between intoxicating drink and song are almost certainly as old as song itself, in seventeenth-century England this perennial duo teamed up, via the commercial song industry, with politics and religion, to create a dangerous cocktail. This article explores the unexpected effects of this heady mix, in particular the party political use of song to encourage and choreograph heavy drinking as both a test and an assurance of loyalty to the crown. Meanwhile sobriety was denigrated as a sure sign of dissent and sedition that needed to be met with violence.

## II.

The relationship between the commercial ballad trade and the topic of drink commenced in earnest only at the end of the sixteenth century, mirroring the increase in recreational drinking briefly outlined above. It manifested itself in a number of ways. Ballad writers were reputed to enjoy a symbiotic relationship with alcohol. This is amply illustrated in the epitaphs of three of the best-known and most prolific balladeers of the early modern period: William Elderton (fl. 1548–92): ‘Dead drunk here Elderton doth lye, / of him it may well be said, / here he but not his thirst is laid’; Martin Parker (fl. 1624–52): ‘He always bathed his beak in ale, / Topping whole tubs off, like some thirsty whale’; playwright and songwriter Thomas D’Urfey (1653–1723): ‘His Tale was pleasant, and his Song was sweet, / His heart was cheerful – but his thirst was great’.<sup>6</sup> Moral commentators dismissed lesser-known balladeers too as ‘pot poets’ who composed terrible hobbling songs in taverns and alehouses for the purpose of earning more drink money. One writer described a typical scene:

It would doe a mans heart good to see how twinne-like [the ballad writer] and his songman couple. ... Now you shall see them ... droppe into some blinde Alehouse, where [they] will call for a great potte, a toast and a pipe. ... see how they will hug, hooke and shrugge over these materials in a Chimney corner ... with botches and old ends, this Ballad Bard ha’s expressed the Quintessence of his genius, extracted from the muddye spirit of Bottle-Ale and froth. (Braithwaite 1631, pp. 10–11)

Another much-loved songwriter, Laurence Price (fl. 1630–60), seemed to confirm this view in *Good Ale for my money*, which ended with a typical flourish:

Thus to conclude my verses rude,  
would some good-fellowes here  
Would joyne together pence a peece  
to buy the singer beere:  
I trust none of this company  
will be herewith offended,  
Therefore call for your Jugs a peece  
and drink to him that pend it.<sup>7</sup>

Balladeers saw this relationship rather differently from moralists, claiming (as did elite poets) that drink gave them inspiration; witness Richard Rigby (fl. 1680–95), cobbler and songwriter, who was inspired ‘when Ale to thought gives wings’.<sup>8</sup> Songwriters also acknowledged the inspirations of their fellow balladeers (often also their drinking companions) by comically alluding to each other’s drinking songs.<sup>9</sup>

The ballad trade was to a considerable extent dependent on alehouses, taverns and inns, not just for composition and inspiration, but also as hubs in their distribution systems, as customers for sheets and as venues for performance. It was common

<sup>6</sup> Elderton, Camden 1605, p. 56; Parker: S.F. 1656, sig. A4; D’Urfey: Ebsworth and Chappel 1966 (repr.), Vol. 8, p. cxlii\*.

<sup>7</sup> Price, L. *Good ale for my money*. Date of publication uncertain: authorship & content suggests early 1640s.

<sup>8</sup> Rigby, R. (attrib.) 1680. *The Coblers New Prophetie*, PBB 546. For author attribution see McShane (2011b: ‘Political Cobblers and Broadside Ballads’).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, 1660–74. *Hey for our town, but a fig for Zommerset-shire*, v. 3, ref. to ‘In Praise o’th Leather Bottel’; 1660. *A Joviall Company of Joviall Blades* (PBB 317), v. 11: ‘Here’s a Health to my friend that hath a song pen’d / In praise of good liquor that’s old’.

for musicians, typically a fiddler and his boy, to offer their services to customers in retail drinking establishments, although perhaps the better performers, and sometimes whole consorts, were more likely to be found in the more up-market taverns (which were licenced to sell wine) and inns (which also offered accommodation).<sup>10</sup> Groups of drinkers could pay musicians to perform songs of their own choosing or even authorship. This could lead to friction if the song in question was political in content. For example, in August 1679, during a particularly fractious election campaign in Buckingham, the court heard how Henry Robinson had forced the fiddlers at the George Inn to accompany him in singing a seditious song (Knights 1994, p. 172). Even if a musician's audience were in the private room of a tavern or inn, people in other rooms could sometimes overhear the songs being sung. In alehouses, which were much smaller, more *ad hoc* places than taverns, being overheard was certain; if the songs being sung criticised individuals, or the state, this could lead to complaints and even arrests (Fox 1994; Bellany 2006). Take, for example, the scene in January 1664, at 'The Half Moon Inn' in Somerset. Francis Griffin's merry singing of 'Essex's March', an old parliamentarian civil war song, deeply offended a fellow drinker. He later complained to the magistrate that it was 'not suitable' to the day. He had a point; it was the anniversary of Charles I's execution (Somerset R.O., Q.S.R., 1664 105 / 35).

The content of many drinking songs reflects the world of the alehouse and tavern from which they perhaps originated. This has made them particularly attractive to social historians, literary scholars and folklorists (Clark 1983; Fumerton 2002; Gammon 2008, Ch. 4; Reinke-Williams 2010; Hailwood 2014, Ch. 3). Balladeers found the ever-changing and expanding business of drink and conviviality a compelling subject. They tracked changes in taste, from Spanish sack and sherry to French claret wines, they followed changes in prices, and they critically noted shifts in the material culture of drinking, from wooden 'cans' to pewter tankards or glass vessels.<sup>11</sup> This fascination was further inflected with concerns that, as levels of consumption rose across society, the more rigid social demarcations between ale- or wine-drinkers and the users of glass and silver or wooden and leather drinking vessels were breaking down.

Drinking ballads are also full of the characterful personnel of the licensed victualling trade: the drawer, or tapster, who drew the drink and brought it up from the cellar to the table; the landladies or 'hostesses' who took the money; the vulnerable young serving maids; the silent ostlers; and the hated excise men. Their customers appear too, in all their varieties of trades, social backgrounds, conversations and levels of drunkenness. In a 1630s song, *Fowre wittie gossips disposed to be merry*, a group of married women in a tavern debate the merits of ale and wine in relation to cost and value. They conclude, 'If our opinions do not faile: / a quart twelve cups [of wine] containeth, / Its cheaper then a dozen of ale, / where froth and snuffes remaineth'. ('Snuffes' was the 'backwash' left when, as was common, multiple people drank from a single vessel.) The wives also point out that the after-effects of drinking sack (a Spanish white wine) are much less injurious than those of drinking too much ale. In consequence, they will not suffer hangovers from drinking all night, as all their

<sup>10</sup> On musicians, see Marsh (2010). On the varieties of establishments, see Brown (2008).

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Wade, J. 1660–70. *A Song in Praise of the Leather Bottel*; 1674–79. *The Young Gallants Tutor*.



husbands currently are.<sup>12</sup> The offer of a pint of wine in an alehouse or tavern forms an important moment in the action for hundreds of songs of love and courtship.<sup>13</sup> Ballads also tell stories of crafty 'town misses' (or prostitutes) stealing from their unsuspecting seducers in alehouse or tavern bedrooms, of warring couples and neighbours who drink to make friends, and of duelling rivals who drink amiably together before entering into mortal combat.<sup>14</sup>

The ballad business had to negotiate a market that was sometimes heavily policed by both religious and civil authorities. Their response was to produce songs that would please all sides of the moral spectrum. On one hand, the trade produced 'godly' songs, that warned against excess drinking and the 'roaring', swearing, whoring, and beastliness that inevitably accompanied it. These ballads highlight the shockingly un-Christian sentiments of drinkers, whose songs showed no concern for their fate in the afterlife, as was expressed in popular tune titles and choruses such as 'hang sorrow and cast away care'. For example, in the 1640s ballad publisher Richard Burton brought out *A Looking Glass for Drunkards*. Possibly written by a cleric, who preferred (as most ballad authors did) to remain anonymous, this ballad used all the rhetorical force of the medium to make its message clear. It not only expressed religious as well as moral outrage, thundering 'Drunkards how dare ye boast of

Fig. 1 - Colour online, B/W in print



Figure 1. Anon. 1640s? *A Looking Glass for Drunkards* (London: Richard Burton). Publisher fl. 1640–74; content suggests 1640s. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries.

<sup>12</sup> *Foure wittie gossips disposed to be merry*. Dating based on publisher.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, 1670–1701. *Cupids Delight; Or, The Two young Lovers broyl'd in love*.

<sup>14</sup> For example, 1680–96. *Taylor's Lamentation. Shewing how he pick'd up a crafty Miss, who left him sleeping in Bed, and taking his Cloaths, Watch and Money*; 1690s. *The Broken Vintner of London*; 1624–80. *A lamentable Ballad of a Combat lately performed neere London, betwixt Sir James Steward, and Sir George Wharton Knights*.

your hard drinking? / Think you there is neither heaven nor helle?', but it was also illustrated with images of roistering, vomiting and fighting men who, in the last image, had turned into beasts (see [Figure 1](#)).

The chorus of *Looking Glass for Drunkards* was 'Fy Drunkards Fy', but the tune to which it was set was originally called 'Fy, Dutchmen, fy'.<sup>15</sup> This deliberate choice reflected how, in this period, English moralists firmly placed the blame for the new drinking behaviours on foreign influences, especially the Dutch who were notorious for their heavy drinking. A typical example is the Dutch customer in the perennially popular song *Joans ale is New*:

Then came a drunken Dutchman,  
And he would have a touch man,  
But he soon took too much man,  
which made them after rue;  
He drank so long as I suppose,  
Till greasie drops fell from his nose,  
And like a beast befoul'd his hose.<sup>16</sup>

From the 1590s to the 1630s English soldiers had supported Dutch, French and German Protestants against the Catholic forces of Europe. Moralising pamphlets investigating the causes of excessive drinking claimed that these military experiences had adversely influenced English drinking habits, not least by popularising health-drinking rituals, with which drinkers pledged undying loyalty to lovers, friends, King and country.<sup>17</sup> There is some musical evidence that this was so. Thomas Ravenscroft published the earliest example I can find of a health-drinking song in print, in 1609. In it, three soldiers 'lately come forth of the low country' sing, 'Here Good Fellow I drinke to thee' and warn 'he that will not pledge me this ... payes for the shot [the bill] whatever it is' (Ravenscroft 1609, pp. 62–3).

Ravenscroft's catch was just the beginning. By the 1620s commercially produced drinking ballads had become very numerous, and had also introduced the figure of the 'good fellow' to song culture. In the opposite moral camp to godly songs (but often published by the same people), 'good fellow' ballads celebrated good company and the generous spirit of the jovial drinker (Gammon 2008, Ch. 4; Hailwood 2014, Ch. 3). They praised drink as a salve for melancholy and as a way of healing disputes. They also encouraged pledging as a way of binding together lovers, friends and neighbours, while in some cases their illustrations showed how such pledges should be made.<sup>18</sup> Yet, these songs were also surprisingly antagonistic. They attacked non-recreational drinkers and non-payers as miserable, miserly and bad company, and sometimes included violent threats against them. Pledging could be used as a test rather than a bond in some situations, while refusals to drink someone's health in return could lead to violent reactions.<sup>19</sup> Once politics and religion entered into this cultural paradigm, it was bound to create explosive social situations.

<sup>15</sup> The tune appears to be lost.

<sup>16</sup> *Joan's Ale is New* (3 edns between 1656 and c.1678) (PBB 217).

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Prynne (1628); Harris (8 edns between 1619 and 1630); Hart (3 edns: 1663, 1679 and 1686); Young (2 edns: 1617 and 1634); Bolton (6 edns between 1625 and 1641).

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, the second woodcut illustration on 1627. *Heres to thee Kind Harry*: <http://ebba.english.ucsbl.edu/ballad/20203/image>.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, 1610–26. *John Spenser a Cheshire Gallant*.



### III.

During the civil wars (1642–47), loyal health-drinking songs became noticeably prevalent, not least because both sides claimed to be fighting for the best interests of the King. Thus, in 1643, printing apprentice Robert White wrote a recruiting song encouraging young men to join up and fight for Parliament against the ‘cav-vies’, and also a loyal health-drinking song, hoping that the King and Parliament would soon be reconciled.<sup>20</sup> As the wars continued, however, healing rituals became ever more violent and divisive. In 1647, for example, a curfew was prompted in London because parliamentary soldiers were stopping people in the street and forcing them to drink loyal healths; in 1649, a royalist drinker threatened to run an ale-house-keeper through with his sword because he refused to remove his hat in deference to a loyal health.<sup>21</sup>

While all soldiers drank of necessity and also sang to build up comradely morale, the courage to fight, or as a distraction helping to forget the horrors of battle, it was increasingly clear that the manner in which royalists and parliamentarians drank was very different. The two sides were also divided along the already established moral lines of popular song culture. The King’s soldiers identified themselves with the devil-may-care ‘good fellows’ of the drinking songs and were notoriously riotous.<sup>22</sup> This prompted moralising songs from parliamentary sympathisers. For example, Price’s *Good Ale for my money* described ‘domineering swaggering blades,/ and Cavaliers that slashes,/ That throw the jugs against the walls,/ and break in peeces glasses’; in 1646, *The Mercenary Soldier* ventriloquised the voice and mores of the cowardly, drunken Cavalier.<sup>23</sup> Royalists too expressed exasperation with the dissolute and disreputable drinking culture of the King’s soldiers. A sermon originally preached before the King at Oxford by army chaplain William Chillingworth thundered against:

they that maintain the King’s Righteous Cause with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes; but by their oathes and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and prophaneness, fight more powerfully against their partie, then by all other meanes they doe or can fight for it. (Chillingworth 1644, pp. 12–13)

After the King left London in 1642, his supporters could gain little access to the popular black-letter music industry, but this changed after the trial and execution of the King in January 1649, and the final defeat of his son Prince Charles (II) at Worcester in 1650. New ballads, some of them remaining popular for decades and even hundreds of years, regularly appeared throughout the interregnum, lamenting the defeat of the royalist cause and frequently promoting loyal health drinking.<sup>24</sup> The new republican regimes did not censor royalist songs but they did try, unsuccessfully, to ban health drinking. At the same time, local authorities clamped down on the

<sup>20</sup> White, R. 1643. *The Prentices Resolution* (PBB 103) and White, R. 1643. *Englands doubtfull hopes* (PBB 111). No free digital image currently available.

<sup>21</sup> 2 and 8 December 1647, *Journal of the House of Lords: Vol. 9 1646, 7* (1767–1830), pp. 553–5, 565–6; London Metropolitan Archive MJ/SR 1030/95; Capp 2012, pp. 164–5.

<sup>22</sup> On royalist drinking, see Marcus (1986); Potter (1989); Achilleos (2004); de Groot (2004); Keblusek (2004); McShane (2010b, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> Price 1640?; Anon. 1646. *The Mercenary Soldier* (PBB 132). No free digital image currently available.

<sup>24</sup> See the entries for the 1650s in PBB.

riotous behaviour of royalists whenever it came to their attention. One song spoke of drinking healths 'on our knees' and shedding a tear 'for love to the Crowne', but also of needing to pay and leave swiftly so that 'we need not be afraid/to be scurvily betrayd/To the Constables ayd' (Jordan 1643 and 1650).<sup>25</sup>

For the next ten years, singing and drinking in company became the defining feature of royalist culture. *A Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (Figure 2) used words and pictures to show how this would help to drive away the melancholy of defeat and maintain the loyalty of the King's old soldiers to his son:

Let us cheare up each other then,  
And show ourselves true Englishmen / ...  
The Father of our Kingdoms dead,  
His Royall Sun [sic] from England's fled, / ...  
A Royall Health I then begun,  
Unto the Rising of the sun.

But, in another song from later in the decade, royalist songwriter Thomas Jordan described the sorry state of Cavaliers, who caroused their sorrows away in gallons of wine, while ale-drinking puritans with 'puddle ... brains' soberly ran the government.

There with a sack-incensed face  
In speckled state and flaming grace,  
With dabbled doublet doth appear  
The curral front of Cavalier,  
With a bowle  
Full of sack, such as can  
In the most dying man  
Raise a soul.  
...  
There will we sit and fret a while,  
Cursing the puddle of their brains,  
That pull'd down grapes and put up grains,  
They are foes,  
Who Bagpipes for Shalmes  
Deal in small Beer and Psalmes  
Through the Nose.<sup>26</sup> (Jordan 1663, pp. 12–13)

During the interregnum, and after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, royalist songs further exploited this political differentiation of drinks. They highlighted the low social status of the country's new governors by linking republican leaders with the beer trade. Satirical songwriters made great play of a rumour linking Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell's family with the brewing trade.<sup>27</sup> In a song entitled *The Protecting Brewer*, Cromwell personified the drink revolution that had taken place when mechanic ale took over from aristocratic wine (Brome and Brome 1662, pp. 336–9). His red warty nose or 'Naples face' was continually satirised by royalist writers who read it as the sure sign of the 'dirty nose' or shining 'carbuncles' of a tippler.<sup>28</sup> In 1660, *The Traytors Downfal* described how power had:

<sup>25</sup> Jordan, T. (attrib.) 1643 and 1650. *The Discontented Lover* (2 edns) (PBB 114).

<sup>26</sup> Jordan 1663. 'The Leaguer', pp. 12–13.

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, T[omas] R[obins] 1660. *The Royall Subjects warning-piece to all Traytors* (PBB 289).

<sup>28</sup> On Cromwell's nose, see Knoppers (2000).

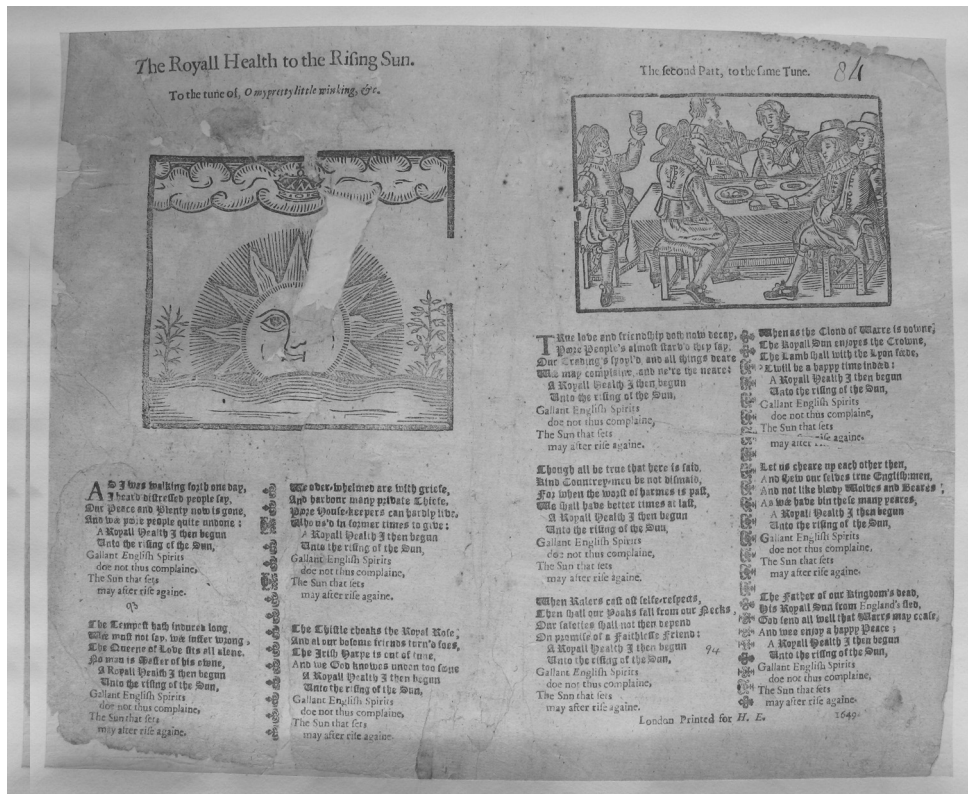


Figure 2. Anon. 1649? *A Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (London: H.B.) Content suggests c.1649. (See PBB 182). Courtesy of the Manchester Central Library.

caused fire to rise in Oliver's nose:  
this ruling nose did bear such sway  
it cast such a heat and shining ray  
That England scarce knew night from day.<sup>29</sup>

Royalist balladeers also claimed that the family trait was inherited. Richard Cromwell, who failed to maintain his father's regime after his death in 1658, was styled 'Drunken Dick' who 'lov'd a cup of nectar'.<sup>30</sup>

In reality, ale and beer drinkers were indeed marshalled into supporting Parliament's cause. In 1643, Parliament imposed a new excise tax on ale and beer. The Dutch, who had imposed taxes on beer for decades as a way of paying for their military needs, got the blame for setting the example, just as they had done for health drinking and drunkenness. In the past, English commentators had assumed that this was also a way for Dutch governments to punish and control the heavy drinking of their compatriots (Scott 1622, pp. 53–6). Now, it seemed, England was faced with the same punitive action. Naturally, balladeers were swift to comment upon these changes. In 1647, *The Good Fellowes Complaint* expressed

<sup>29</sup> 1660. *The Traytors downfall* (PBB 312X).

<sup>30</sup> Anon. 1660. *A New Ballade: To and Old Tune* (PBB 325).

particular concerns over the impact of beer tax on the poor since it raised the price of a quart by a farthing.<sup>31</sup> In 1658, *Sack for my Money* commented further on the raised costs of ale and beer and proposed switching to wine instead, detailing all the fixed prices that had been newly set by Parliament.<sup>32</sup> In view of the new taxes on beer, royalists preferred to drink wine (which had always been taxed) as the ideal tippie for use in their, by now, quasi-religious loyal health-drinking rituals (McShane 2014).

#### IV.

In 1660, ‘drunken Dick’, the old puritan ‘Rump’ Parliament and the New Model Army having capitulated, countless toasts were drunk and ballads sung in the wake of King Charles II’s restoration. *The Noble Prodigal* declared ‘Let’s call, and drink the cellar dry / There’s nothing sober underneath the sky’ (Jordan 1660).<sup>33</sup> *The Royal Entertainment* told how, in London, ‘Conduits did shine / with liquor divine, / [and] the people did bear away hat fulls of wine’.<sup>34</sup> All drinks were restored to loyalty and also to their proper social and political status. In *The Country-Mans Vive le Roy*, Jack and Dick go ‘To mother Mabs old Tipling house / where we will take a smart carrouse,/of the brown nappy stuff, till we / Are full of Ale and Loyalty’.<sup>35</sup>

Yet, some songs also called for a crackdown on the immoderate behaviour of the King’s old supporters; one loyal ballad spoke of the ‘fear of Cavaliers / that sleep all night and drink all day’, while another exhorted listeners:

Let’s render our praise for these happy dayes,  
To God and our Sovereign;  
Your Drinking give o’re, Swear not as before:  
For the King bears not the Sword in vain.<sup>36</sup>

In fact, the new government did issue proclamations seeking to curb excessive drinking and healthing but, despite this, royalist behaviours of the 1650s were adopted and absorbed into popular culture more broadly (McShane 2014).<sup>37</sup>

‘Good fellow’ songs celebrating carefree figures were more numerous than ever, but now they always looked and sounded like old Cavaliers. In particular, songs featuring ‘jolly beggars’ often turned out in the final verse to be old royalists, who had been (and still were) financially ruined by their continued loyalty to the crown during the civil war and interregnum. One song concluded, ‘We live by relief, / And pray for King Charls, our Commander in Chief;/God bless all the Peers, / The wise Overseers / That they may consider the poor Caveliers. For if they do let them but lower to fall, / They’ll take our profession and beggar us all’.<sup>38</sup> Many of these new ‘good fellow’ songs recommended drinking as a way of preventing such discontent

<sup>31</sup> Anon. 1647. *The good fellowes complaint* (PBB 135). No free digital image currently available.

<sup>32</sup> Anon. 1658. *Sack for my money* (PBB 256).

<sup>33</sup> Jordan, T. (attrib.) 1660. *The Noble Prodigal* (PBB 284).

<sup>34</sup> Jordan, T. (attrib.) 1660. *The Royal Entertainment* (PBB 304). No free digital image currently available.

<sup>35</sup> Anon. 1660. *The Countreymans Vive Le Roy* (PBB 369). No free digital image currently available.

<sup>36</sup> Anon. 1660. *Englands Joy for the Coming in of our Gracious Sovereign King Charls the Second* (PBB 285X); Anon. 1661. *A Country Song Intituled the Restoration* (PBB 391). No free digital image currently available.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, The King, *A Proclamation against Vicious Debauch’d and Profane Persons*, 13 May 1660; for general incorporation into popular culture see McShane (2014).

<sup>38</sup> Anon. c.1661. *The Joviall Crew, or, Beggars-Bush* (PBB 382).

turning into disloyalty. *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good sack and is free from Treason*, made its case admirably explicit:

We that drink good sack in plate  
To make us blithe and jolly  
Never plot against the state  
To be punished for such folly  
But the merry glass and pipe  
Makes our senses quick and ripe  
And expels melancholy.<sup>39</sup>

Early in 1660, as the population anxiously anticipated the coming of the King, balladeers promised their listeners that his 'coming in' would certainly bring an end to the hated excise on ale and beer. One song recalled how 'The sad Excise hath been so rife, / It hath both beggar'd man and wife, / But now we hope that it will down, / When that Charles obtains the Crown'.<sup>40</sup> Another song predicted 'Our Taxes will grow less and less, I suppose / For we have been very much troubled with those, / Excise-men (I hope too) in time will go down, / They are the torment of Country and Town'.<sup>41</sup> It very soon became clear, however, that this was not to be. Rather than attack the new monarch for this disappointment, loyal songwriters put a new spin on the unwelcome news. The taxes raised by loyal drinking would act as a tribute to the King: 'We drink to shew our Loyalty, / and to fill his Coffers full: / If all his Subjects drank like us, / he would be richer far' sang *England's Triumph*, just one in a long line of songs expressing similar sentiments.<sup>42</sup>

Neither drink nor song succeeded in promoting political and religious harmony in Restoration Britain, however. By combining antagonistic discourse and practice, both actively contributed to dissention and fights in alehouses, taverns and other places where political talk and drinking took place (McShane 2014). By 1680, political upheavals escalated around the alleged discovery of a 'Popish Plot' to kill Charles II the previous year. Consequent on this, attempts were made in Parliament to exclude his heir, the Catholic James, Duke of York, from the succession, in favour of Charles' Protestant, but illegitimate son, James Duke of Monmouth. This led to the loose formation of political parties: 'Whigs' believed the Popish Plot was real and supported exclusion, whereas 'Tories' thought the Plot was a sham and wanted to maintain the dynastic rights of the crown, regardless of religion (although they were supportive of maintaining the Protestantism of the Anglican Church). As part of their campaigns to whip up support for their views, members of both parties commissioned a very large number of political drinking songs, mainly from ideologically driven publishers such as Nathaniel Thompson and James Dean (both Tories), and Francis Smith, and Benjamin Harris (both Whigs).<sup>43</sup> These publishers were themselves occasionally drawn into the musical tit-for-tat, although their accusations related to sexual scandal, religious non-conformity and treasonous disloyalty, rather than crimes of

<sup>39</sup> Anon. 1663. *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good sack and is free from Treason* (PBB 400).

<sup>40</sup> Anon. 1660. *Englands Rejoicing at that happy Day* (PBB 277).

<sup>41</sup> Anon. 1660. *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (PBB 309).

<sup>42</sup> Anon. c.1672. *Englands Triumph* (PBB 456); see also Anon. c.1672. *The Jovial Crew* (PBB 455); Anon. 1681. *The Loyal London Prentice* (PBB 594) (Figure 3); Taubman, M. (attrib.) 1682. *The Courtier's Health* (PBB 619X).

<sup>43</sup> See PBB entries for the 1680s.



inebriety.<sup>44</sup> A number of specialist ballad producers such as Philip Brooksby also produced Tory songs during the 1680s, although only songs most likely to suit the more popular market were published in the more popular black-letter format, an aspect we will return to later.

Most of the white-letter songs produced on single sheets were not intended for making profits. (This came from the sale of newspapers and other pamphlets). When sheets were sold, it was often at the cost of a ½d, a price that barely covered their production costs. But many were distributed for free among politically useful groups, such as the highly literate apprentices of London (McShane 2007, 2011a). These songs were ideally suited for recruiting the young to a cause, especially when combined, as they often were, with treats of drink. In addition, political feasts and pope- or presbyter-burning festivals were regularly organised, for which songs were specially composed. The aggressive, intoxicated and divisive culture that this produced led to some frightening scenes in London, Cheshire and elsewhere. In 1682, rioting pro-Monmouth supporters in Wallasey sang a ballad (not known to me), including the line, 'Long live the Duke of Monmouth' at a prominent Tory's door, marking time at the end of every verse by throwing stones and shooting guns at his windows (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1683, pp. 393, 406, 439). Gangs of Tory and Whig apprentices also swarmed into the streets calling out 'A York' (for Tories) or 'A Monmouth' (for Whigs). They stopped coaches and passers-by, threatening and inflicting violence on any who would not pay for and then join in healths to whichever of the rival Dukes they supported (Harris 1987, Ch. 5–7).

In a deliberate evocation of the 1640s and 1650s, the new party songs once again used drinking imagery as a vehicle for disparaging political opponents. Whig balladeers took the moral line previously followed by Parliamentarians. They not only accused Tories of replicating the mindless roistering of the old Cavaliers, but also of being Papist fifth-columnists who drank their loyal healths to the triple crown of the Pope: 'When all the Zealous Whigs are down/we'll drink and fall a roaring / And then set up the triple crown/will saint us all for whoring'.<sup>45</sup>

In their turn, the Tories appropriated the popular character of the loyal 'good fellow' whose excessive drinking made him incapable of political designs and plotting. *In Praise of the Bottle* summarised the argument thus:

What a Pox d'ye tell me of the Papists' Design [i.e. the Popish Plot],  
Would to God you'd leave talking and drink off your wine, ...  
When the head's full of wine, there's no room left for thinking,  
'Tis naught but an empty and whimsical pate,  
that makes fools run giddy with notions of state. (Ebsworth and Chappel 1966, repr., V, p. 503)

Tory writers also made good use of the spin that popular songwriters had put on the King's retaining of the excise on ale and beer as well as wine. *The Loyal London Prentice*, illustrated with a political ritual healthing scene (Figure 3) claimed he and his fellow Tories were 'trying to drink us out of debt'. The King's rights to an unfettered income drawn from customs and excise had become a hotly debated party-

<sup>44</sup> See 1681. *The Protestant Cuckold* (PBB 579); 1681. *The Lecherous Anabaptist* (PBB 580); 1681. *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan* (PBB 581); 1681. *The Newgate Salutation* (PBB 592); 1681. *State Cases put to Jack Presbyter* (PBB 607); 1682. *Thompson Tell-Lyes* (PBB 640); 1682. *The Coat of Arms of N.T. J.F. & R.L.* (PBB 647); 1682. *Tom-son his repetition to his wife* (PBB 659); 1682. *A Message from Tory-Land to the Whig-Makers in Albion* (PBB 660).

<sup>45</sup> Anon. 1682. *The Popish Tories Confession* (PBB 621).


Fig. 3 - Colour online, B/W in print

**The Loyal London Prentice :**  
 Being his Constant Resolution, to hazard his  
 Life and Fortune for his KING.  
 With his Defiance to Popery and Faction.

I'll plainly make it to appear,  
 That I'm a True Born Cavalier,  
 And here my Colours have Display'd,  
 Gaiest all the Factious that Invaide.

I wear this Ribbond in my Hat,  
 For all the Whiggs to wonder at,  
 Let none then Tax my Loyalty,  
 My King I'll serve until I dye.

To a pleasant Old Tune, called, *The Royal Rose*.



**I** Am a True Born Cavalier,  
 And so my Father was before,  
 I scorn your Factious Presbyter,  
 And hate the thoughts of Babels whore.  
 Then let us all together Sing,  
 And drink a health to Charles our King.

The Churches Right I will maintain,  
 As long as I have Life and Breath,  
 Establish'd by Great Charles again,  
 That will I follow unto Death.  
 Then let us all, &c.

This Ribbond in my Hat I ware,  
 Is for to shew my Loyalty,  
 'Tis my Kings Colours that I bare,  
 And him I'll serve until I dye.  
 Then let us all, &c.

I'll leave Fanaticks in the Lurch,  
 And Citizens that for Sedition,  
 I own the True Establish'd Church,  
 And hate the damn'd crew'd Precisian.  
 Then let us all, &c.

My Master he was one of they,  
 That use to Repeat long winded Grace,  
 And still at Night did go to Pray,  
 Gaiest Scarlet Coats with Silver Lace.  
 Then let us all, &c.

To Lawn Sleeves he's a Mortal Foe,  
 And hates all those that go to Church,  
 He ne're could bring me to his Bowe,  
 For I still left him in the Lurch.  
 Then let us all together Sing,  
 And drink a health to Charles our King.

He'd have me to their Meeting Rout,  
 But when his Book I there did bring,  
 I'de Steal away, being Devout,  
 To Pray for Charles our Gracious King.  
 Then let us all together Sing,  
 And drink a health to Charles our King.

Thus did I use to serve him oft,  
 And never car'd to stay at home,  
 When Coddhead was for Coddhead bought  
 Then I abroad did use to Roam.  
 Then let us all, &c.

And mongst a Crew of Loyal Boys,  
 Who always hate the Rebel Sect,  
 We there did Sing, and make a noise,  
 Trying to Drink us out of Debt.  
 Then let us all, &c.

Who ever takes it in disgrace,  
 That I this Loyal Favour ware,  
 I'll spit my Venome in his Face,  
 And for his Anger do not care.  
 Then let us all, &c.

I never yet did hide my Head,  
 From any Rascal of 'em all,  
 I'll serve my King till I am Dead,  
 The longest liver then take all.  
 Then let us all, &c.

So now my Merry Boyes appears,  
 We'll caule the Bells for joy to Ring,  
 And shew our selves true Cavaliers,  
 Nay loose our lives for Charles our King.  
 Then let us all together Sing,  
 And drink a health to Charles our King.

For such a Gracious Prince this Land,  
 Since it was England never had,  
 Thn let him live, and long command,  
 And on his Foes for ever tread.  
 Whilst that we all together Sing,  
 And drink a health to Charles our King.

Hi lawfull Heirs and Successors,  
 We will endeavour to Maintain,  
 And stand by them in Peace and Wars,  
 When he above with Christ does Reigne.  
 Mean while let us all, &c.

Though Prentices in Forty One,  
 Did their Allegiance quite forget,  
 And by Tub-Preachers backed on,  
 Three Kingdoms in Confusion set.  
 But now will all, &c.

No Pope nor Presbyter, shall shake  
 Our Loyalty, with all their Art,  
 We'll laugh to Shame, those undertake  
 To make us from Allegiance start.  
 And we will all, &c.

No Jesuit shall us surprize,  
 With all the Craft he can invent,  
 Nor Presbyter with turn'd up Eyes,  
 Our Loyalty shall e're prevent.  
 But we will all, &c.

Although the Factious do Repine  
 At this our Loyalty, yet still  
 To Rout the Rump we will combine,  
 And for great Charles our Blood we'll spill.  
 Then let us all together Sing,  
 And drink a health to Charles our King.

LONDON, Printed for Richard Hill, 1681.

Figure 3. Anon. 1681. *The Loyal London Apprentice* (London: Richard Hill) (See PBB 594). Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard.

political issue. Given free access to the excise, the King would be able to rule without interference from the Whig-dominated Parliament that was trying to force his agreement to an exclusion bill.

Tory songs reversed the moral compass of excessive drinking. They claimed that their merry, loyal carousing was morally on the side of the angels, unlike 'The Grave and the Dul [who were] by sobriety curs'd' (Shadwell and Anon. 1675).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Shadwell, T. (attrib.) and Anon. 1675. *The Delights of the Bottle* (PBB 489).

# The Wine-Cooper's Delight. To the Tune of, *The Delights of the Party.*



The Wine-Cooper's Delight, or, the Delights of the Party, by Thomas, Musical Son of David's Wine-Cooper.

French Wine-Cooper's Delight, or, the Delights of the Party, by Thomas, Musical Son of David's Wine-Cooper.

Good Nature's Delight, or, the Delights of the Party, by Thomas, Musical Son of David's Wine-Cooper.

Our plump Wine-Cooper's Delight, or, the Delights of the Party, by Thomas, Musical Son of David's Wine-Cooper.

The old water Pipe, where he keeps all his Drink, for they should keep it, for he keeps them with him. When the Dissipation begins to be fresh, then begins the Party, for he keeps them with him. At that time, which gives us the greatest of the Cause, and then to sing up a second time.



## The Second Part to the same Tune.

For the Cooper himself full of merriment did begin, his wife & whole Gang were oblig'd to be. Amongst these Charles there was no such a thing, for he was once pump'd to the Echo of the Wine-Cooper's Delight, in their Powers, and thus of most infamous Whigery was the Wine-Cooper.

When the Whig had notice from Smith and Ben, that a heavenly Liquor was sent amongst men, they sent him and Cobler, the 7th of men and Whig, to the Wine-Cooper in France, they did meet. And under the Stamp his old Gravy, I mean, to drink the Whig, but whatever came on it.

The Cooper presenting his Wine to approach, he then was obliged once more to repeat. To encourage the Whig, and then himself stout, he put out the Spigot amongst the whole Host, which kindred pushed them to drink they would bring such Toast to his Wife as would make him a King.

At that a Party was still at the Whig, for Charles some times led the Whig to the Bar. They sang their Whig's Whimsies for many times round, till part of the Whig's Whimsies was the ground. For when the Whig's Whimsies was in their power, they fell to drinking, and the Whig's Whimsies.

They began to sing of the Whig's Whimsies, and thus the Whig's Whimsies was the ground. They began to sing of the Whig's Whimsies, and thus the Whig's Whimsies was the ground. They began to sing of the Whig's Whimsies, and thus the Whig's Whimsies was the ground.

For then they began to sing of the Whig's Whimsies, and thus the Whig's Whimsies was the ground. They began to sing of the Whig's Whimsies, and thus the Whig's Whimsies was the ground. They began to sing of the Whig's Whimsies, and thus the Whig's Whimsies was the ground.

LONDON.  
Printed for the Proprietor, Ballad-Singer.

Fig. 4 - B/W online, B/W in print

Figure 4. Anon. 1681. *The Wine Cooper's Delight* (London: n.p.) (See PBB 568X). Courtesy of the British Library.

Tories decried the untrustworthy hypocrisy of the 'sullen Whig and trimmer/that boggles at a loyal health / Yet will not bawke a brimmer' and who sported 'a bi-fronted conscience' like an alehouse sign (Anon. 1680).<sup>47</sup> Like Puritans during the interregnum, Whigs were poor company: 'In a corner they'll be drunk / With drinking healths unto the Rump'.<sup>48</sup> Instead of engaging in openly convivial and communal fellowship, they sat alone, 'sotting and plotting', 'smoaking and soaking ... sadly looking' and not singing but 'croaking' (Taubman 1683).<sup>49</sup> The clear implication was that sobriety was, by its nature, seditious. What a Whig needed, Tory ballads argued, was a good few pints of wine poured down him. One song was explicitly titled *A Whig Drown'd in an Honest Tory Health*, while another, *The Courtier's Health*, suggested, 'He that denies the brimmer / we'll drown him in canary and make him all our own. / And when his heart is merry / he'll drink to Charles in's throne' (Taubman 1682; Anon. 1683).<sup>50</sup>

Following the example of Cavalier writers in the 1650s, who had attacked Cromwell as a beer brewer, in the 1680s satirical Tory songsters launched an attack on the aptly named leader of the Whigs, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. In 1681, *The Wine Cooper's Delight* made explicit the connections between Cromwell, the brewer of the 'Good Old Cause', and the Whig leader. The song refers to Shaftesbury as a 'second Red Nose' who declares, 'We'll kindle old plots by inventing of new'. His demagogic appeal to 'Tinkers and Coblers, the Broom-men and Sweep, / [who] Before this Wine-Cooper in flocks they did meet' was a reminder

<sup>47</sup> Anon. 1680. *The Loyal Subjects Littany* (PBB 556).

<sup>48</sup> Anon. 1680. *The Loyal Tories Delight* (PBB 557).

<sup>49</sup> Taubman, M. (attrib.) 1682. *The Well-Wishers To The Royal Family* (PBB 633).

<sup>50</sup> Anon. 1683. *The Whigs drown'd in an honest Tory's Health* (PBB 729); Taubman, M. (attrib.) 1682. *The Courtiers Health* (PBB 619X).



of the ‘mechanic rule’ of beer-swilling republican regimes in the past. To push this point home, the song was published in both an elite white-letter format and also in a pseudo-popular black-letter one. The black-letter version pictured in [Figure 4](#) was expensively produced. It was exceptionally well printed, on a large, high-quality sheet, and was illustrated with a specially commissioned woodcut. If sold at all, it would have cost far more than the usual single penny per ballad.

Yet, while civil war and interregnum songs had made a distinction between republican ale and royalist wine, in the party-political songs of the 1680s a new scatological distinction emerged between the bodily fluids of Tory blood and Whig urine. Whig songs accused Tories of being bloodthirsty Papists. For example, in *The Bare-Faced Tories*, they drunkenly call for an attack on the loyal English whigs:

Come lets tear ‘em Limb from Limb,  
And make brave Candles of their Greese,  
When we on their streams of blood can swim.<sup>51</sup>

Whigs could also draw on memories of an old Cavalier practice of mixing wine with their own blood when drinking loyal healths and other loving pledges. This practice (they argued) was reminiscent of the Catholic doctrine that the mass turned communion wine (which was drunk only by priests) into blood.<sup>52</sup>

Tory writers responded by exploiting the (for them) happy circumstance of the Earl of Shaftesbury’s renowned colostomy drain. This, one song quipped, made him look ‘like a cask with a Tap in his side’.<sup>53</sup> Through this, Tory songs claimed, the Whig leader poured out the poison of seditious sobriety.<sup>54</sup> Many ballads used this metaphoric image, but *The Wine Cooper’s Delight* was the most striking, since it cleverly used music, words and image to drive its attack home. One side of its single, beautifully executed woodcut shows a table, where the well-dressed Earl sits drinking in company with the ‘rabble’. On the other side of the image, the earl appears again, but this time he is figured as a barrel. A man pisses into the flow of the liquid pouring from the barrel’s tap, to emphasise the nature of the liquid it contains. The song was set to the tune of a hugely popular theatre song of the period, ‘The Delights of the Bottle’. This song famously included the lines: ‘Love and Wine are the bonds that fasten us all, / The World but for these to confusion would fall ... Nor would Kings rule the world but for Love and good drinking’ (Shadwell & Anon. c.1675).<sup>55</sup> But, in contrast to a ‘good fellow’s’ drinking that served to eradicate care and thoughts of treason from his mind, the drink pouring from Shaftesbury’s tap promoted a beastly drunkenness of political sedition and religious dissent:

A Hat or a Pottle was still at the Tap,  
But Zealots some times laid their Mouths to the [V]at.  
They charg’d their brisk Bumpers so many times round,  
Till part of the Mobile sprawl’d on the ground:

<sup>51</sup> Anon. 1682. *The Bare-faced Tories* (PBB 666).

<sup>52</sup> See also: Anon. 1679. *A New Ballad on the Present Conspiracy of the Papists* (PBB 521); Anon. 1682. *A New Ballad with the Definition of the Word Tory* (PBB 654); McShane 2010b. ‘Extraordinary case of the blood-drinking ... cavaliers’.

<sup>53</sup> Anon. 1682. *Ignoramus Justice* (PBB 652).

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, Anon. 1681. *A New Ballad of Jockey’s Journey* (PBB 609); Anon. 1682. *The Loyal Feast* (PBB 642); Anon. 1682. *A Litany from Geneva* (PBB 656).

<sup>55</sup> Shadwell, T. (attrib.) and Anon. c. 1675. *The Delights of the Bottle* (PBB 489).

But when this damn'd Liquor was got in their pates,  
They fell to Bumbasting, Disord'ring of States.

In the final verse, Shaftesbury wastes away as all his vital fluids drain off:

In the Piss and the Spew the poor Cooper did paddle,  
To stop up his Tap, but the Knave was not able.  
For his Limbs like a Tortoise did shrivel and crease,  
Down drops the Wine-Cooper with the other Beasts  
And there the whole Litter as yet doth abide,  
At the Sign of the Butt, with the Tap in one side.

Although it was not until 1683, after the scandal of the Rye House Plot, that Shaftesbury was forced to escape the country only to die in exile a few months later, this song expresses how the Tory's political drinking song campaigns had succeeded in making the Whig message utterly unpalatable.

In the period between the Popish Plot (1678–79) and the Glorious Revolution (1688–89), Tory printers seem to have produced many more broadside ballads than the Whig party (based on survival evidence). 255 explicitly Tory song-sheets survive, of which 50 were the more popular black-letter types, as opposed to just 56 explicitly Whig songs, of which 18 were published in black-letter. This suggests that the Tory message of enforced good-fellowship and drink-induced loyal obedience was certainly louder, and may well have been more 'popular', or at least more widespread, than the more complicated and moderate ideas of the Whigs. The effect of the campaigns certainly contributed to a dramatic increase in violent episodes over loyal-health drinking (although the presence of song is not always explicit in court records). With the coming of the Revolution, however, the tide turned somewhat against the Tory message of excess and obedience. Between December 1688 and December 1689 alone, 162 'Williamite' Ballads were published, 80 in the most popular format.<sup>56</sup> One song in particular, sung to the tune of Lilli-burlero, was credited with having 'sung James II out of three kingdoms'.<sup>57</sup>

Although they were not the only supporters of the change, to a large extent the Revolution achieved the Whig dream – the removal of the Catholic James II and the installation of Protestant monarchs, William III and Mary II of Orange as joint rulers. A Bill of Rights, the nearest Britain has ever come to a written constitution, was soon to follow. This change also brought unintended consequences, especially the beginning of William's long and expensive wars against the Jacobites and French in Ireland and Flanders. Despite the irony of William being Dutch, and although the loyal health remained a fundamental feature of popular political practice and discourse, in response to the new regime, song writers attempted to create a more moderate political relationship between drink and song.

On one hand, William the military general was depicted as knowing the value and power of drink for increasing the courage and morale of the soldier. For example, one ballad tells how, on William's first arrival in Ireland, 'his Majesty walked round to see / how his Army did then appear, / Which was stout and brave, such as he would have, / ... Then he threw them Gold, saying, Now behold!

<sup>56</sup> By this time the trade was shifting away from the black-letter format (a fact noted by the eminent contemporary collector, Samuel Pepys). Many of the white-letter songs produced at the Revolution were at least as accessible as black-letter songs, although much shorter.

<sup>57</sup> Burnet (1979, p. 284); Defoe (1722).

/ drink and merry be, Soldiers all; / France shall feel my Rage, soon we'll clear the Stage. / Charge them with Fire, Sword, and Ball; / Trumpets sounding, Warlike Drums shall beat, / Making Foes retreat, / While we them pursue'.<sup>58</sup>

On the other hand, as a civilian King, a series of black-letter ballads depicted the champagne-loving William as more than willing to go out of his way to share more ordinary fare with his people. In *The Royal Frolic*, William, returning from Ireland with his court, calls incognito at the house of a loyal farmer. Here he drinks 'nappy March Beer', and leaves handsome payment in gold as a reward for the family's unsolicited expressions of loyalty. The opening verse recalls those 'happy days, when great Caesars would be, / familiar with Subjects of e'ry degree / Yet those that have govern'd these Kingdoms of late / Has not been so pleasant since William the Great / ...[who] the high road he quitted for merriments sake'.<sup>59</sup> Certainly, this song offered quite a contrast to one celebrating the opening of Parliament under James II in 1685, which had maintained a strict social and political separation between grape and grain: 'We'l drink the King's good health in Wine / In Ale the parliaments'.<sup>60</sup>

After the Revolution, even Jacobite songs attempted to curb the idea of excess. While only 15 Jacobite songs are known to have been published in 1689, they increased in number over the 1690s as dissatisfaction with the King and his wars inevitably grew over time. One song, published in 1694, castigated the usurpation of the throne by William and Mary, likening it to Cromwell's rebellion and complaining that the country was being bankrupted by warfare. The final verse was notably moderate in proposing just one (large) toast: 'And now I do think, / 'Tis time for to drink / A Bumper, don't think it too much Man; / 'Tis the Restoration, / And Peace to the Nation, / Confusion likewise to the Dutchman'.<sup>61</sup>

## V.

Some aspects of the early modern world described above might strike the modern reader as surprisingly familiar, for example, the existence of a highly sophisticated, dynamic popular music industry, with an efficient national distribution system, which was particularly geared towards young urban tastes and behaviours. Equally familiar is an apparent (if grudging) acceptance of intoxication as part of the creative process, especially in the fields of music and entertainment. We might also recognise the tendency for popular song to become most politically active at times of crisis, although the conservative voice, which (as here) is the loudest for much of the time, is often much less interesting for scholars who usually prefer the forces of change to those of stasis – or, as in the case of the Tory message

<sup>58</sup> Anon. 1690. *THE/Royal Favours of K. WILLIAM; / Being the Substance of his Speech to his Valiant Soldiers in FLANDERS. / As likewise His Princely Present to them, with which they Drank His Royal Health, while/Drums was Beating, and Trumpets Sounding through the whole Army.*

<sup>59</sup> Anon. 1690–91. *The Royal Frolick: OR, King WILLIAM and his Nobles Entertainment at the Farmers House, in his Return from the Irish Wars*; several ballads followed up on this one (publication dates uncertain): Anon. 1690s. *The Royal Recreation*; Anon. 1690s. *An Answer to the Royal Frolick*; Anon. 1690s. *The Country Lasses Good Fortune.*

<sup>60</sup> Anon. 1685. *THE / Happy Return: / OR, / The PARLIAMENTS Wellcome to London* (PBB 828).

<sup>61</sup> 1694. [no title] 1st line: 'When Brewers and Bakers' (n.p.).

described above, oblivious obedience, punctuated by violent struggle with perceived radical forces.

Over the last 10 years, psychologists have turned their attention to the detrimental impact that popular music can have on young people's attitudes towards intoxicants and intoxication. Studies in the UK and the USA have carefully analysed the most popular songs across a range of genres over time in a bid to understand how far a rise in intoxicant-related lyrics might be correlated with the known rise in intoxicant consumption among the young. They conclude that the content as well as the sound of popular song is influential in normalising cultural attitudes and creating desirable models of behaviour that together have contributed to a greater propensity to consume intoxicants (Sousou, 1997; Primack *et al.* 2008; Hardcastle *et al.* 2015). As we see from the discussion above, a similar analysis of seventeenth-century song would, on the face of it, certainly suggest that very similar conclusions might be drawn. Although in the early modern case, it is not possible to differentiate in terms of musical styles, instead, their graphic appearance is the key distinguishing feature.

As this essay has shown, in early modern England, drinking songs were significant political agents that could transform convivial spaces into highly charged political and even religious ones. They were used to model excessive behaviours, to choreograph violent actions, to manipulate political memories, to promote ideologies, and to instigate alcoholic tests of loyalty that sometimes led to injury and even death. In light of the very strong strand of moral discourse, also appearing in song, that warned against the dangers of excess, and the constant anxiety of early modern magistrates and other local governors about disorder, why did a sector of the music industry choose to promote excessive and violent drinking behaviours as a way of furthering their own or their paymasters' political ends? And who did they believe this message was reaching?

In 1684, in the wake of the Whig collapse after the Rye House plot, Tory publisher, Nathaniel Thompson issued an anthology of *120 Loyal Songs* (the first of several that were to appear over the next few years). Adopting a somewhat smug tone, and an emphatic typography, in his address to the reader, he commented:

Among the several means that have been of late years to reduce the deluded Multitude to their just Allegiance, this of BALLADS and LOYAL SONGS has not been of the least influence. ... these flying choristers were asserting the *Rights of Monarchy* and proclaiming *Loyalty* in every street. The *mis-inform'd Rabble* began to listen; they began to hear to *Truth* in a *SONG*, in time found their *Errors*, and were charm'd into *Obedience*. Those that despise the *Reverend Prelate* in the *Pulpit*, and the *Grave Judge* on the *Bench*; that will neither submit to the *Laws of God or Man*, will yet lend an itching Ear to a *New SONG*, nay, and often become a *Convert* by *It*, when all other means prove ineffectual ... it cannot be imagined how many scatter'd flocks this *melodious Tingling* hath reduced ... [to the] discipline of *Obedience* or *Government*. (Thompson 1684, Sig. A2)

So, Thompson, at least, believed that his white-letter songs had been directed at and consumed by a 'deluded multitude' and a 'misinformed rabble' and that, whoever these people were, they had successfully been converted by the 'melodious Tingling' of his ballads.

But what if we look more carefully at the publishing output of another printer of Tory songs throughout the 1680s – the ballad warehouse partner, Philip Brooksby? Unlike Thompson, who made his fortune as a newspaper man, Brooksby made his

living mostly from the popular black-letter ballad trade. Of 27 expressly Tory songs that carried Brooksby's imprint, 17 were produced for the popular retail market in black-letter.<sup>62</sup> The content of these titles was typical for the popular trade, concerning themselves with the usual four axes of royal affairs, warfare, treason and complaint. But they were also really excellent songs, written by some of the top songwriters of the period, and set to popular theatre tunes. Several were loyal-healthing songs but, tellingly, Brooksby's songs (unlike other Tory ones) always included the King's illegitimate, Protestant, Whig, and hugely popular hero, Monmouth in those healths. Moreover, the songs that Brooksby decided to print for the most popular market always ran to at least two editions, unlike his white-letter ones. Most significantly, as the political winds changed at the Revolution, Brooksby switched to producing Williamite songs, usually in company with his trade partners. This switch is best illuminated by a 1689 loyal ballad, set to the tune 'The Loyal Health', and entitled *An Excellent new SONG; OR, A true Touch of the TIMES. Giving you a full and true Account of the Transactions, from King James the First, to the present Reign of our Sovereign Lord King William the Third*. First issued in 1685, it had been updated by the simple expedient of exchanging the phrase 'James the Second' to 'William the Third', along with a couple of new verses.

In contemplating how we might interpret this marked difference between what the political white-letter song traders thought they were doing, and what the true popular music market produced, a useful reference point can be found in Simon Frith's fascinating discussion of urban 'folk' music in the 1970s and 1980s, which, he argues, was inflected by class as much as by culture (Frith 1981). Urban 'folk' had nothing to do with 'authentic' usually poor and rural experience; it was a fantasy, adapted to reach the tastes of a particular urban youth market, although this did not prevent it from also having its own political agency. Modern musicologists tend still to distinguish between a pre-industrial 'folk' music – an authentic reflection of communal experience that was unsullied by commerciality – and the mass-produced music of modernity, which was Frith's main concern. But the tale being told here of seventeenth-century drink and song is a sophisticated story of the concerted attempts of political powers to capture and control the more elite end of the popular music market in printed song, while the highly commercial, mass-produced, mainstream market held its own values, choosing to publish only those songs and messages that would be attractive and acceptable to a nationally and socially broad popular market.

Tory writers like Thomas D'Urfey and James Dean, and political song publishers like Nathaniel Thompson, did not seek to create a representational discourse; they hoped to use the popularity of music, in combination with the essential cultural activity of drinking, to attract people into support for a party ideology that was based on unquestioning obedience to a divinely appointed monarch and his dynasty. In contrast, Whig writers tried to argue for more moderation, not only in drinking, but also in levels of obedience – monarchs should not be able to rule unconstrained; it was vital that subjects and citizens should be sufficiently clear-headed to think for themselves and for the good of their country. However, neither of these campaigns were 'democratic' in any real sense. Most of these songs were never intended for

<sup>62</sup> For his black-letter titles, see PBB 540, 565, 619X, 620X, 688, 693X, 696X, 697, 695, 826, 832, 833, 874, 875, 880, 884.



the population at large. They were complicated, often full of difficult political and literary allusion. They were intended for those who were already part of the political elite – or for significant groups, such as literate apprentices (who were often drawn from the middling and gentry classes), whose physical support as a mob or as armed bands had been shown to be politically effective in the civil war, and was thought to be a desirable commodity in the turmoil of the 1680s. These, alongside political elites and those with votes, were the ‘rabble’ that Thompson had hoped to convert.

Popular retail-trade publishers, who hoped to make a profit and maintain their credibility, were much more astute about what would sell in the wider market. These songs went to a huge range of people, of all ages and positions, urban and rural. It was in this sphere that lyrics describing changes in drinking fashions and an attention to costs appeared. It was here that moral messages were spelled out and contested. The political elites failed to capture this market, not least because their version of drink and politics was beyond the financial or intellectual capacities of the vast majority of the nation. Health drinking of the kind that could turn a Whig into a Tory was beyond the means of most, while, unlike the unconstrained consumption of political elites, drunkenness among the lower orders was frowned upon and controlled as far as possible by the local authorities.

Ironically, then, although certainly not ‘popular’ among the ‘folk’, it was the songs imposed from above that were the most ‘authentic’ in that they were indeed passionately committed to their message. They represented a community of sorts and sought to entice others, like themselves, to join it or unquestioningly to accept its values. Black-letter songs, on the other hand, were more inventively and essentially musical; as such, their political messages and behavioural influences were arguably more far reaching. Although usually conservative – an effect of careful self-censorship rather than draconian action on the part of the government – when popular songs did become partisan or radical, when they modelled behaviour such as loyal-health drinking, or when they created heroes such as the Duke of Monmouth or William of Orange, their influence was ubiquitous, deep rooted and very hard to shift. Indeed, some of these roots have remained so deep that even today we find their remnants in our politics, our music and our drinking behaviours. ‘Lilli-burlero’ remains a divisive force in Irish politics (and was until fairly recently the theme tune for the BBC), while the universally known tune ‘for he’s a jolly good fellow’, still linked to health-drinking behaviours, was one of the most used Cavalier and Tory political tunes of the period.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> It was known as ‘The Blacksmith’ in the 17th century.

ranting brewers: the politicisation of drink and drunkenness in political broadside ballads 1640–89', in Smyth (2004a).

## References

### Ballads

All ballads are Anon. unless otherwise stated. PBB denotes an entry in McShane (2011a).

- 1624–80. *A lamentable Ballad of a Combat lately performed neere London, betwixt Sir Iames Steward, and Sir George Wharton Knights*
1627. *Heres to thee Kind Harry*
1646. *The Mercenary Soldier* (PBB 132)
1647. *The good fellowes complaint* (PBB 135)
1658. *Sack for my money* (PBB 256)
- 1660–74. *Hey for our town, but a fig for Zommerset-shire*
1660. *A Jovial Company of Joviall Blades* (PBB 317)
1660. *A New Ballade: To an Old Tune* (PBB 325)
1660. *Englands Joy for the Coming in of our Gracious Sovereign King Charls the Second* (PBB 285X)
1660. *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (PBB 309)
1660. *Englands Rejoicing at that happy Day* (PBB 277)
1660. *The Countreymans Vive Le Roy* (PBB 369)
1660. *The Traytors downfall* (PBB 312X)
1661. *A Country Song Intituled the Restoration* (PBB 391)
1663. *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good sack and is free from Treason* (PBB 400)
- 1670–1701. *Cupids Delight; Or, The Two young Lovers broyl'd in love*
- 1674–79. *The Young Gallants Tutor*
1679. *A New Ballad on the Present Conspiracy of the Papists* (PBB 521)
- 1680–96. *Taylor's Lamentation*
1680. *The Loyal Subjects Littany* (PBB 556)
1680. *The Loyal Tories Delight* (PBB 557)
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1681. *State Cases put to Jack Presbyter* (PBB 607)
1681. *The Leacherous Anabaptist* (PBB 580)
1681. *The Loyal London Apprentice* (PBB 594)
1681. *The Newgate Salutation* (PBB 592)
1681. *The Protestant Cuckold* (PBB 579)
1681. *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan* (PBB 581)
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# Temperance battle songs: the musical war against alcohol

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## Abstract

*In common with similar popular pressure groups, the temperance movement needed to inspire, to inform and to integrate its members, and music was a vital tool to fulfil these functions. This article explores temperance music, particularly songs, performed in a range of contexts from concerts of 15,000 voices to the individual use of material produced in songbooks and periodicals. The tonic sol-fa movement grew symbiotically with the drive for temperance and, with developments in printing and distribution, this musical technology enabled the effective spreading of the temperance message through activity and entertainment. A case study of songs for children reveals that, predictably, songs were informed by religion to some extent and acted as vehicles for propaganda, instilling principles and offering guidance. However, many were more martial and encouraged children to act as agents. Temperance songs were not merely instructive; many were designed to rouse the singer – and hearer – into action.*

## Introduction

You're a proper nice young man,  
Smart, young, and frisky;  
But deny it, if you can,  
You're fond of whisky!  
All your coaxing I'll withstand,  
Never would I give my hand,  
Were you monarch of the land!  
Smart young bachelor! Fine young bachelor!  
(*Smart Young Bachelor*, Pollard Tucker and Whitehead, 1872 or earlier)<sup>1</sup>

The verse above, set to a melody of rippling semiquavers and followed by a choral repeat of the last line and six subsequent comic verses, greeted the young readers of a temperance magazine in 1872. Its levity may appear more suited to performance in a music hall than in a temperance meeting, but an investigation of hundreds of

<sup>1</sup> The history of this song is complex: although printed in *Onward* (Manchester and London) in April 1872, its composers, Josephine Pollard and Henry Tucker, are American and the first record of it I have been able to find in a US collection is in *Temperance Chimes* (1884. New York, National Temperance Society, p. 98). However, the arranger is given as William Henry Whitehead, a prominent Manchester temperance lecturer and musician from 1860 to the 1890s, who travelled widely and probably brought the song over to be published in this popular UK children's periodical.

such songs reveals not only humour and wordplay, but mock drinking songs, comments on government policy, and stirring calls to action alongside the predictable praise of water and tales of drunkards. Such songs were sung by thousands, and heard by millions: the importance of temperance as a social and cultural influence is increasingly recognised, and while Brian Harrison's magisterial study *Drink and the Victorians* showed the impressive scale of the movement until the 1870s, more recent studies have traced the vast subsequent influence of organised temperance groups and campaigns (Harrison 1994; Nicholls 2009; McAllister 2014; Yeomans 2014). It is no longer surprising for a social historian to remark that 'the Temperance movement was an immense catalyst for reform in the nineteenth century ... all classes, Protestant denominations, ages, and genders were involved at some point throughout the century' (Clapp-Itnyre 2015, p. 90). Making music was a vital aspect of the temperance movement, and brass bands, for example, in popular memory, are associated with traditions of temperance and the rational recreation movement. The famous Wingates Temperance Band only dropped the middle word from its name in 1980, after over a hundred years of existence, and some smaller bands, such as Rothwell or Tongwynlais, still retain the term.<sup>2</sup> According to the brass band historian Arthur Taylor, the first such band to convert to temperance was the Bramley Old Reed band, who in 1836 'took the pledge en bloc and converted to all-brass instrumentation at the same time', and the records of brass band contests show many temperance band winners (Taylor 1979, p. 21).

But the songs of the movement, now sadly often reduced in the popular mind to watery warblings or maudlin tales of dying children, were arguably even more influential than the brass bands. David Russell commented in *Popular Music in England* that the sheer volume of temperance songs that appeared ... suggests that they must have enjoyed some appeal and their evolution in terms of content and musical language may well repay the attention of scholars' (Russell 1997, p. 37). There remains much to discover, not only about the way in which these songs were 'imbricated in people's social networks', but also interrogating their popularity and why they got 'particular attention at particular moments' (Frith 2003, p. 101). Such songs have been studied in relation to Chartism and other social movements, but a similar study of the temperance movement's deployment of song is only now beginning (Bowen and Pickering 2009; McGuire 2009; Clapp-Itnyre 2015). Such an endeavour needs to illuminate the history of music, and more specifically song; however, bear in mind that Trevor Herbert has noted that historians 'have typically used music as the fodder of footnotes, merely illustrating social and cultural patterns', and asks whether social history can 'offer anything new to music history' (Herbert 2003, p. 146). This study will explore not only the diversity and interconnectedness of popular songs in the 19th century, but how they were distributed and the uses made of them, personally, socially and politically.

<sup>2</sup> Anon. 1998. 'Brass band aim to raise the roof', *Cumberland & Westmorland Herald*, 25 April. There is also a fascinating extract from a 1910 article on Temperance Brass Bands available on the brass band resource site, 'Internet Bandsman's Everything Within', at <http://www.ibew.org.uk/misc61.htm>.

## What did ‘temperance’ mean?

Some background information on the temperance movement may be helpful, bearing in mind Charles McGuire’s warning that:

Temperance ... is largely a historical artefact, little understood in today’s world. As a political movement, temperance was most often propounded by the disenfranchised, members of either the middle classes or the working classes, whose histories are much less permanent than those of the elite. Further, history does not favour the defeated, and the politics of temperance ultimately failed in the United Kingdom. (McGuire 2009, p. 110)

Widespread public concern about drinking first arose in Britain in the mid-1700s, with the widespread availability of cheap gin to lower class drinkers (some readers may have seen Hogarth’s *Gin Lane* print of 1751). High consumption of wines, brandy and other alcoholic drinks among the upper classes was not viewed as particularly problematic, but when drunkenness was publicly visible, and indeed led to public disorder, it became seen as a social problem. Beer was recommended as a healthy alternative and, of course, with unreliable public water supplies this may have been sound sense. ‘Temperance’ societies were formed to encourage moderation in drinking from the late 1700s, coming to England from the USA and Scotland, and were usually middle-class organisations directed towards reforming the habits of working people, most of them in the manufacturing districts of the north. In these locations people were clustered in huge numbers, often having moved from their home districts to find work, and as drink provided an obvious escape, there was very heavy drinking in industrial areas. With the 1830 Beerhouse Act the government made it much easier for anyone to sell beer from their premises, in the hope that this would encourage ‘healthy’ beer consumption. However, this move backfired and merely led to a huge increase in public drunkenness, and concern among all classes. As James Nicholls argues,

The [teetotal] movement struck a chord with large numbers of working people, not least because it suggested that both personal salvation and social transformation were in their hands rather than the hands of priests or politicians. Teetotalism ... held out the promise of more than mere emancipation or even respectability. It told them they could spearhead the dawn of a new age: the sober millennium. (Nicholls 2009, p. 103)

This was the key aspect of the ‘teetotal’ temperance movement: rather than a being a mission for social order, seeing working people as subjects whose behaviour needed to be controlled and improved, it was initiated by working men to liberate themselves and their fellows from the ‘demon drink’ which could ruin their lives. Seven men from Preston jointly signed a pledge, or promise, to abstain from all alcoholic drinks as beverages in 1832, and the leader of the seven, Joseph Livesey, a weaver turned local merchant and entrepreneur who retained his political and social radicalism, had a genius for publicity and organisation. Total abstinence offered a welcome to the reformed drunkard, and clearer guidelines to follow than the nebulous goal of moderation; it spread rapidly throughout the country. By the 1840s, the word ‘temperance’ had come to mean, for many, not moderation but ‘teetotalism’, and this gave the character to what was to become a huge social and cultural movement.

Using John Bunyan’s image from *Pilgrim’s Progress*, Livesey recommended that temperance campaigners make use of the two gates to people’s minds: ‘Eye-gate’ and

'Ear-gate'. Public demonstrations were soon supplemented by developing visual technology of the magic lantern, but in addition the ear was appealed to by a wide range of musical versions of the teetotal message, as well as the predictable lectures and public debates. The movement went through several phases in its history of over a hundred years, and the initial focus on persuasion of the individual is often said to have been succeeded by reliance on legislation as social policy making in the latter quarter of the 19th century (Harrison 1994; Berridge 2013). Certainly organisations became more powerful and diverse, and more mention of policy and the state occurs in songs after 1870, perhaps beginning with the American import 'Shut the Drink Saloon', published for young singers in 1869.<sup>3</sup> But 'moral suasion' remained a central part of the temperance armoury and, indeed, a study of its music can act as a corrective to a history of the movement drawn mainly from public speeches and parliamentary sources.

Many individual groups existed with specific missions: one factor in the popularity of 'signing the pledge' was the material prosperity and social harmony it brought, enabling many families to make provision for the future, and the Independent Order of Rechabites was founded in 1835 as a teetotal friendly society providing sickness and death benefits. It grew spectacularly to become an influential national and international organisation, numbering a UK membership of 600,000 by its centenary in 1935, with many thousands more internationally, and managing funds of £6.5m. Other influential temperance groups included the UK Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors, founded in 1853 to lobby Parliament for prohibition of all intoxicating drink throughout the UK. After its first three years it had 30,000 members and has, in some form, survived for over 150 years. Similarly, the Band of Hope still exists; founded in 1847 to deter children from drinking and to encourage them to challenge alcohol use in others, it grew rapidly to a claimed membership of over three million in its first 50 years and retained at least this number of members until the mid-1920s. It can be considered the most significant of all temperance organisations in terms of membership, duration and influence, and it had a prime role in commissioning, printing and distributing songs, as will be shown below. The temperance movement, although far from monolithic, can be considered a relatively united force whose significance can be inferred from its membership, estimated as at least six million out of a UK population estimated at just over 38 million by 1900 (Rowntree and Sherwell 1900, p.5; Hicks and Allen 1999, p. 6).

### **'A good melody will linger on the ear ...'**

Brian Harrison suggested that the temperance movement, in common with similar popular pressure groups, had three main functions, which he sums up as to inspire, to inform and to integrate (Harrison 1982, p. 282). Its music played a large part in this, particularly songs which, through their lyrics and music, fulfilled all three of these functions. The temperance community provided many opportunities for members to sing in public, both on the move in processions and in more static surroundings in the many festivals, competitions and concerts – and indeed, most meetings would begin with a hymn or temperance song so that music was woven into the fabric of the membership. Possibly the most visible, in terms of spreading the message, were the many occasions on which the musicians took their message out onto the

<sup>3</sup> *Onward Shut the Drink Saloon*, 1869, July, pp. 197–9.



streets, often with brass bands but always with plentiful singing. There are many accounts of public activities such as marches, processions and parades which not only established the size and fervour of the temperance movement, but staked their claim to 'a particular space, a landscape that could be exploited effectively through the collective performance of particular rituals to communicate, legitimate, and politicize values' (Goheen 1993, p. 128). As with Chartist demonstrations, in the early years of the temperance movement the use of popular tunes with invented words ensured that every event could make an impact on the public soundscape by hearty singing (Bowen and Pickering 2009, pp. 53–6). Early teetotal campaigners in Preston soon made use of a local printer, John Harkness, to produce songs such as 'A Warning to Drunkards', alongside his production of radical pamphlets such as those for striking textile workers in 1853–54 (Palmer 1988, pp. 18, 172). Hymns featured more heavily according to the religious nature of the particular group, but it appears to have been equally common to set new words to popular melodies, as in Tredegar in 1857: 'large processions ... formed every evening, parading the streets, singing temperance verses adapted to some well-known tunes' (cited in O'Leary 2012, p. 116). Later, however, although re-use of tunes still occurred, many completely original compositions were written by UK temperance activists, and many were also borrowed from the US, where a tradition of such songs had developed a little earlier (Ewing 1977; Sanders 2006).

The concerts, however, may be considered the apex of public singing in the temperance movement, stemming from the growth of public concerts from the 1840s, discussed by Russell (1997, pp. 32–7). Those at the Crystal Palace were the most impressive, held inside in the huge hall with its transept twice the size of the Dome of St Paul's or outside in the grounds, as part of fetes or festivals (Figure 1). The National Temperance League had held such events from the 1860s, with participation by children's choirs from the Band of Hope, but the latter movement's temperance concerts soon assumed much greater proportions. From 1862 the Band of Hope held annual fetes, or concerts, in the Crystal Palace or the Exeter Hall, which featured choral performances by large groups of children. The choir in 1862 was 1,000; four years later it numbered 3,000; the following year, 1867, there was a 5,000-strong choir and in 1871 9,000 young voices entertained the many thousands of visitors. It might be thought that this had reached the maximum size possible, but in 1872 10,000 children sang, in two choirs of 5,000. Finally, from 1883, three separate choirs of 5,000, one from London and two composed of representatives from Bands throughout the country, performed, making a total of 15,000 trained young voices and this continued for over 20 years. In 1886, for example:

The chief feature of the Fete was the holding of three Great Choral Concerts, each sustained by 5,000 singers, comprised in 310 contingents, and trained at nearly 2,500 rehearsals. ... The singers came from widely distant places, and, by cheerfully undertaking long and toilsome journeys, gave proof of devotion to the cause. Contests were arranged between Temperance Choirs from various parts of the country, and a great Processional March of Societies and Orders presented an impressive spectacle.<sup>4</sup>

Preparation for such events was carried out in local settings throughout the country for months, with choristers arriving for final rehearsals on the day and often

<sup>4</sup> All figures are taken from reports of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union annual reports; quotation from report of 1887, p. 12.

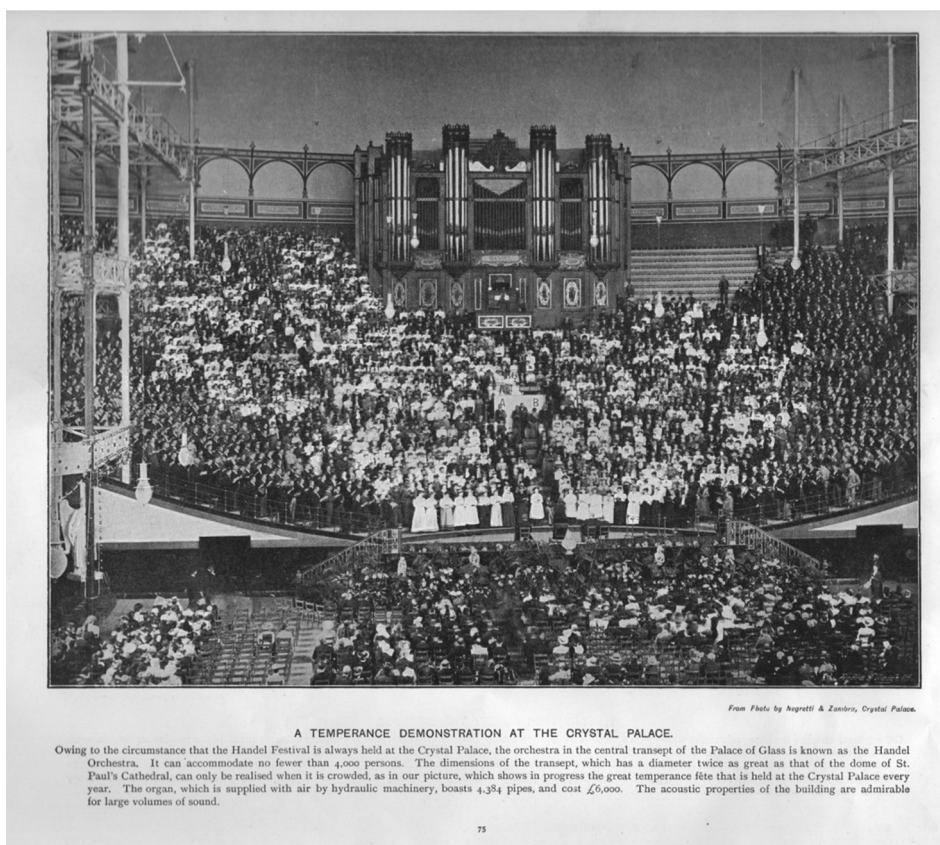


Figure 1. 1986. 'A Temperance Demonstration at the Crystal Palace', from *The Queen's London: A Pictorial and Descriptive Record of the Streets, Buildings, Parks and Scenery of the Great Metropolis* (London: Cassell & Co.), p. 75.

expected to sing from memory so that they could pay 'considerable attention to the *bâton*'.<sup>5</sup>

Surviving evidence indicates that many, less spectacular, concerts were frequently held in large public buildings in London, Manchester, Birmingham and many other cities, towns and even villages.<sup>6</sup> Their popularity is not merely indicated by large attendances; subsequent publication of programme material was common, such as *The Temperance Minstrel consisting of original songs, duets, choruses, etc. as sung by the choir at the Temperance Hall, Townhead Street, Sheffield, music composed by John Fawcett* (Sheffield Temperance Association, 1857). And singing formed part of many hybrid entertainments, such as a lecture on 'The Noble Army Of Martyrs', in 1867 which was accompanied by a new series of dissolving views (lantern slides).

<sup>5</sup> Programme for afternoon concert at Crystal Palace Fete, London, UK Band of Hope Union, 14 July 1880, cover, unpaginated.

<sup>6</sup> There are many posters in the John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford which provide examples. Contemporary temperance periodicals also contain plentiful references to such concerts.

'Six hundred children, trained by Mr. Frederick Smith, sang before and after the lecture. The execution of the piece, "Father, come home", will, it is believed, be remembered for years by those who were present. It was sung in so pathetic and beautiful a style as to move many to tears.'<sup>7</sup>

Adult group singing was also encouraged, in less formal situations, with social singing meetings as a lively alternative to the sociability of the public house, and also through the influence of evangelical religion, where hymns were public expression of belief. The pleasure found in singing with other like-minded people was a very common part of 19th-century cultural and social life, with glee clubs and free and easies two of the frequent occasions for working-class singing. It also acted for many as an expression of commitment and an assertion of identity, whether national, regional, or in opposition to prevailing systems or mores (Hoegaerts 2014 ; Randjävär 2014). But, above all, music could transmit propaganda with supreme effectiveness; as an 1867 article in the Band of Hope magazine *Onward* remarked:

An address may be forgotten, a recitation may be remembered only by the reciter, but a good melody will linger on the ear, and find its way into a thousand homes, and months after the meeting, as we pass along the street, we may hear from the lips of some young aspirant the strain which so delighted the audience. (*Onward*, November 1867, p. 69)

## Singing and the Band of Hope

Indeed, it was in the work of the Band of Hope with young people that music was most inextricably entwined with temperance, as singing ran throughout the organisation, locally, regionally and nationally.<sup>8</sup> As well as the almost constant preparation for concerts and musical competitions, every weekly meeting usually featured singing, often through the medium of tonic sol-fa instruction. Instilling temperance principles into children, often in large groups, required entertaining and interactive approaches and music was ideal, but the volunteer workers could not all boast conventional musical literacy, and this easily learnt system provided a welcome solution. The close links between the tonic sol-fa and temperance movements, developing in the same period, using similar techniques and supporting each other, have been ably explored by Charles McGuire (2006, 2009) and it is probably sufficient here to point out that each organisation promoted the other. However, the Band of Hope was the dominant partner, claiming over half a million members in 1877, well over a million by 1887, over two million by 1891, and on the way to over three million by its Jubilee year of 1897. Although the *Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* (founded in 1851, changing its name to the *Musical Herald* in 1889) published many temperance songs and promoted teetotal events, and tonic sol-fa was recognised as a music teaching method for English schools in 1860, the use of it as the main system for learning songs by the millions of Band of Hope young people, in addition to adult temperance society users, was critical to its success. The national organisation, the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (founded in 1856) had an extremely successful trading department dating from its second year of operation, and commissioned,

<sup>7</sup> Annual report of UK Band of Hope Union, 1868, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Membership was usually open to those over seven and under 21, with later division into junior and senior groups at 14, but it seems likely that younger children attended with siblings.

produced and distributed media for a period of over a hundred years. Due to the scale of the membership and the organisation's entrepreneurial approach, the trading department became a major supplier of temperance-related material 'throughout the Colonies and other parts of the world' as well as at home, and by 1913 had stock and annual turnover worth £8,000.<sup>9</sup> As well as pledge cards, certificates and material for teaching temperance through scientific experiments, it became the largest commissioner and distributor of magic lantern slides and a nationally significant publisher of books, magazines and music. Many temperance songbooks, cantatas and even a dedicated singing course were published by John and Spencer Curwen, leading the tonic sol-fa movement, but the sheer scale of the Band of Hope organisation meant that from the 1870s it took the lead in producing and distributing new singing material for the continuing demands of its members.

## Songbooks

Performances of songs are relatively well documented, as is the importance of the tonic sol-fa method of learning, but equally of interest is how these thousands of songs got into the hands of singers. All Band of Hope members were advised to purchase a singing book; millions of hymnbooks and songbooks poured from the presses, these differing titles drawing on the temperance movement's influences from both religious and popular uses of song, although as Alisa Clapp-Itnyre (2015, pp. 95–6) points out, the term 'hymn' was used as a general category at times, and often titles or subtitles referred to 'songs' or 'melodies'. She has carried out a study of 12 examples of British temperance hymn- and songbooks between 1860 and 1899, identifying examples which appear most frequently across volumes, and going on to discuss categories of content. Unsurprisingly, the benefits of water loom large, with 'Give me a draught from the crystal spring' found in five out of 12 publications and two more songs about water in the 'top 19'. But she also identifies several other song types or tropes, such as warnings or advice to young people 'hovering on the brink of adulthood who face critical decisions about drink' (Clapp-Itnyre 2015, p. 97). She comments on the great stress on the agency of children, as they are encouraged to influence the behaviour of adults who drink – a key feature of the Band of Hope's address to children which has been explored by Olsen (2014) and McAllister (2015), for example. And, linked to this concept of child agency, she remarks on the lively and stirring nature of many of the tunes, and indeed the lyrics, in the 'large handful of "marching" songs in the temperance repertoire' and the increasingly martial and militant nature of songs (Clapp-Itnyre 2015, pp. 99, 102). In the list of the most frequently anthologised songs in her sample, however, three are well-known hymns ('Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear', 'Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go', and 'There is a happy land') and so her presentation of this list does confirm, to some extent, the predominance of water and religion which might be expected as topics in Band of Hope hymn- and songbooks. As Ewing did in the case of American temperance songs, and Bowan and Pickering in Chartist songs, she discovers that many British temperance songs used existing well-known tunes, largely hymns, patriotic anthems or borrowed tunes from the USA. As well as obviating the need to learn new music, this 'enabled songbook editors to produce their

<sup>9</sup> Annual reports of UK Band of Hope Union, 1893, pp. 10; 1913–14, p. 18.



books as small, inexpensive, pocket-size chapbooks'. This leads her to draw the conclusion that 'Band of Hope hymn- and songbook writers were just that: writers of texts, not composers, and almost all songbooks of my study give words only' (Clapp-Itnyre 2015, p. 100).

However, there was a much wider variety of songbooks – and Band of Hope composers, as well as writers. One of the books which Clapp-Itnyre uses is by William Hoyle (his 1863 *Temperance Offering: One Hundred and Twenty Melodies for Bands of Hope*) and, as this title suggests, Hoyle not only collected and wrote lyrics but wrote and arranged music – in addition to training and conducting choirs. He published many collections, such as the *Band of Hope Choir Book* (tonic sol-fa edition) of 1868, but the one for which he became best known was *Hymns and Songs for Bands of Hope*, first published in 1869 and reprinted in many large editions until at least 1910. There was a choice of format; the penny-halfpenny, regular, version came without music, but a separate *Hoyle's Music Book* was advertised, containing four-part music to complement the cheaper lyrics-only songbooks – in tonic sol-fa or 'old notation'.<sup>10</sup> There were several editions with words and music; the author possesses one featuring 275 songs (undated but printed after January 1887) which gives full traditional notation, but Hoyle more usually preferred to give both notations (see below). Where the music is not by Hoyle himself, he is usually credited with the harmony, or arrangement. He was a much-lauded choral director, and the songbook quotes a tribute from the national Union:

For the past quarter of a century Mr. Hoyle has been conspicuous for his unremitting labours, and his musical and literary abilities have been of immense value to the spread of the movement. The Lancashire and Cheshire Union has held thirty-two great Festivals in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, and on each occasion Mr. Hoyle has not only trained the choir, but has also written the words and composed the music of many of the brightest and best of the pieces. In like manner ... we have ourselves been greatly indebted to Mr. Hoyle, in making up the programmes for the great Temperance Concerts at the Crystal Palace, for some of the most popular and taking pieces have come from his pen.<sup>11</sup>

As well as such dedicated songbooks, more ephemeral or smaller publications were successful in getting songs into the hands of thousands of potential singers. Curwen issued a series of monthly *Temperance Music* leaflets, both as conductor's specimen copies and for general use at one shilling per hundred, eightpence for 50, or a halfpenny for a single copy (these are undated, but were advertised in Curwen's *Tonic Sol-Fa Reporter* in the 1870s) (McGuire 2006, p. 123). These contained music in both notations, and as they were issued monthly may illustrate a more direct response to the market imperative and public taste, in that more topicality was possible, and unpopular types of song would not be repeated. An analysis of the surviving leaflets bound in a series in the British Library reveals over three times as many songs with martial lyrics and tunes as those devoted to the benefits of water, with these two largest categories confirming the findings of Clapp-Itnyre's study. However, there are significant differences. Topicality is seen in a category of song which might be called 'Policy', with very specific references to current legislative battles about licensing in number 14 'Vote It Out! (Permissive Bill Song)', and number 94 'Give your votes for Local Options'. And number 180 'Oh! A song for the flag of Prohibition', and number 186 'Launched on the

<sup>10</sup> Advertisement, *Publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union*, undated but bound in endpapers of 1882 annual copy of *Onward* (n.p.).

<sup>11</sup> *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, January 1887.

wave' refer to the debate about the introduction of prohibition in the 1880s (Anon. 1882–9; Yeomans 2014, pp. 70–1).

## Music in periodicals

Another important forum for the publication of topical songs, and indeed songs more generally, was temperance periodicals. Initially songs were rare, appearing perhaps only once or twice a year, and usually lyrics only were printed, with a suggested tune or 'Air'. An examination of some of the earliest publications shows that many did not feature songs, but some, such as *Livesey's Moral Reformer* (January 1838 – February 1839), and *The Star of Temperance* (1835–7) did do so occasionally. In early temperance magazines for children, songs and hymns feature more regularly in such examples as *The Temperance Intelligencer and Sabbath School Journal* (Vol. 1, 1836–7) although again, without music. But the growth of singing in the movement, and the Band of Hope in particular, gave rise to several magazines which printed songs with music in almost every issue. Songs were printed increasingly in some magazines for adults – usually occasionally, but sometimes regularly, for example in *The Methodist Temperance Magazine* (1868–89) until 1880, or *The National Temperance Mirror* (1881–1904) until 1892. But it was in magazines for children, or adults working with them, that much of the distribution of songs took place – and such publications were largely produced by the Band of Hope, just as it was in their weekly meetings that the groundwork was laid for the magnificent spectacles of public concerts referred to above.

William Hoyle, referred to above, played a huge part in the history of music in children's temperance periodicals. Many of the songs he composed or collected were reprinted, but he was also the means of collecting, curating, and of course producing many more, as well as establishing music as a the regular menu item for readers. In his position as Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, he took on the editorship of their monthly magazine *Onward* at its inception, aiming, as he said in the Introduction to the first issue in July 1865, to make it a lively read 'by providing for our children interesting tales, anecdotes, and facts, with original and select songs, music, and recitations' (p. 1). In the third issue, as well as contributing an original Lancashire dialect recitation for the children (a deliberately populist inclusion which mirrored the magazine's mission), he wrote an article on 'Music in Bands of Hope', the first of many such, and printed two songs, 'The Better Land' and 'The Fatal Glass'. From the fourth issue at least one song was printed with conventional musical notation in each issue, but increasingly tonic sol-fa was also given, sometimes in the next issue, citing reader request; from 1867 songs appear with both systems arranged for four-part singing (Figure 2), as well as accompaniment in some cases, in every issue until August 1906.

After handing on the editorial chair in 1867, Hoyle continued to write articles and compose or arrange songs for *Onward* regularly for over 20 years.<sup>12</sup> He also founded *The Band of Hope Treasury* (1869–1917), a smaller magazine, in which there

<sup>12</sup> Research on Hoyle is made difficult by confusion with another William Hoyle, nationally active in the temperance movement at the same period and also based in the Manchester area: most sources conflate the two, but as the musician continued to practise after the other Hoyle had died in 1886, this is incorrect. The musical Hoyle even had to deny reports of his death at the period. His songs continued to be printed, and the author has found articles by Hoyle presented as current at least until 1888.



Fig. 2 – BW online, B/W in print

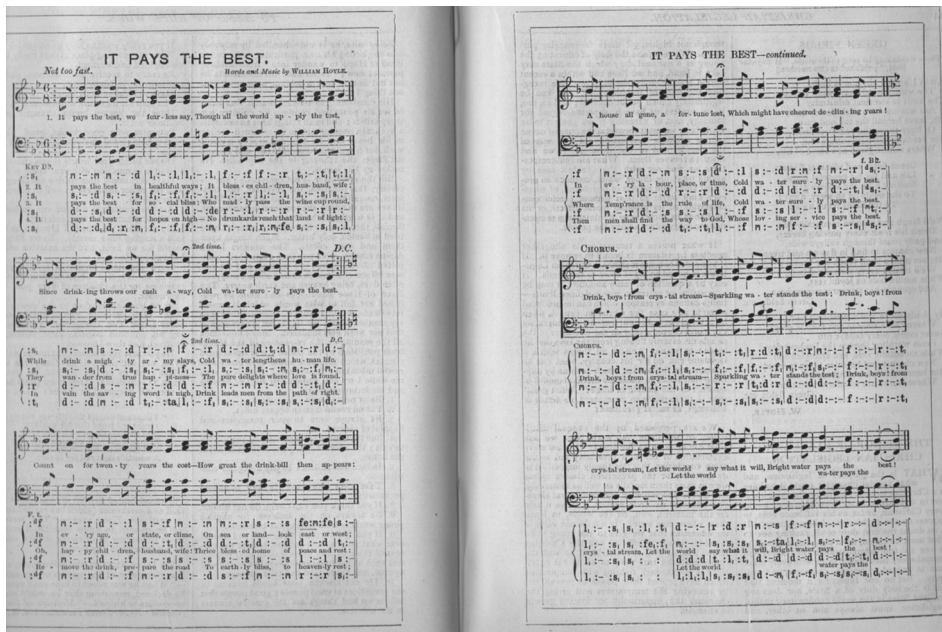


Figure 2. William Hoyle. 1882. 'It Pays the Best', *Onward*, May, pp. 72–3, showing both notations.

was at least one song with music notation in both forms each month, often with other song lyrics. Other children's temperance magazines, such as *The Adviser* (1849–1900), printed songs regularly with tonic sol-fa music from 1870. The considerable and continual demand for new songs for children was also met in the pages of magazines for volunteers who worked with Band of Hope children, such as the *Band of Hope Chronicle* (1878–1983, with breaks) and the *Temperance Worker and Reciter* (1882–1901) in which songs with both forms of notation appeared regularly, and in every issue at certain periods. Many songs presented for children's use were, of course, also suitable for adult performance, and Clapp-McIntyre (2015) talks of songs passing between age groups in this way.

## Onward: a case study

However, *Onward* offers perhaps the best case study to gain more detailed information about the publication of songs for young readers, as a stablemate of Hoyle's many musical works in the publishing powerhouse which was the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union.<sup>13</sup> What can be considered *Onward's* main song was always printed in the centre pages of the magazine from 1866, for easy detaching and use in other contexts, and other Band of Hope material shows that these songs were used in meetings, in children's competitions, in public events such as processions and entertainments, and in large and small choral concerts. A study of the entire 44-year run throws much light on the distribution and circulation of songs in

<sup>13</sup> On this influential Union, see McAllister (2011), and on *Onward*, see McAllister (2015).

the temperance movement. For example, songs are sometimes, although rarely, repeated, for what one might consider a later children's generation, such as 'Keep the Temperance Banner Waving' in January 1885 and October 1898, or 'No Surrender!', first printed in May 1881, which resurfaces in November 1896 and November 1903. Songs can carry on a dialogic relationship, as with 'Come Home, Father' in April 1867 and an answering song set as a continuation of the story, 'The Father's Resolve' in February 1868. By the early years of the 20th century the temperance movement was still at its zenith, but the fading out of song from the pages of *Onward* in 1906 suggests that singing seems to have become less of a feature of activities, and indeed there are fewer reports of concerts. Many of the songs have not been found by the present author in any other printed format, and therefore appear original, possibly written or adapted for the magazine, and many appear to be composed by William Hoyle. But the situation is, inevitably, more complex, and many apparent repetitions are adaptations, and many actual repetitions may be concealed.

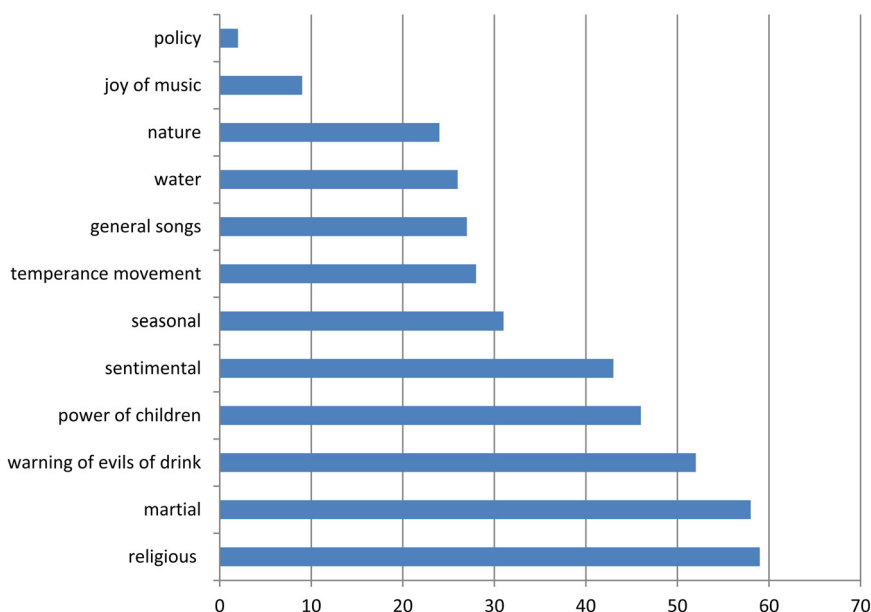
An examination of, arguably, the most famous temperance song of all shows the multiple incarnations and changes of title, viewpoint and plot which can bedevil the tracing of a popular song. The song which has become popularly referred to as 'Father, Dear Father Come Home' was originally composed by Henry Clay Work and apparently first printed in New York in 1864 (Work 1884). However, it had been performed under the title of 'Little Mary's Song', as part of the temperance melodrama *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* by W.W. Pratt from 1858 onwards, which was itself an adaptation of the story of the same name by Timothy Shay Arthur, published in 1854 (Frick 2003, p. 69). It was printed in *Onward* in April 1867 as 'Come Home, Father!' and features a child pleading with her father to return home, where 'our fire has gone out, the 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.' Each verse is marked by the striking of the clock, from one to three, both in the lyrics and accompaniment, which lends a sense of the playing out of an inevitable ending and what J.S. Bratton calls 'progressively heart-rending urgency' (Bratton 1975, p. 146). By the stroke of three Benny has died, but the child still fruitlessly begs her father to come home. It is a very sentimental song in both its lyrics and music, but did not represent an unknown situation to many poor families in the 19th century urban districts from which *Onward's* readers came, and if the song is not performed cynically it still has the power to move listeners.<sup>14</sup> Bratton traces many songs which were clearly offshoots with differing titles, such as 'I Want to Kiss Papa Goodnight' or taking up the story at differing points or with different endings, such as 'Oh papa don't go out tonight' or 'Father has come home', and further songs in which the causes of distress are more general rather than solely drink related (Bratton 1975, pp. 146–7). Such appropriations provide 'interesting examples of the way in which the specifically Temperance writing and inspiration was sometimes, when it used genuine popular themes, reabsorbed into the mainstream of popular poetry' (Bratton 1975, p. 146). Indeed, this song lives on in popular memory as a metonym for Victorian parlour ballads, even when only a version of the title is recalled.

<sup>14</sup> The author has performed this song in public several times and observed audience reactions. Unfortunately it is hard to find a 'straight' performance on, for example, Youtube.

Although there are of course many religious references or allusions in songs in *Onward*, as well as hymns, there is not an overwhelming proportion of solely religious compositions. This may surprise modern readers, but as early as the 1850s Joseph Livesey had separated temperance songs to be sung in meetings and at social events from hymns, as such: 'As much as possible the singing should be considered a medium for instruction, excitement, and amusement, and not as worship, for I consider this too sacred to introduce into an ordinary temperance meeting' (Livesey, 1852, p. 49). In fact, hymns and songs were later often mixed in temperance music and were not seen as exclusive areas, as Clapp-Itnyre notes, but *Onward's* mission to provide a lively, readable and useful publication was undoubtedly a factor in the lack of religious dominance. Studies of temperance songs in the USA have found a predominance of religion, but also many compositions seeking to expose the perils of drink, often with lurid or heart-rending examples, and this was also the case in the pages of *Onward* (Ewing 1977; Sanders 2006). Advice to avoid drink was plentiful in songs, and the example given at the beginning of this article illustrates that drinkers were to be avoided as well as pitied. Water was of course the recommended alternative, and featured frequently in the magazine's songs, as we might expect. Ewing (1977, p. 166) dryly remarks, 'Water in the temperance verse differs little from the water of romantic poetry in general except that there is more of it'. But an analysis of song topic categories over the 41 years in which *Onward* printed songs every month reveals the predominance of another topic also noted in US songs – the martial aspect which seeks to inspire listeners or singers to social action – and children to act as agents for change, in particular. Alcohol was seen as a gigantic foe, responsible for most of society's problems, resulting in many songs from 'Wake Up John Bull!' of July 1868 to 'Freedom's Land' of May 1902, showing concern for national improvement as well as compassion for others in a category that can be termed 'social amelioration'. More downright opposition to drink, and warnings against it, feature strongly, ranging from exhortations, 'Touch Not the Drink!' in August 1895, to tragic case studies, such as 'Father's A Drunkard!' of June 1887. But many of the songs were rousing calls to action and confirmation of the importance of the battle in which the children were seen as engaged. As well as celebration of the forces of the temperance movement, and the power of children, the very title of the magazine often featured as an inspiring command in songs such as 'Onward! Onward!' in June 1868, 'Onward! Still Onward!' in June 1875, or 'March Onward, Temperance Men!' in March, 1899. Action was for the national good as well as at the personal level, and the focus on policy seen in some songs in Curwin's *Temperance Music* leaflets is illustrated by Hoyle's 'Stop the Drinking Trade' which *Onward* printed in March 1885. Given the prevailing cultural climate and the links of many Bands of Hope to Sunday schools, it is not, of course, surprising to see many songs which are primarily religious in nature, or hymns, and the rest of the magazine reveals a similar tenor. Figure 3 shows the results by proportion of all songs, and although 'religious' is the highest category, it is greatly outnumbered in the total reading experience by the songs warning of the problems associated with drink, stressing children's agency, calling for social amelioration, and of course inspiring singers and hearers to the martial fight.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> My categories have been informed by the work of Ewing, but McIntyre's recent work also confirms these.

Fig. 3 - Colour online, B/W in print

Figure 3. Content of songs printed in *Onward*, 1865–1906.

### ‘Onward! Still onward!’

This study has explored the ways in which song formed a key part of the UK temperance movement, but also, more widely, the importance of temperance songs to social and cultural history. As interest in and study of this movement grows, a recuperation of its songs should receive corresponding attention. Songs offer not only an interesting and accessible pathway to past attitudes to drinking and not-drinking, but also illustrate nuances and collocations of concepts, and even persist as powerful objects to which strong beliefs adhere. This affective dimension, while not discussed here, is a particularly rich field for exploration. Their sheer number, moreover, demands attention, if only on the principle advanced by Sigmund Spaeth that ‘At their worst, however, our popular songs represent beliefs and emotions that are shared by the great majority of people’ (Spaeth 1948, p. 8). However, the huge *corpus* of temperance songs has further, and stronger, claims to importance. Rather than viewing temperance songs as hackneyed re-uses of popular tunes, or raiding their lyrics for neat phrases, we surely need to see them as a valid field of study in their own right. Such a study has much to teach us about music’s place in the social and political cultures of the 19th and 20th centuries, the interrelationship of music, ideas and beliefs, and its interrelationship with other forms of social activity. This has potential to contribute to our understanding of music history, as well as social history. Alcohol, as the present volume shows, is closely intertwined with musical expression in diverse and complex ways, as well as being a continuing focus for public debate. If we seek to understand past – and present – attitudes to alcohol, music and society, we could certainly benefit from examining temperance songs.

## Acknowledgements

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# ‘Pardon me, I’m very drunk’: alcohol, creativity and performance anxiety in the case of Robert Wyatt

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## Abstract

*Robert Wyatt's relationship with alcohol is multifaceted. He acknowledges its deleterious effect on aspects of his personal life, most notably on his relationship with wife and creative partner Alfreda Benge, and he has been teetotal since attending Alcoholics Anonymous in 2007–8. In professional terms, however, Wyatt continues to view alcohol positively: as a means to overcome anxiety as a performer and recording artist and as an aid to writing. From this perspective, the fact that Wyatt has not released a solo album since sobering up may be more than mere coincidence. This paper aims to answer two questions. First, what is the evidence that alcohol can reduce anxiety for a performer and recording artist, and increase creativity for a songwriter? Secondly, what is the evidence that this is so in Wyatt's specific case? In answering these questions, the author will draw on secondary research, as well as interviews conducted with Wyatt and various associated musicians and family members between 2008 and 2013.*

## Introduction

Born in 1945, Robert Wyatt came to prominence in the 1960s as drummer and vocalist with Soft Machine – contemporaries of Syd Barrett-era Pink Floyd who toured America with the Jimi Hendrix Experience and became the first rock act to perform at the BBC Proms in London. An accident in 1973, which left him paraplegic, marked the start of Wyatt's solo career (although he had one prior solo release, 1970's *End of an Ear*). This solo career ‘proper’ began with the highly regarded *Rock Bottom* album (1974), and went on to include the Mercury-nominated *Cuckooland* album (2003) as well as two top 40 singles (‘I’m A Believer’ and ‘Shipbuilding’).

Wyatt's career is unusual in a number of ways. He appeared in a wheelchair on Top of the Pops as early as 1974, a time when this was considered controversial (O’Dair 2014, p. 220). He has collaborated with a wide range of musicians, among them Brian Eno, Björk, Hot Chip, David Gilmour, Paul Weller, Jerry Dammers, Evan Parker and Charlie Haden. He is closely associated with far-left politics, and for much of the 1980s was a member of Communist Party of Great Britain. Also unusually, given his milieu, Wyatt says he never took drugs (Wyatt 2009a) but did

at times rely heavily on alcohol – not only for recreation but also, by his own account, as a creative crutch. Not only is Wyatt willing to talk about his drinking, and its impact at various stages of his 50-year career, but he also continues to regard alcohol as having enhanced his creativity, even now he is teetotal. Wyatt, then, makes for an illuminating case study in terms of the relationship between alcohol and creativity – albeit, like any individual case study, one that is illustrative only.

As an adolescent, Wyatt had not been a particularly enthusiastic drinker: 'I'd been actually against alcohol as a younger person. I'd hated it seeing old school friends, who'd been perfectly coherent, coming up all beery and leery and cross-eyed' (Wyatt 2010). Yet when Soft Machine toured the USA in support of the Jimi Hendrix Experience in 1968, Wyatt began, by his own account, to drink in 'phenomenal' quantities (Wyatt 2010). He had periods of relative abstinence, including a winter in Spain in 1982–3 (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b), but by 2007 the drinking had become 'impossibly bad' (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b). Wyatt recalls 'waking up in the morning and only thinking about how long it was until the off licenses were open. ... There were vodka bottles poked into bookshelves and things like that. It's dreadful. I mean, I was absolutely trapped' (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b). He attended Alcoholics Anonymous in 2007–8 and, following nine relapses (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b), has been teetotal ever since.

Wyatt admits his behaviour has improved since sobering up: 'Alfie [wife and creative partner Alfreda Bengé] has noticed a marked improvement, a reduction in embarrassing moments socially' (Wyatt 2009a). Yet his attitude towards alcohol is ambiguous. Wyatt concedes, for instance, that his drinking exacerbated the splits within Soft Machine and probably hastened his departure from that band (Wyatt 2010). Wyatt also admits that the drinking, at least at its peak around 2007, took place 'at great cost' to his relationship with Bengé (Wyatt 2009a). Yet he insists that he remembers his drinking days 'fondly' (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b). Overall, he says, 'despite all my regrets, it would be dishonest to say I wish I never had any [alcohol], because I liked some of the nice moments' (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b).

Some of the same ambiguity can be detected in Wyatt's lyrics. On Matching Mole's *Little Red Record*, alcohol is portrayed as a means of inspiring cheeky irreverence ('pardon me I'm very drunk', 'God Song') and overcoming political differences ('Starting in the Middle of the Day We Can Drink Our Politics Away'). Yet on 'Just As You Are', from *Comicoopera*, alcohol is portrayed in a much more negative light, responsible for destroying trust within a relationship: 'It's that look in your eyes / telling me lies / So many promises broken' (Bengé and Wyatt 2007).<sup>1</sup>

If Wyatt's attitude to the effect of alcohol in social and domestic terms can be understood as ambivalent, however, the same is not true of his belief in its creative potential. Wyatt speaks positively of 'the confidence, the chutzpah you get from alcohol' (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b) as an aid to both performing – onstage and in the studio – and writing music:

It gave me that thing that makes alcoholics so tiresome. This egomaniacal narcissism. Unfortunately, it's what I find I have to feel in order to be bothered to make music. I have to think that the next note really matters, and that nothing else matters. It doesn't matter if I don't eat properly, if I bugger up a relationship. I've got to get the next tune right.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps significantly, Wyatt co-wrote the song with Bengé, and its composition coincided with his period of heaviest drinking (Wyatt and Bengé 2010a).

Objectively, intellectually, you know this is tosh. But subjectively, that's the only way I can get the fuel hot enough to write a song. (Wyatt 2009b)

There is evidence that might support Wyatt's claim for the positive impact of alcohol on his musical output. Below, I look first at the effect of alcohol on performance anxiety and then at the possible link between alcohol and creativity in relation to songwriting. I will follow Feist (2010) in understanding creative thought and behaviour as both novel/original and useful/adaptive (Feist 2010, p. 114). Originality *per se*, as Feist suggests, cannot be sufficient, or there would be no way to distinguish eccentric thought from creative; creativity must also be 'useful', therefore, but that usefulness can be purely intellectual or aesthetic. Csikszentmihalyi<sup>2</sup> (1997/2013), similarly, is clear that 'creativity with a capital C' – the kind that changes some aspect of the culture – is never only in the mind of a person; instead, the creative idea must be couched in terms that are understandable to others, it must pass muster with the experts in the field and it must be included in the cultural domain to which it belongs (Csikszentmihalyi 1997/2013, p. 27). In other words, it requires not only a person who brings novelty into a domain but also a culture with symbolic rules and a field of experts who recognise and validate the innovation (Csikszentmihalyi 1997/2013, p. 6).

There has been wide coverage of the link between intoxicating substances and creativity (Berlin *et al.* 1955; Barron 1965; Harman *et al.* 1966; Zegans *et al.* 1967; Krippner 1972; Dobkin de Rios and Janiger 2003; Carter *et al.* 2005; Sessa 2008), but this paper will focus specifically on alcohol, Wyatt's chosen intoxicant – and one that may be underestimated both in folklore and the literature in comparison to drugs. I conclude that alcohol may help at least certain stages of the creative process, in part by promoting a more diffuse attentional state, and also help in overcoming performance anxiety – even if this may, to an extent, be a placebo effect. I will then explore how such findings might apply in the specific case of Wyatt. Not least since a control experiment is hardly possible, I do not set out to 'prove' whether alcohol helped or hindered Wyatt's creative process, either as a performer or as a songwriter. My intention, rather, is to examine how Wyatt's stated perceptions of the effect of alcohol relate to the academic literature. I adopt a biographical approach based on access to Wyatt and figures associated with him, using interviews conducted when researching my authorised biography (O'Dair 2014).

## Performance anxiety and the effect of alcohol

Performance anxiety, a term often used interchangeably with 'stage fright' (Brodsky 1996), is an exaggerated, often incapacitating fear of performing in public, best understood as a form of social phobia (Wilson and Roland 2002). Sufferers are prone to anxiety in more general terms (Wilson and Roland 2002), in particular to anxiety linked to crowds and social situations (Steptoe and Fidler 1987). Performance anxiety is linked to perfectionism (Wilson and Roland 2002; Kenny 2011) and to what Steptoe and Fidler (1987) call 'catastrophising' – the anticipation of a disastrous outcome. The occurrence of performance anxiety among musicians

<sup>2</sup> Csikszentmihalyi (1997/2013, p. 7) defines creativity as 'a process by which a symbolic domain in the culture is changed' – and 'new songs' is one of the examples he provides.

is high (Wesner *et al.* 1990; Wilson and Roland 2002); it affects popular as well as classical musicians and is not limited to those near the beginning of their careers (Kenny 2011). Since some degree of stress and tension is necessary for an effective musical performance, performance anxiety may to some extent be facilitating, or 'adaptive' (Wolfe 1989). However, it can also be debilitating, or 'maladaptive', since symptoms – increased heart rate, sweating and dry mouth (Goode 2004) – can make singing or playing a musical instrument more difficult.

Alcohol and substance use disorders are highly comorbid – that is, they commonly co-occur – with performance anxiety (Kelly and Saveanu 2005; Morris *et al.* 2005), as many performers attempt self-treatment with anxiety-reducing drugs including alcohol (Wills and Cooper 1988). Some suggest that alcohol may deserve its reputation as a source of 'Dutch courage' – although such an effect may be psychological as well as pharmacological. In a study of 61 individuals with social phobia, for instance, Abrams *et al.* (2001) found that participants given an alcoholic drink experienced a reduction in performance anxiety when faced with a public-speaking task. Interestingly, a placebo group who *thought* they had been given alcohol also experienced a reduction in anxiety, albeit less marked than for those who had actually consumed an alcoholic drink. Abrams *et al.* (2001, p. 219) concluded 'that the pharmacologic effects of alcohol and the belief that one consumed alcohol decrease social performance anxiety in an additive fashion'.

A broadly similar study by Himle *et al.* (1999), featuring 40 participants who suffered from social phobia, found no significant differences in anxiety between alcohol and placebo groups. Here too, however, the *belief* that one had received alcohol was significantly related to levels of subjective anxiety and negative cognitions. Alcohol, they concluded, does not directly reduce social phobic anxiety – yet the belief that an individual has drunk alcohol may achieve precisely that effect. This, suggests Kenny (2011, p. 224), may be because the person who believes he or she has consumed alcohol might be able to 'externalise' the reasons for a poor performance, blaming it on alcohol rather than any personal shortcoming. One recurrent feature in the research, then, is a belief that alcohol has an effect on performance anxiety.

## Alcohol and creativity

The list of creative people who were heavy drinkers is lengthy (Ludwig 1990; Beveridge and Yorston 1999; Smith *et al.* 2009; Jarosz *et al.* 2012). Yet this correlation might, of course, simply reflect the bohemian lifestyle of artists; apart from anything else, drinking may not take place during the creative process but following it, as a 'reward' (Beveridge and Yorston 1999).

Certainly, Bowden-Jones and Brown (2013, p. 491) are unequivocal: the use of drugs and alcohol at work has a negative impact on productivity as well as the quality of work produced. Some of those who have specifically researched the effect of alcohol on creativity have reached similar conclusions. Gustafson (1991) found that alcohol reduces creative fluency; Plucker and Dana (1999) conclude that alcohol has at best no effect on creativity and at worst a negative effect. Beveridge and Yorston (1999) state that most artists who have experimented with creating while under the influence of alcohol have found that it hinders rather than aids the artistic process.

Other researchers, however, have published at least partially contrasting findings. Roe (1946) suggests that alcohol might play an indirect stimulating or

inspirational role in creativity. Nash (1962) found that smaller doses of alcohol tended to facilitate mental associations, while larger doses tended to have mostly detrimental effects. Hajcak (1976) found that drinking led to greater originality, but diminished fluency and creative problem-solving ability. Testing fluency in course-divergent problem solving, Koski-Jännes (1985) found that a moderate dose of alcohol could result in a greater number of solutions but that the level of these deteriorated under the influence of alcohol.

More recent studies have produced similarly mixed results. Ludwig (1990, p. 953) found that alcohol tended to have a detrimental effect on creative activity – but not for all expressions of creative output. Although ‘alcohol use proved detrimental in over 75% of the sample ... it appeared to provide direct benefit for about 9% of the sample, indirect benefit for 50% and no appreciable effect for 40% at different times in their lives’.

In terms of *how* alcohol might enhance creativity, Ludwig suggests it could facilitate the creative process or remove ‘roadblocks or impediments to creativity’, for instance depression (Ludwig, 1990, p. 961). Jarosz *et al.* (2012), meanwhile, suggest that moderate alcohol intoxication could improve performance in a creative problem-solving task, perhaps because a reduced ability to control one’s attention can have positive implications for certain cognitive tasks, creative problem-solving tasks among them. Drawing on the work of Guilford (1968), Jarosz and his colleagues note that, unlike analytical problem solving, creative problem solving tends to be characterised by divergent (as opposed to convergent) thinking. Moderate alcohol intoxication, they found, could improve performance on a creative problem-solving task by creating a more diffuse attentional state. Sayette *et al.* (2009) also suggest that a moderate dose of alcohol can increase the frequency of mind wandering, i.e. produce a more diffuse attentional state.

With the exception of Ludwig, whose study includes composers and performers as well as writers and artists, it is notable that none of these studies deals specifically with musical creativity – and many scholars now regard creativity as domain specific, with music qualifying as one such domain (Simonton 2010, p. 175). Yet though they might not use the term itself, many songwriters<sup>3</sup> state that they require a diffuse attentional state to write, even if they do not necessarily turn to alcohol to achieve it.

Perhaps the most illuminating research into alcohol and creativity has been carried out by Norlander and Gustafson, whose work draws on the notion put forward by Wallas (1926/2014) that the creative process occurs in four stages: preparation (defining a problem), incubation (taking time away from the problem, at least consciously), illumination (the ‘lightbulb moment’), and verification (putting the idea to the test). The linearity of Wallas’ model has been called into question; today, we might understand the creative process as more recursive. Yet Norlander and Gustafson have used Wallas’ model as the basis for a series of detailed experiments, modifying it slightly with the addition of a fifth stage: restitution (rest and recuperation). In their results, they drew on psychoanalysis to distinguish between primary processes, based on unconscious instinct, and secondary processes, associated with preconscious and conscious logic. Norlander and Gustafson concluded that a

<sup>3</sup> To take only three examples, Paul Simon (Zollo 2003, pp. 97–8), Neil Young (Zollo 2003, p. 354) and David Crosby (Zollo 2003, p. 373).



moderate intake of alcohol obstructs those phases of creativity that are mainly based on the secondary process (preparation, parts of illumination, verification) but facilitates those phases mainly based on the primary process (incubation, other parts of illumination, restitution).<sup>4</sup> This is their 'hypothesis regarding the influences of alcohol on the creative process' (Norlander and Gustafson 1998, p. 273).

Such a hypothesis, which is supported by the earlier findings of Kalin *et al.* (1965), would appear to resonate with the findings of Jarosz and colleagues: the primary processes are the ones that benefit from a more diffuse attentional state. (Not coincidentally, the incubation stage of the creative process, which Norlander and Gustafson (1996) suggest may be enhanced by alcohol consumption, takes place when one is *not* focusing on the creative act.) In discussing the specific case of Wyatt, I will draw on this suggestion that songwriting may benefit from a diffuse attentional state, and that certain phases of the creative process may benefit from alcohol while others do not. I will draw too on the notion that, as with the effect of alcohol on performance anxiety, any benefit that alcohol might have on creativity is not necessarily pharmacological. Lang *et al.* (1984) found that creativity was not significantly affected by alcohol consumption, but that those individuals who *believed* they had received alcohol gave significantly more positive evaluations of their creative performance – regardless of whether or not alcohol had actually been consumed. Our natural tendency, they suggest, may be to apply more lenient standards when evaluating our creativity after we believe we have been drinking; as with 'externalising' the reasons for a poor performance, there is perhaps less obligation to defend work created while intoxicated as indicative of our 'true' ability (Lang *et al.* 1984, p. 399).

## Performing and recording

In *Soft Machine*, Wyatt was a flamboyant performer who often dispensed with his shirt onstage. Yet he was and remains deeply anxious and prone to self-doubt – 'a bundle of fear and worry' (Wyatt and Benge 2010c). Aside from a general propensity towards anxiety, Wyatt had other traits that we might associate with performance anxiety. He was a perfectionist, known to burst into tears if a performance went badly (Bennett 2005, p. 176). He was also prone to 'catastrophising' (Steptoe and Fidler 1987): 'I thought it would be a disaster, quite frankly', he says of his only high-profile solo concert, which took place at Drury Lane, London, in 1974. 'I just thought, "I can't do this, it's going to be ridiculous. Just get it over with."' (Wyatt 2009c).

As a band member, Wyatt performed regularly and with ebullience; as a solo artist, however, he has not performed a headline show since Drury Lane. His retirement from the stage only approximately coincided with his paraplegia: there were a few guest appearances, as well as that Drury Lane show and a small Mal Dean benefit performance at the ICA in 1974 (King 1994). Certainly, logistical challenges related to his paraplegia were a factor in Wyatt's retirement from the stage, coming to a head when performing in Italy with Henry Cow in 1975 (O'Dair 2014, p. 225). Wyatt's

<sup>4</sup> The reason for the ambiguity with regard to the illumination stage is that the alcohol group in that experiment scored lower on flexibility compared to the placebo group but higher on originality (Norlander and Gustafson 1998, p. 265). The illumination phase, Norlander and Gustafson suggest, features both primary and secondary process activity.



performance anxiety and his paraplegia may be linked: 1970's *End of an Ear* album notwithstanding, paraplegia signalled the 'true' start of Wyatt's solo career, and the shift from band member to solo artist placed him under considerable additional pressure. Wilson and Roland (2002) depict the relationship between performance anxiety and number of co-performers as a steeply declining curve. As far as it is possible to separate the two, however, Wyatt insists that it is performance anxiety rather than paraplegia that keeps him from the stage today:

I see a line of people outside, and they've all combed their hair and bought tickets, and I've got to entertain them for that evening. I just feel so awful. I think: 'I'm so sorry, I don't know if I can do it tonight.' I just feel the responsibility is appalling. (BBC Radio 4 2010)

Wyatt's drinking may be understood in part as an attempt to overcome this anxiety. Wyatt certainly sees it in such terms: 'Getting on stage in front of 5,000 impatient Texans waiting for Hendrix to come on, you do need a drink', he says of performing in America with Soft Machine in 1968. 'I don't know how else you'd get on stage' (Wyatt 2009b). Clearly, however, alcohol was not entirely successful in overcoming performance anxiety, in that Wyatt stopped performing long before he became teetotal. Back in Soft Machine, however, Wyatt took a key role in the band's lengthy improvisations – a tune that lasts on record for 4 minutes might, in performance, have lasted up to an hour (O'Dair 2014, p. 74) – and contributed virtuoso drumming, often in compound time signatures, and wordless vocal improvisations (O'Dair 2014, p. 124). Wyatt can be understood, then, as having been a highly *creative* performer, in that his singing and drumming were both novel/original and useful/adaptive (Feist 2010).<sup>5</sup> Indeed, his work with Soft Machine and perhaps Matching Mole could be classified in Csikszentmihalyi's (1997/2013) terms as 'creativity with a capital C': changing an aspect of culture; Wyatt's creativity as a performer was certainly recognised and validated by both critics and fellow musicians.

Although it does not quite fit with the Wilson and Roland (2002) definition of the term as an exaggerated fear of performing *in public*, performance anxiety can also be understood to have affected Wyatt's behaviour in the studio. The same catastrophising and the same perfectionism are evident as a recording musician. As he explains:

If a recording had collapsed, or I had a bit on a record that I couldn't change and didn't like, I just felt like I shouldn't have been born and then this would never have happened. I felt shame, utter shame. (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b)

Wyatt has dismissed his singing voice as 'Jimmy Somerville on valium' (Kopf 2011), and a 'wino's mutter' (Cumming 2003). Even longstanding collaborators such as John Greaves are not confident that requests for guest appearances will be accepted (O'Dair 2014, p. 312). In his desperation to avoid entering the studio, meanwhile, Wyatt has been known to call on other musicians such as Carla Bley to fulfil his obligations (O'Dair 2014, p. 239). Wyatt seems to have felt that alcohol helped him with this lack of self-confidence in the studio, just as he felt it helped him onstage: even as late as *Comicopera*, released in 2007, engineer Jamie Johnson recalls 'a bit of secret drinking, chucking stuff in tea'. Again, Johnson's impression is of drinking

<sup>5</sup> The same could be said of Wyatt's more recent, very rare guest appearances – whistling with Charlie Haden, for instance, at London's Royal Festival Hall in 2009.

as a creative crutch: his sense was of Wyatt 'needing it to do the performance' (Johnson 2013).

Even leaving aside its impact on his personal life, there was undoubtedly a downside to Wyatt's drinking to overcome performance anxiety, both onstage and in the studio. Brian Hopper – who for a period played saxophone with Soft Machine, and whose brother Hugh was for a significant period the band's bassist – recalls occasions on which Wyatt 'wasn't always performing up to his best' due to drink (Hopper 2010). 'In fact, he often was late getting on stage and this sort of thing. He just wasn't *there* all the time, properly' (Hopper 2010). As stated above, even Wyatt admits that his drinking hastened his exit from Soft Machine. This is in line with the suggestion by Kenny (2011) that, due to its impairing effects in both the short and longer term, alcohol may *compound* difficulties in coping – and is therefore, ultimately, an 'unhelpful' strategy (Kenny 2011, p. 54).

Solely in terms of reducing performance anxiety, however, the findings of Abrams *et al.* (2001) and Himle *et al.* (1999) support Wyatt's belief that alcohol was beneficial. From this perspective, whether or not this was a placebo effect is hardly relevant: as we have seen, the effect of alcohol on relieving performance anxiety is not necessarily pharmacological. Perhaps by allowing him to 'externalise' the reasons for a poor performance, alcohol can be seen to have relieved the acute pressure Wyatt felt as a performer and recording artist – in his own words, alcohol 'made you brave' (Wyatt 2009b).

## Alcohol-fuelled songwriting

As well as in performing and recording, Wyatt believes that alcohol was of assistance in writing songs – something that, by his own account, has never come easily:

I have acquaintances who have a visceral love of their craft and just can't wait to get stuck in every morning. I'm not one of those. I mean, I was as a drummer and I do a bit as a cornet player. But songwriting is such a strange activity and I find it a bit scary really, just inventing stuff out of nothing. I find it vertiginous and a bit scary. ... Whenever you start, it all seems just too fragile and flimsy. (Wyatt 2008)

Songwriting seems never to have come easily to Wyatt: he has likened his creative gestation period to that of an elephant – 18 months rather than nine (No author 2008). Rather than writing entire songs himself, he has often written lyrics to melodies by the likes of Hugh Hopper or composed music to lyrics by Benge; his two most commercially successful singles, 'I'm A Believer' and 'Shipbuilding' are both covers. In recent years, he has written using a process he calls 'karaoke cornet' – playing along to jazz records and developing his improvisations to a point at which he can 'let the undercarriage, the chassis, the chord sequence, go' (Wyatt 2008).

To some extent, alcohol might have helped Wyatt to write for the same reasons it helped to overcome performance anxiety: a fear of mistakes can be debilitating (Bohm 1996/2004, p. 5), certainly for a songwriter (Webb 1998, p. 21). Alcohol, as Wyatt says, made him brave. As a songwriter, however, there might have been an additional reason to drink alcohol – not only to overcome nerves, but to enhance creativity.<sup>6</sup> By his own account, Wyatt's use of alcohol in an attempt to assist

<sup>6</sup> This is not to imply that performance itself is not creative; indeed, the strong element of jazz and improvisation in Soft Machine, in particular around the albums *Third* (1970) and *Fourth* (1971), arguably made

songwriting increased with age. A pivotal track in this regard was 'Blues in Bob Minor' from 1997's *Shleep*: this was the point, according to Wyatt, when he really began to view alcohol as a creative crutch:

Alfie was away for a weekend, and I spent the entire weekend – apart from, I suppose, a bit of breakfast – on brandy, in the backyard, in sunny weather, writing 'Blues in Bob Minor'. It was pouring out of me. And I suddenly thought: 'In this state, I could do hundreds of blinding lyrics.' Suddenly I'd found a tap to turn on. (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b)

Although Wyatt has always been to an extent a cult artist, *Shleep* (1997) was in relative terms a commercial, as well as critical, success (Childs 2010). The same could be said of *Cuckooland* (2003), with its Mercury shortlisting, and *Comicipera* (2007), which *Uncut* magazine suggested was the best record Wyatt had ever made (Lewis 2007). Drinking to drown the inner critic might be implicated in this success, particularly for *Comicipera*:

I got in a panic that I was burnt out. My brain was no longer an Oxford Circus of ideas, it was more a little country village of ideas – in other words, there were some, but they were fewer, and pottering about at a slower pace. Just getting older. But this distressed me, because I didn't want to start making out-to-pastures type records. I wanted to regain the mad innocence and enthusiasm of youth, which is what brought us into it. And I found that drinking helped me do that. (Wyatt 2009a)

Ludwig (1990, p. 962) suggests the most objective way to test the validity of the claim that alcohol facilitates inspiration is to determine how well writers, artists, actors and composers function once they have stopped drinking. In that regard, the fact that Wyatt has not released an album of original material since becoming tee-total<sup>7</sup> might be seen to support his conviction that alcohol helped him regain 'the mad innocence and enthusiasm of youth'. That appears to be what Wyatt himself believes:

I just tried to write a tune the other day and I can't remember writing a tune sober ever before. I couldn't imagine normally even sitting down at a keyboard without the bottle of wine on the left hand side and the packet of fags on the right hand side, Fats Waller style. (Mulvey 2008/2015)

Correlation, of course, is not causation. But bearing in mind the placebo effect identified by Lang *et al.* (1984), it seems possible that alcohol helped Wyatt write simply because he *believed* it would do so – just as it may have done with recording and performing. It might also be that Wyatt falls within the 9 per cent identified by Ludwig (1990) for whom alcohol is of direct benefit – or at least for whom alcohol is useful in removing 'roadblocks' such as depression, a recurring feature of Wyatt's adult life. Certainly, the diffuse attentional state brought on by alcohol, identified by Sayette *et al.* (2009) and Jarosz *et al.* (2012), might be understood as promoting the divergent thinking Wyatt required to write music and lyrics.

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these performances more creative than most. Wyatt's recordings, similarly, display a creativity that is distinct from the writing process – not least in his numerous cover versions.

<sup>7</sup> *For the Ghosts Within*, released in 2010, was a trio record, recorded with Gilad Atzmon and Ros Stephen and credited to all three musicians; it featured no writing contribution from Wyatt himself.

Perhaps most useful in understanding Wyatt's use of alcohol as a songwriting tool is the 'hypothesis regarding the influences of alcohol on the creative process' developed by Gustafson and Norlander (1994, 1995) and Norlander and Gustafson (1997, 1998). This is the notion that alcohol obstructs certain stages of the creative process (preparation, certain parts of illumination, verification) while facilitating others (incubation, other parts of illumination, restitution).<sup>8</sup> The lyrics for 'Blues in Bob Minor', for instance, may have been composed while drunk yet they were edited in sobriety – crucial, according to Norlander and Gustafson's hypothesis, for a stage ('verification') associated with primary processes. By the time 'Out of the Blue' was released on 2007's *Comicopera*, a shift was evident. Similarly divergent thinking lay behind Wyatt's composition (of the music only, this time; Bengé wrote the lyrics). Indeed, it might be understood as one of Wyatt's most avant-garde pieces, and he himself admits it was 'extraordinary':

I had this track, in fact I was working on it in the front room when [keyboard player] Steve Lodder was coming round. ... Anyway, he heard it, and he said, Robert's doing something completely mad in there ... But I knew it was really strong. (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b)

By this stage, however, Wyatt had moved from what might be termed alcohol misuse to alcohol dependence – and had lost the ability to edit and refine once sober. So while alcohol might have facilitated the incubation stage and aspects of illumination stage, it could be understood as obstructing the verification stage of the creative process. Bengé, certainly, was alarmed to find herself suddenly responsible for quality control:

A lot of the time when Robert was drunk I think he wasn't doing things well enough. I was scared of him just being careless and just not thinking about the detail enough. By the skin of his teeth he scraped through it, but there were moments where I thought, 'What is he doing? This isn't going to work, it's going to rebound on him, and then he's going to be *really* destroyed.' So it was touch and go. (Wyatt and Bengé 2010a)

'Out of the Blue', Bengé states, is the track about which she was most concerned, and some critics agreed; in an otherwise positive review of the album, a journalist from *The Guardian* suggested the track would empty a pub (Adams 2007). In Feist's terms, we might regard the track as novel/original but not useful/adaptive. Yet the jarring notes of 'Out of the Blue' can also be understood as entirely appropriate for a song about the military bombing of a civilian home. And even now he has eschewed alcohol, Wyatt himself views the track as an artistic success:

Alfie was very suspicious of this [drinking while working on 'Out of the Blue'] because she thought that it must be all crap, because the only reason I thought it was good was because I was drunk. And I was certain she was wrong and I still am certain she was wrong. (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b)

Strictly in terms of the effect of alcohol on his creativity as a songwriter, then, the extent to which Wyatt needed to be sober for the verification stage of the creative process can be debated. There is clear evidence, however, that alcohol may have helped

<sup>8</sup> True, Norlander and Gustafson only investigated the effect of *moderate* amounts of alcohol on this stage. Yet both Bengé and Wyatt agree that, even around *Comicopera*, Wyatt was not consuming particularly large quantities of alcohol. 'It affects him so fast. It's the first drink ... He's drunk from the first teaspoon almost. The first glass, certainly' (Bengé 2011).

during the incubation and illumination stages. Interestingly, Wyatt's drinking during the restitution phase, identified by Norlander and Gustafson as one that may be assisted by alcohol, seems in Wyatt's case to have been disastrous: he continued drinking after *Comicoopera* until he was served an ultimatum by Bengé, at which point he agreed to attend AA.

## Conclusion

Elements of this article, derived from an officially approved biography, may seem uncritical and anecdotal. As Tom Perchard (2007, p. 119) notes, the historical biography is now viewed with suspicion by those who believe that the genre's literary emplotment and narrative demands can waylay the scholarly search for objective truth. Scholars, Perchard continues, have long shown 'disdain' towards the format (Perchard 2007, p. 120). Yet one clear advantage of the interview methodology, applicable to authorised biographies of living subjects, is access. Although widely interviewed, Wyatt has never spoken about his drinking in such detail, and neither have the other figures I have cited. This research could not, then, have been carried out from existing articles; the comments about relapses and periods of heavy drinking, for instance, derive from those interviews. That said, I have not relied solely on any individual account, even that of Wyatt himself; as far as possible I have sought corroboration from other sources. The interview material, then, is treated critically rather than being understood, simply, as 'truth' (Perchard 2007, p. 126).

I collected numerous accounts for the book, interviewing 75 people as well as conducting extensive archival research in the British Library and Wyatt's own cuttings archive. In this respect, my biography was unusual in not wholeheartedly adhering to the myth of the individual; instead, I aimed for the kind of 'polyphony' – that 'interplay of voices, of positional utterances' – that James Clifford (1986) once called for in ethnography. Thomas Swiss (2005, pp. 290–1) points out as a 'particular feature of most rock autobiographies' the fact that they are written collaboratively – often listing the musician's name first on the title page, then adding a 'with'. Yet authorised biographies are not, or not always, synonymous with these ghosted autobiographies, not least because rock musicians often become autobiographers in order to make a profit (Swiss 2005, p. 288), whereas Wyatt did not profit financially from my book (although it may, of course, have increased record sales). Swiss suggests another reason for rock musicians to write autobiographies: 'to seize narrative authority' (Swiss 2005, p. 288). Arguably this is more relevant to *Different Every Time*, my authorised biography, in that Wyatt did express some interest, in the early stages, in setting the record straight regarding his schooling (not, he says, as happy as is sometimes claimed) and his parents (who were not, he insists, as bohemian as is sometimes reported). Yet Wyatt also stated on more than one occasion that it was 'my' book, rather than his – at our very first interview, conducted for *The Independent* newspaper before I had conceived of a biography, Wyatt spoke of the importance of free speech to someone who 'still gets called a Stalinist' (Wyatt 2008) – and there are parts of the book with which he is uncomfortable.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that I have, at least, avoided hagiography.

<sup>9</sup> At one launch event (Wyatt and O'Dair 2014a), Wyatt agreed that having such a biography written was 'unnerving' experience, with 'an element of being on trial'; at another (Wyatt and O'Dair 2014b), he stated: 'It's not a book I would have written.'



Perchard<sup>10</sup> (2007, pp. 135–45) states that the eventual textualisation of history or biography gives its writer ultimate control, although he notes that the balance of power may be very different during the course of the research itself. For an authorised biography, the balance of power might be different for the eventual textualisation as well, although I was not aware of censorship from Wyatt or Bengé. They spoke openly of Wyatt's alcoholism, as well as his suicide attempts and points of tension within their relationship; regarding the 1973 accident that left him paraplegic, Wyatt simply says he was too drunk to remember the precise circumstances, and whether or not this is an evasion is impossible to say. That said, an author does not embark on a biography without some interest in the subject:

even biographers that resist the notion that the story they are telling has anything to do with them, and who put themselves in the narrative as little as possible, have to admit that their choice of subject has been made for a reason, and that there is no such thing as an entirely objective treatment. (Lee 2009, p. 12)

An element of self-censorship, then, cannot be discounted.

That Wyatt's drinking appears to have been detrimental in some respects should not be ignored. Alcohol was at least partially responsible for his accident in 1973 (Wyatt 2009b) and he admits that, once paraplegic, drinking 'played havoc with my condition' (Wyatt and Bengé 2010b). I have already noted that alcohol affected Wyatt's relationships with other musicians and, according to Brian Hopper, his professionalism. And, as Wyatt acknowledges, drinking nearly cost him his marriage. Whereas at one stage Wyatt seemed able to draw on alcohol only when he needed to, he lost that ability as he moved further into alcohol dependence. This, ultimately, made the drinking unsustainable.

It is important to acknowledge that a purported belief in the power of alcohol to enhance his creativity might simply have been an excuse for Wyatt's drinking. We might note that Wyatt was already at increased risk of alcohol problems, given that alcoholism has a substantial heritability (Enoch and Goldman 2001; Enoch 2013), and both Anderton (2011) and Bengé (2011) speak of alcohol problems on his mother's side of the family. According to Raeburn (1987a, 1987b), Wyatt's choice of profession also put him at increased risk: rock musicians, she suggests, use alcohol as a means of coping with occupational stresses such as financial uncertainty and the lifestyle demands associated with touring.

Although it is not possible to prove whether or not alcohol made Wyatt more creative, however, there is evidence in the literature to support Wyatt's belief that alcohol helped him to overcome performance anxiety and to enhance at least some stages of creativity. That these benefits might to some extent have been placebo effects is not to undermine alcohol's effectiveness in particular respects.

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# ‘Enough is Enough’: songs and messages about alcohol in remote Central Australia

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## Abstract

*This article examines some of the ways in which Australia’s First Peoples have responded to serious community health concerns about alcohol through the medium of popular music. The writing, performing and recording of popular songs about alcohol provide an important example of community-led responses to health issues, and the effectiveness of music in communicating stories and messages about alcohol has been recognised through various government-funded recording projects. This article describes some of these issues in remote Australian Aboriginal communities, exploring a number of complexities that arise through arts-based ‘instrumentalist’ approaches to social and health issues. It draws on the author’s own experience and collaborative work with Aboriginal musicians in Tennant Creek, a remote town in Australia’s Northern Territory.*

## Introduction

Following the highly controversial measures of the Northern Territory Emergency Response Bill (NTER) in 2007 – which involved a significant government-led intervention into public health and child safety issues in remote communities (D’Abbs 2010, 2012) – research has illustrated how the mainstream media continues to reinforce negative, racist and deficit-based images of Indigenous health in Australia (Stoneham *et al.* 2014). Such deficit-based images have come to define much public discourse about Australian Indigenous health, focused in particular around the role of alcohol consumption and restriction in remote communities. Despite these deficit-based discourses, some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities have approached such public health issues in highly productive and asset-based ways, drawing on the knowledge and strength of Elders and communities in developing specific Indigenous-led responses. Outside mainstream media discourses about Indigenous health, Australian Indigenous musicians have used the medium of popular music to reflect on community issues and concerns in an asset-based manner which encourages positive social and cultural change. These community-based responses to alcohol through music provide the focus of this paper: as demonstrated in the songs that I have learnt and performed during my creative work in the remote community of Tennant Creek, musicians use popular music

as an important response to the role of alcohol in the daily life of remote communities.<sup>1</sup>

### Australian Indigenous popular music

While anthropological and ethnomusicological research into Australian Indigenous music once focused narrowly on what were considered 'traditional' cultural forms and practices, more recent critical research has engaged with the influence of global popular culture on Australian Indigenous musicians and musical culture: this includes work that has charted the origins and distinctive features of Australian Indigenous popular music (Breen 1989); the important influence and development of Aboriginal country music represented through the stories of its performers (Walker 2000); and a range of work has situated Australian Indigenous popular music in terms of its origins, expressions of place, identity, post-colonialism and cultural tourism (Dunbar-Hall and Gibson 2004). Corn (2010) has provided detailed readings of the social and cultural legacy of Mandawuy Yunupingu and Yothu Yindi for Yolŋu culture in Northeast Arnhem Land, and the ways in which Yolŋu beliefs, cultural practices, stories and traditions such as those of the *yidaki* (or didjeridu) have been expressed through Western popular song forms (Corn and Gumbula 2003; Corn 2005). Barney has focused in particular on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women's expressions in popular music, describing some key issues of inter-cultural collaboration in popular music that are evoked through the often-overlooked work of women musicians (Barney 2006, 2013). Mitchell has documented the importance of hip-hop in the expression of Australian Indigenous youth identities, noting how it is simultaneously derived from US-centric forms at the same time as it plays a role in distinctly regional cultural politics and social contexts (Mitchell 2001).

Much of this scholarly work has centred on the analysis of lyrical themes that highlight the importance of country, language and culture for Australian Indigenous peoples. Dunbar-Hall (1996) has described these kinds of themes in his sociolinguistic analysis of rock song lyrics, also identifying some specific examples of how Aboriginal popular music has been used as a strategy in government-funded public health education. This combination of popular music with a public health agenda can be described as 'instrumentalist' in approach, that is, an approach that justifies the public funding of music programmes as an 'instrument' for other forms of social change or benefit (Belfiore, 2002, p. 92). Such arts-based interventions have played a significant role in the Australian context, something that can be traced through various aspects of Indigenous visual arts and theatre (Gibson 2008; Glow and Johanson 2009). In particular, Dunbar-Hall describes a specific music-based initiative where recordings of songs by Aboriginal musicians were released in response to a public health report from the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands. He notes the range of multilingual and 'kriol' forms used in the lyrics of these popular songs, providing examples of songs intended to spread messages about AIDS and alcohol abuse. As

<sup>1</sup> Following Ottosson, I tend to use the term 'Aboriginal' for mainland peoples including my friends and colleagues from Central Australia who identify with this term (Ottosson 2010, p. 297), as distinct from other more general terms such as Australian First Peoples or Australian Indigenous peoples, which are often used to refer collectively to the vast diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia.

he writes about the song “‘Drangkinbala” (Drinking fella), by the group Blekbala Mujik, whose name is also in Kriol (Blackfella Music)’, the song ‘warns its listeners of the dangers of alcohol’: ‘yu shud libum jac grog en maindim bla yu femali, Ai Ai Ai Oh Oh Oh seibim bla yu laif from grog’ (You should leave that grog and look after your family, Ai Ai Ai Oh Oh Oh save your life from grog) (Dunbar-Hall 2004, p. 46). In this case, Dunbar-Hall describes how Australian Aboriginal musicians’ use of traditional languages and multilingual approaches in rock music lyrics reflects the ways in which languages are actually used in everyday community contexts, as well as the intentional use of hybrid language in popular song and as a means for communicating significant political, cultural and health-related issues.

Recent anthropological work by Ottosson has focused on the ways in which music performance and recording in the Central Australian town of Alice Springs (and surrounding country) is significant for Aboriginal men in a variety of ways, demonstrating various forms of ‘whitefella’ and ‘blackfella’ identities and masculinities that are expressed through making, performing and touring as popular musicians (Ottosson 2009). For many of these musicians, performing for non-Indigenous audiences functions as an important sign of success and a chance to ‘talk-back’ to a mainstream from which they are largely marginalised (Ottosson 2010). One of the common contexts for this is country music, a musical tradition through which Aboriginal men in Central Australia connect ancient and traditional knowledge and forms of masculine behaviour with the imagery of American country music, also in the context of non-Indigenous models of masculinity associated with colonial agricultural settler contexts and the history of Aboriginal stockmen or countrymen (Ottosson 2012). In this work, Ottosson describes the musical, social and cultural context of Central Australia as a complex intertwining of ancient and popular, where writing, recording and performing country, rock or reggae style songs and combining lyrics in the traditional language and in English are important ways for expressing agency in the face of significant historical and present-day challenges. Describing the prevalence of alcohol use in touring musicians’ experiences, Ottosson writes about how ‘many men take the opportunity to drink seriously when away from home, creating constant problems when band members cannot be found when it is time to perform, or performing poorly because they are drunk or hung-over’ (Ottosson 2012, pp. 187–8). Ottosson describes not how these issues might be expressed in musical texts as such, but how the moral imaginary of so-called ‘real’ country music connects with the social and cultural ideas of Aboriginal musicians about the importance of responsible behaviour and respect for family. As Ottosson writes, Aboriginal musicians associated these values with American country music artists, and the Christian traditions circulated through the early missions of Central Australia:

This employment of a country music family imagery of morally responsible men who protect the innocence, and in particular the sexual innocence, of their women, is particularly effective in distinguishing blackfella *real* country musicians as men of higher moral worth. Versions of this imagery of belonging to a morally guided community/family are often evoked by the country musicians, and it is a common explanatory frame when they describe their passion for country music. (Ottosson 2012, p. 188)

The lived discourse of ‘real’ country music involves the evocation of truth and direct communication of the musicians’ stories through song; musicians see this as an expression of their real lives (without inverted commas); their songs and stories are performed and understood as inextricable from their personal selves, their



connection to culture and country. Read alongside Dunbar-Hall's sociolinguistic reading of Australian Aboriginal rock songs, Ottosson's work highlights the ways in which popular music and lyrics are drawn into deep and complex amalgams of culture and context, and it is in these terms – as a musician, songwriter and performer – that I have learnt about some aspects of Aboriginal people's experiences with music and alcohol as described below.

## Learning through musicking

Over the past six years, I have collaborated with Indigenous and non-Indigenous musicians in Tennant Creek, a town in the vast Barkly Tableland region of Central Australia. Our work in Tennant Creek has been undertaken with Barkly Regional Arts (BRA), a multi-arts organisation which is also home to the Winanjikari Music Centre (WMC) – a place for music making (literally 'singing for belonging' in the local Warumungu language) that includes recording studio facilities, rehearsal space and an extensive programme of training and community programmes run collaboratively by Aboriginal and non-Indigenous musicians and arts workers. BRA work on a range of community programmes that are often carried out in response to community health issues such as alcohol, highlighting 'the positive mental and physical health outcomes from community participation in the arts' (Burns 2015). In collaborative work with my wife Brydie-Leigh Bartleet, we have written about the service learning approach of this work, where we have taken groups of music students to WMC on immersive programmes designed to benefit the students, the community and the musicians of Tennant Creek in mutual ways (Bartleet and Carfoot 2013). We have written about the kinds of relationships and partnerships involved, how such partnerships are often defined through a move from 'transactional' to 'transformational' models (Bartleet *et al.* 2016a), and the ways in which concepts of citizenship can be critically read through arts-based approaches to service learning (Bartleet and Carfoot 2016). Our scholarly writing about this work is intimately informed and influenced by the complexities of our positions as non-Indigenous people working in a community setting where our relationships with Aboriginal people are central, and it is through critical positioning of ourselves that we have reflected on the kinds of transformational learning and deep intercultural perspectives that result from such work.

A significant contributor to this approach has been our engagement as collaborative musicians, where playing, jamming, songwriting and performing have served as the focal points for learning, relationship building and the development and expression of mutual respect. In this regard we have written about the ways in which songwriting and music making have encouraged approaches to intercultural learning which involve the triple lenses of facing each other through jamming and songwriting, facing others together through playing and performances, and facing ourselves through critical reflection on race and self in relation to our shared musical experiences (Bartleet *et al.* 2016b). Through the songs that we have listened to, been taught to play, performed and recorded, we have been presented with messages about alcohol from the multiple perspectives of our Aboriginal musicians, friends and colleagues. Through these types of experiences, we have been engaged in acts of musicking (Small 1998) that mean that – as researchers and students – we have a relationship not only with popular music as cultural text or object, but

as an embodied, performative experience where meaning is articulated in multiple ways. So when I think or write about the lyrics of songs that deal with the topic of alcohol, these songs represent deeply personal experiences, especially when the social and health impacts of alcohol are significant and inextricable from the lives of my collaborators, friends and colleagues. When these songs deal with issues about alcohol in the community or for individuals, they offer insights that are deeply personal at the same time as they are a way of expressing agency and self-determination. As non-Indigenous music student and musical collaborator Adam put it, reflecting on his burgeoning engagement with the bands and music of Tennant Creek:

... the focus is really on the lyrics. They write these real, direct lyrics which is – once you tune into them – because I'm not used to listening to music like that. So it took me a while to tune in to it. Then I started tuning into it and yeah, these real – just heartfelt lyrics and just really pure song writing. (Adam, personal interview)

In many cases, these deeply personal, embodied and musical experiences are formative for how I understand the connections between popular music and alcohol, but I hesitate to write about certain aspects, especially when they intersect with the personal lives of my collaborators. These factors deeply penetrate the ways in which we have encountered and understood the role of alcohol, smoking and other serious public health concerns of the community. These issues of approach and the types of apprehension that the researcher brings to a topic such as this are ultimately part of the dynamic and nuanced understanding of one's place as a non-Indigenous researcher, colleague, musical collaborator and friend working in a remote Aboriginal community. As we have spent time working in remote Central Australia, we have experienced many aspects of the impact that alcohol has had on the community, but even or especially because of this, it is clear that these are not my stories to tell: they are stories that have been shared most of all through the power and medium of popular song.

## Songs and stories of alcohol

Stories in the mainstream media continue to reinforce negative, racist and deficit-based images of Indigenous health and alcohol use, something that is inextricable from the history of colonialism and its present-day legacies (Stoneham *et al.* 2014, p. 3; Ziersch *et al.* 2011; Larson *et al.* 2007). This scenario led Stoneham to emphasise counter-discourses of Indigenous health by creating storybooks in collaboration with the community, in order to 'portray only positive stories describing how individuals or organisations have improved the health and wellbeing of their communities' (Stoneham *et al.* 2014, p. 8). A similar approach can be found in Wright's work, *Grog War* (1997, 2009), which describes the serious alcohol-related issues in Tennant Creek, but does so through the work of the Aboriginal-led Julalikari Council, who established a highly successful Night Patrol and other initiatives to address alcohol-related violence. In this way, *Grog War* tells a story about the positive outcomes that resulted from self-determination: Wright's work vividly describes the country, Elders and Aboriginal people of Tennant Creek as strong and courageous in the face of immeasurably complex social and cultural issues, offering an asset-based narrative account of the community's response to a serious public health concern.

Our work with the community has been inspired by and through such positive forms of storytelling, drawing on asset-based approaches in collaboration with our musical collaborators. One of the musical events that we have contributed to is the annual BamFest performance, held as part of BRA's Desert Harmony Festival. The two weeks leading up to this event are a period in which we have jammed, learned new songs, written and recorded music and formed personal relationships with WMC musicians, bonding through our shared interest in music. This has often included the rapid learning of new repertoire for performance, and included extended periods of 'getting to know each other' through song. This facing of each other and ourselves through music is done through stories in song form, and these are stories that would otherwise be difficult to share or communicate outside this form of expression. While song themes about connection to country and culture are common and highly significant, songs that address one's individual life stories and personal challenges are also important. One young Aboriginal musician shared a hip-hop track about his problems with alcohol and violence, written while 'on holiday' in Alice Springs (a term used to refer to periods of incarceration). Referring to this and another song by his Aboriginal collaborator, non-Indigenous music student Adam commented:

I knew he'd been in jail and he's shown all the fingers he fought when he – by fighting and stuff when he was a young guy. The lyrics in the song were ... You make your own choices in life and you're in control of your own – yeah, the lyrical – the lyrics. It was just delivered in this ... real direct, straight talking way and yeah, got tears in my eyes. I'm actually getting tingles now just thinking about it. (Adam, personal interview)

Some of the most rewarding and moving experiences of performing with Aboriginal musicians have been with band the Tableland Drifters: through playing, writing and learning songs with this band we have learnt about many of the perspectives and challenges of life in remote communities through the lens of song. It has often been through the guidance, generosity and good humour of Elders that we have come to know some of the stories of their country, including songs about drinking as part of daily life in a remote community. The fact that some of these musicians and Elders are no longer with us adds deep personal sadness and particular weight to the messages in these songs (in addition to the fact that their names cannot be mentioned due to cultural protocols). In the song 'Enough is Enough' by the Tableland Drifters – produced as a form of public education with non-Indigenous collaborator and producer Jeff McLaughlin – the lead singer tells a story that aims to educate community members about the dangers of drinking and driving: 'When you get behind the wheel drive home safely ... After the party be careful on the way, don't be a fool, temptation and alcohol ... Enough is enough, enough is enough.' This song demonstrates the way that alcohol as a community health issue is intertwined with multiple perspectives including that of road safety, and an example of an instrumentalist approach that has provided positive and professional work for Aboriginal musicians as community leaders and Elders. In another song, 'Pocketful of Money', a now-deceased musician of importance in the Tennant Creek community sings a story about payday – the day of the week in which welfare payments are distributed to community members. Written and recorded without a particular funding programme or public health agenda in mind, this song tells a story about the effect of payday, something that Aboriginal Elders and leaders in

some communities have addressed independently of the NTER. In typical desert reggae style, the song tells the story:

Standing by the roadside  
Trying to catch a ride  
You've been hangin' round  
Just to get to town

*Chorus*

With a pocketful of money  
You want to spend it all  
With nothing else to worry  
You wanna drink 'till you fall

You finally get to town  
And grog's on your mind  
You go straight to the pub  
And you drink it all up

*Repeat chorus*

The next day you are broke  
And no money for your smoke  
No ride to your home  
And your family's home alone

*Repeat chorus*

So think about yourself  
When your families need your help  
Be a good sport  
And give them your support

*Repeat chorus*

In this song – again mixed and mastered by non-Indigenous musical colleague and friend Jeff McLaughlin – we have an example of a respected musician taking this theme not in a prescribed way, but as a reflection on their own community, expressed through the distance of second-person narrative. The song speaks to the ideas of respecting family that Ottosson notes in her studies of 'real country', and narrates a story about alcohol intended to resonate with the everyday experiences of many community members. These examples ultimately share much in common with the types of popular songs about alcohol that Dunbar-Hall described in the example of music released following a public health report from the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands (Dunbar-Hall 2004), and as such they demonstrate a continuation of this practice of addressing public health concerns through popular music. However, other songs display lyrical themes where drinking is not positioned directly in relation to the acknowledged public health issues, but rather in ways that acknowledge the image of alcohol as a means of celebration rather than an inherent problem in itself. The song 'The Rock' by Band Nomadic presents this in its final repeated lines – 'and now we're drinking to our Uluru' – referring to the story of Aboriginal land rights claims over the famous Central Australian site: 'In 1985 the Rock has come alive, / An evening in October the rock was handed over ... / Our friends and our supporters we say thank you, / For helping keep our heritage alive ... / And now we're drinking to our Uluru ...'. This use of drinking as a symbol of celebration reminds us of the complexities involved when examining popular music and alcohol in these settings.

Images of alcohol in popular music range from these kinds of celebratory symbols, through to symbols of serious and life-threatening public health issues. While many songs reflect on the seriousness of alcohol in a community like Tennant Creek, it is also the case the songs present varied images of alcohol across of the spectrum from the banal, to the celebratory, to the critical.

## Conclusion

The story about popular music and alcohol in Tennant Creek is not mine to tell. Rather, it is something that I try to understand and follow through the experiences, songs and stories that I encounter in my collaborative relationships with Aboriginal musicians, community members, collaborators and friends, along with the other non-Indigenous musicians and arts workers with whom I collaborate in the community. The reality of the public health situation in remote Aboriginal communities is something that is receiving increasing attention from scholars in the wake of the NTER, and previous approaches that have foregrounded supposedly abstract notions of 'culture' have been criticised for not being able to demonstrate an actual contribution to the improvement of people's lives: as argued in well-known critical work by Sutton, when faced with the gravity of health issues experienced by Australia's First Peoples one can no longer defer to political and scholarly agendas and approaches that have ultimately done little to improve the actual lives of marginalised peoples (Sutton 2009; Altman and Hinkson 2010). Following this kind of critique, it may seem difficult if not impossible to justify the role of arts-based instrumentalism in effecting change. Nonetheless, popular music provides an important means of reflecting on the role of alcohol in the community for Aboriginal musicians. In this sense, songs about alcohol sit alongside other recurring themes such as connection to country, maintenance of language, the importance of culture and self-determination: songs about alcohol are but one part of a complex popular music repertoire where song forms and lyrical themes are inextricable from the realities of everyday life and culture for Aboriginal musicians in Central Australia. These stories provide important counter-currents to any temptation we might have to think about the relationship between music and alcohol in trivial or flippant ways. In remote Aboriginal communities, alcohol can be seen as a locus for the ongoing and devastating effects of colonialism, and it is through the lens of popular musical forms that I have learned at least a small amount about the strength and courage with which Aboriginal musicians and communities approach this issue.

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# ‘One bourbon, one scotch, one beer’: alcohol sponsorship at Glasgow Jazz Festival, 1987–2001

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## Abstract

*This article examines the relationship between music and sponsorship by drinks companies. Glasgow Jazz Festival has taken place annually since 1987 and is the city’s longest running music festival. In its early years, the Festival enjoyed both cash and in-kind sponsorship from a wide range of organisations, including breweries and distilleries along with companies specialising in non-alcoholic drinks. In 2015 sponsorship was more difficult to secure, with cash sponsorship proving to be particularly elusive. The article focuses on cash sponsorship from drinks companies from 1987 to 2001, arguing that the decline in this form of sponsorship is a result of a shifting commercial and cultural landscape. Changes in Glasgow’s festival calendar have resulted in a crowded marketplace which not only makes it harder for arts organisations to secure funds, but also makes relationships with sponsors more challenging to manage. Meanwhile, legislative and social changes have meant that the role of alcohol in the city’s cultural life has been subject to adjustment throughout the Festival’s history.*

## Introduction

In the mid-1970s the city of Glasgow, which had been subject to a long period of post-industrial decline, embarked on a process of redevelopment that continues to the present day. The year 1983 was to prove a milestone, with the establishment of the Greater Glasgow Tourist Board, the launch of the ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’ campaign, the opening of the Burrell Collection, and the inaugural Mayfest arts festival. As suggested by these latter two developments, culture – in terms of galleries and museums as well as the performing arts – was to be a crucial part of Glasgow’s new tourist proposition. The commitment of the Greater Glasgow Tourist Board and its partner organisations to celebrating and developing the cultural life of the city culminated in a successful bid for the title of European Capital of Culture 1990.

This bid was launched and won in 1986. During that same year, the idea of Glasgow hosting an International Jazz Festival was mooted by Iwan Williams of the Scottish Development Agency. With the support of others – including his SDA colleague Stuart Gulliver, Eddie Friel (Chair of the Greater Glasgow Tourist Board), David McDonald (Glasgow Action), Pat Lally (Chair of Glasgow District

Council), and representatives of the trade union movement – the first Festival took place in 1987, part of a burgeoning summer programme of cultural events.

While not explicitly part of the bid for 1990, the establishment of Glasgow Jazz Festival<sup>1</sup> was an example (along with that of Mayfest) of the city's commitment to cultural tourism, and the ability of its private and public bodies to collaborate in order to deliver on that commitment. Moreover, there was substantial overlap between the group of people who instigated Glasgow Jazz Festival and those who produced the 1990 bid. Some of the individuals involved were passionate and knowledgeable about jazz itself, while others were focused simply on developing Glasgow's capacity to host events. The result of this public-private partnership approach (as endorsed by McKinsey Management Consultants in 1985) was a festival which was resourced by the public sector from day one, but which was expected to use this financial security as a basis for attracting income from the private sector.

Since its inception, GJF Ltd. has received annual grants from various public bodies. Today, the Festival's biggest backers are Glasgow City Council and Creative Scotland; historically, the predecessors to these organisations (Glasgow District Council, Strathclyde Regional Council and the Scottish Arts Council) provided similar support. While this is perhaps the most reliable of GJF's income streams, it is also the one upon which the organisation is least able to exert any influence. Funding from the City Council has essentially been at standstill for several years, while GJF was removed from Creative Scotland's list of Core Funded Organisations in 2006 and has since had to compete for funding on an annual basis. GJF has two other main sources of income: box office receipts (which are usually balanced against artists' fees), and commercial sponsorship.

In the Festival's early years, it attracted a mix of cash and in-kind sponsorship from the private sector; in recent years, and in particular since the financial crisis of 2008, in-kind sponsorship has been more forthcoming than cash. While in no way wishing to denigrate the value of in-kind sponsorship,<sup>2</sup> this is a persistent source of frustration to GJF, and a topic of discussion at almost every meeting of its Board of Directors. Cash flow becomes particularly problematic each spring, when deposits often need to be paid out before grant monies have been received. Even modest amounts of cash sponsorship at this time would make a noticeable difference to the organisation.

There are various ways in which private sector organisations can sponsor festivals. GJF has had two title sponsors, Glenmorangie and the Royal Bank of Scotland; although coveted, this is a form of sponsorship which is difficult to secure and which can be demanding to manage, especially for a small organisation. Opportunities to sponsor stages or venues (particularly 'pop-up' type venues which require development or dressing) have proved to be attractive, if only on a short-term basis. Single-concert sponsorship has proved increasingly difficult to sell, and GJF has had more success in securing sponsorship for programme 'threads' (e.g. Tennents Live!), or circuits of fringe venues.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this article, Glasgow Jazz Festival – as the event itself is currently branded – will be referred to as 'the Festival'. Its parent company, Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd, will be referred to as 'GJF'.

<sup>2</sup> The Festival's longest relationship with any sponsor has been with Little's Chauffeur Drive, who have provided vehicles for artist transportation every year since the event began.

This article draws upon research conducted in the Festival's archives (for the most part, this consists of press articles and reports to the Board of Directors), as well as semi-structured interviews with Professors Eddie Friel, Stuart Gulliver and Bill Sweeney, all of whom were involved in establishing the Festival. It is structured chronologically, with the Festival's history broken into three periods. The period 1986–94 is concerned with the early years of the event, and the sponsorship required to establish the Festival. The years 1995–98 were a time of crisis, as Glasgow's festival calendar underwent significant change and the future of GJF was left far from secure as competition for cash sponsorship intensified. The period 1999–2001, conversely, was a time of recovery, with the efforts of a new management team culminating in title sponsorship from Glenmorangie.

### Existing literature on festival sponsorship

In a comprehensive review of festival studies literature, Getz (2010) found that research into the sponsorship of festivals constituted a distinct (albeit small) body of work within the field, but that relevant findings could also be found within work concerning the financing and marketing of festivals, as well as in literature about sports events (Getz 2010, p. 16).

John Crompton has been a key contributor to event sponsorship research; a common theme in his work is the exploration of the rationale and strategy applied by companies considering sponsorship opportunities. Drawing on the work of Meenaghan (1983), Armstrong (1988) and Copeland (1991), he observes that three to five years is the optimum time period needed for a sponsor to capitalise fully on a relationship with an event (Crompton 1993, p. 99). Crompton (1995, p. 97), meanwhile, argues that the sponsorship of major events can help companies build 'a more intimate and emotionally involved relationship with their target audiences' than that offered by other promotional activities. Mount and Niro (1995) examine the more altruistic reasons for sponsorship of events in a small town, where the perception of an event as being 'good for the community' might be sufficient reason for sponsorship. Conversely, working from the premise that event sponsorship was increasingly driven by commercial outputs rather than altruism, Coughlan and Mules (2002) applied a marketing framework in order to address the needs of sponsors, as opposed to the needs of event organisers. Alexandris *et al.* (2008) note that models of sponsorship evaluation had only begun to emerge in the decade prior to their work; Dees *et al.*'s (2007) attempt to assess the attitudes and behaviour of attendees at a sporting event represents an example of such work. In the light of this, it is necessary to make clear that this article is based entirely on research conducted from GJF's company paperwork, and that this is acknowledged as a limitation.

A persistent difficulty in relating this research to other studies of music festivals has been a strong bias in the literature, first towards rock and pop music, and then towards large, outdoor events. An urban, venue-based, concert-format festival like Glasgow's does not lend itself to direct comparisons with such festivals when looked at through the lens of e.g. music scenes or audiences (although literature relating to theatre and dance events can provide a richer seam).

In one of the few studies of the sponsorship of a music festival beyond pop and rock, Oakes (2003) makes the critical observation that different musical genres have different audiences and that these audiences, in turn, have different attitudes towards

sponsorship. Jazz and classical music festivals, whose audiences tend to be older and more middle class than those for pop and rock (Oakes 2003, p. 169), are faced with having to balance the audience growth often demanded from their sponsors (as well as their public sector funders) with 'accompanying implications regarding fears of the need to dilute the integrity of the core product' (Oakes 2003, p. 176). This has certainly proved to be the case for Glasgow Jazz Festival, the programming of which has never been constrained to one musical 'product' (and which might now be described as 'musics of African-American origin'). Cummings (2008) offers an interesting study on the attitudes of festival-goers to sponsors, but it is limited to indie music and its findings cannot readily be extrapolated to Glasgow Jazz Festival. Rowley and Williams (2008), similarly, examine the attitudes of attendees towards festival sponsors, finding that while brand awareness appears to be raised, there is 'little evidence of impact on brand use' (Rowley and Williams 2008, p. 789); they also specifically flag up emergent concerns about the 'negative effects of sponsorship, in particular, but not exclusively, in relation to alcohol sponsorship' (Rowley and Williams 2008, p. 784). However, statements such as 'music festivals do not receive any public funding' suggest that their scope does not extend far beyond rock and pop (Rowley and Williams 2008, p. 782).

As the venue-based concert format is common for urban jazz festivals in the UK, there is a clear need and opportunity for further research into this type of event. This is beginning to be addressed by those working in the field of jazz studies. The expertise of popular music scholars with an interest in the economics of live music would provide a valuable perspective on these events and, in particular, on the ways in which they align with, and differ from, pop and rock festivals.

## 1986–1994

With Glasgow International Jazz Festival Ltd. established as both a company and a charity, its Board members immediately began contacting potential sponsors. It quickly became apparent that this was going to involve a degree of compromise. Interviewed in *Scottish Field*, Ken Mathieson (the drummer and jazz enthusiast who programmed the event in its first year) noted that

A lot of [potential sponsors] want to see what happens this time before they commit funds. That has meant we have had to go for a more mainstream, commercially-appealing programme. (Mathieson, quoted in Mathieson 1987, p. 54)

As late as March 1987 – around three months before the event was due to take place, and with timescales for promotion becoming almost untenably tight – potential sponsors, including Guinness, had yet to confirm whether they would be supporting the new Festival (Anon. 1987). By April, the picture was altogether more promising. Concerts by the 'commercially-appealing' Dizzy Gillespie and Sarah Vaughan were sponsored by the Guinness (£10,000) and Harp (£17,500) brands, respectively, while Heineken-Whitbreads sponsored a Late Night Jazz Club to the tune of £5,000. Moreover, these deals attracted matched sponsorship from ABSA<sup>3</sup> to the maximum of £25,000 (Lally, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> The Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts, a further source of public funding.

Mathieson's inference that the Festival would be able to programme more bravely in subsequent years proved to be justified. Writing in *The Scotsman*, Anthony Troon noted that the 1988 event

... shifts gently but significantly towards the riskier area of the jazz avant garde, an essential step if Glasgow is to win artistic credibility as a staging post on the annual international circuit. (Troon 1988)

Artists associated with free improvisation, such as Lol Coxhill and Maggie Nicols, were among those lending the Festival such credibility in its sophomore year; however, such activity was typically bankrolled by economic 'safe bets' elsewhere in the programme, rather than attracting sponsorship.

The year 1989 proved to be more challenging. An overall increase of 60 per cent in new sponsorship meant that income remained stable (Lally 1989), but the loss of both Guinness and Scottish Brewers as sponsors forced GJJF to re-examine its strategy. Iwan Williams perceived a need for 'rejuvenation' of the relationship with Guinness (Williams 1989). Bill Sweeney was more resigned to the turnover:

It was a good lesson, actually, in the corporate sponsorship thing, in that [Guinness] had a really good three years ... but at the end of the day their marketing people move on. (Sweeney 2012)

Such shifting commitment from sponsors is indicative not only of the importance of personal *contacts* to this kind of partnership, but also the personal taste and commercial instinct of those contacts with regard to arts and culture.

Glasgow's year as European Capital of Culture was to prove a source of tension within the city. Despite adopting a broad interpretation of 'culture' in an attempt to make the initiative as inclusive as possible, organisers at Glasgow District Council were criticised by a counter-movement dubbed 'Workers' City' for downplaying the ongoing deprivation and social difficulties in Glasgow – difficulties exacerbated, in some cases, by alcohol. The 'year of culture' was to prove especially problematic for the city's existing arts organisations, who found themselves faced with increased competition for funding and audiences. Glasgow District Council's Festivals Unit, established soon after the bid had been won in order to coordinate the 1990 activities, came under fire from organisations who asserted '... that sponsors are being drawn to a small number of flagship events while the rest of the city's arts organisations go begging' (Johnstone 1990). These organisations – including Mayfest and the Jazz Festival, both of which were reported to be struggling to meet their sponsorship targets for 1990 – were not reassured by an admission from the Unit's sponsorship consultant, Wendy Stephenson, that the Capital of Culture title didn't seem all that attractive to sponsors (Johnstone 1990).

One sponsor which withdrew its support for both festivals in 1990 was Scottish Brewers which, as noted by Keith Bruce in the *Herald*, represented 'in both cases ... the loss of a long-term sponsor – the kind that directors can almost feel confident of building into their projected income' (Bruce 1990a). In a city where alcohol abuse remained a pervasive side-effect of long-term urban decline, concerns around the ethical implications of accepting funds from drinks firms were beginning to gain traction; however, it was broadly accepted that for most arts organisations being able to choose sponsors based on principles 'would be a luxury' (Bruce 1990a). Moreover, Bruce noted, arts organisations were increasingly having to demonstrate to their public sector funders that they were able to raise funds from other sources (Bruce 1990a).



Six weeks later, the situation had improved somewhat, with Iwan Williams reporting record levels of commercial sponsorship for the Jazz Festival and declaring it 'the biggest jazz festival in Britain' (Bruce 1990b). One of the Festival's new sponsors in 1990 was the Canadian Club whisky brand, which lent its branding to a new venue – the Renfrew Ferry – as part of its '1990 support package in Scotland' (Anon. 1990a). The Festival acknowledged, however, that 'there was a danger that there were too many arts events for available private sector funds' (Bruce 1990b).

In fact, the Jazz Festival was hailed as one of 1990's successes, having 'created a buzz that other 1990 events must envy' (Anon. 1990b), with an estimated 40 per cent increase on 1989's attendances and a corresponding rise of 25 per cent in box-office returns (Anon. 1990c). A deficit of £15,000 carried over from 1989 had been cleared, in part due to the increase in box-office income, but mainly due to an increase of £27,000 in cash sponsorship (Anon. 1990c). Having broken its box office and sponsorship records, the Festival was singled out for public praise by Neil Wallace, Glasgow District Council's Deputy Director of the 1990 programme (Robertson 1990).

In October 1990 a reception was held at Glasgow City Chambers celebrating the level of business sponsorship directed to the arts during the year. This was estimated at £800,000, although matched funding from the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts (ABSA) – a further source of public funding – took the total to over £1 m. Once again, the Festivals Unit found itself the focus of controversy, since it was perceived by some arts organisations as taking credit for raising sponsorship which arts organisations had in fact found themselves, at a time when competition for corporate cash was fierce (Anon. 1990d).

In 1991, riding high on the commercial success of the 1990 Festival, the board of GJIF started a wholly owned subsidiary company named GJIF Enterprises Ltd. as a way of hiving off business not directly related to producing and promoting the main Festival. One such activity was a proposed concert series throughout 1991–2. Matthew Gloag and Son (the company behind the Famous Grouse whisky brand), already committed to supporting the 1991 Festival to the tune of £20,000 (Barry 1991), agreed additionally to support the new concert series, branded as the Famous Grouse Jazz Series. Three concerts were programmed: Carol Kidd with the Humphrey Lyttelton Band (Theatre Royal, 27 December 1991); Chick Corea Elektrik Band (Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, 24 March 1992); and Sonny Rollins (Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, 21 April 1992) (Anon. 1991).<sup>4</sup> Such activity demonstrates not only that GJIF were able to attract sponsorship for events outside the main Festival period, but also that those sponsors – as well as GJIF themselves – were confident of being able to attract an audience for such events. For an organisation which had been established, in part, in the hope of developing a year-round audience for jazz in Glasgow, this must have seemed like an enormous step forward; however, the initiative was not continued in the following years.

Post-1990, a dip in overall sponsorship levels was perhaps inevitable, but not catastrophic. GJIF's 1992 sponsorship haul of £69,000 demonstrated that '... even if jazz remains a minority interest, businesses are still conscious of its commercial image value' (Bruce 1992). It is important to note, however, that this 'commercial image value' of jazz arguably applies only to certain forms of the music. And while household names such as Dizzy Gillespie and Sarah Vaughan proved

<sup>4</sup> Additional concerts by McCoy Tyner and Dave Brubeck were proposed, but did not go ahead.



attractive to sponsors and audiences, music of a more experimental nature could be included in the Festival programme only due to a kind of internal subsidy system.

The Edinburgh-based McEwan's beer brand was, at this time, reasonably well linked to jazz. As well as sponsoring their home city's veteran jazz and blues festival, they had lent support to Glasgow's event by sponsoring the 'McEwan's Jazz Trail', essentially providing venues for the Festival fringe by way of brewery-owned pub space (similarly, Scotland's other major brewers, Tennent Caledonian Breweries, supported the 'Tennent's Jazz Circuit'). However, suitable spaces were also required for the Festival's core activity. Prior to 1990, headline acts had appeared in venues such as the Citizens' Theatre and the Theatre Royal. The Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre, opened in 1986, had been used with mixed results, but generally posed too great a financial risk to the Festival due to its large capacity. Booking the new Glasgow Royal Concert Hall – 1990's Council-funded architectural landmark – involved what the Festival's press officer Marek Kolodziej described as 'exceedingly high charges for the Hall, and huge ticket commissions' (Leadbetter 1991).

A potential solution presented itself in 1992 when the Festival's director, Jim Smith, and administrator, Jill Rodger, happened across a disused indoor market space close to their new offices in the Merchant City (an area of Glasgow which had been earmarked as a future 'cultural quarter' almost a decade previously). They immediately recognised that, acoustically and aesthetically, it would make an ideal venue, and that its location close to local bars and restaurants would also make it a perfect hub for the Festival's activity. As the informal nature of the space was part of its charm (and offered greater flexibility in terms of production), little work needed to be done in order to transform it into the Festival's flagship venue – but the work which was needed was funded, in part, by McEwan's, and the venue named the 'McEwans 80/- Old Fruitmarket' in order to reflect this. As described in the *Inverness Courier*:

Wisely, no effort has been made to spruce it up for the occasion. Sponsored by McEwan's, the informal medium-sized venue has been kitted out with a stage, sound desk, lighting rig and three bars, one serving food, and surrounded by the signboards of long-gone fruit merchants, the audience sit at candlelit tables and enjoy the hottest international acts. (Anon. 1997)

For McEwan's, the value of sponsorship went beyond simply gaining access to the Festival audience (in terms of both its branding and its products): the novelty of the venue, as well as the affection it generated among local audiences and the press, proved sufficiently attractive that the brewery sponsored the venue in this way for four years.

The early years of the Festival saw two important relaxations in local legislation governing licensed premises. GJF's earliest company paperwork suggests that the first of these relaxations – which allowed pub landlords to charge entry for live music on their premises – was viewed by the new company as an opportunity. In fact, GJF had been part of the lobby who influenced the decision to relax the law, ensuring that the membership of the Board of Directors included members of Glasgow District Council's licensing board (Friel 2015). The second important relaxation, in 1990, allowed pubs to apply for late licenses provided they were hosting cultural activities, including live music (Gulliver 2012). Live jazz in pubs was not met with universal approval, as illustrated by an account worth reproducing here in its entirety:

...what about the poor devils who'll have been allotted to the festival's brewery-backed pub circuit? While it's cost-effective sauce for the sponsors, it's sometimes a bit too saucy for the musicians. The following horror story unfolded last year at a city-centre pub on the fringes of the revamped and allegedly jazz-conscious Merchant City. As the band played their way to the end of their set, which until then had been received in less-than-appreciative silence, the pub's regular DJ began abusing them over his mic in a funny (sic) voice. 'Jazz band, jazz band ... is it not time you went away?' he asked (as you can perhaps imagine, 'went' and 'away' weren't the two words he actually used). When the band had finished, the DJ remarked that, to him, their music had sounded like 27 versions of the Crossroads theme, and was 'the biggest load of crap I've ever heard.' A female friend of the band then remonstrated with him, only to receive foul sexist abuse. She thereupon poured a pint of beer over his turntables, silencing them, for which act she will ultimately be rewarded with a berth in Heaven alongside John Coltrane. (Belcher 1991)

Licensing hours could also be extended 'backwards', allowing pubs to open earlier in the day. Along with the refurbishment and repurposing of city centre buildings, this produced an opportunity for new, modern bars which served food and coffee as well as alcohol. Licensing differences between England and Scotland meant that these new bars north of the border were able to serve draught beer as well as wines and spirits, making them perhaps more inclusive than their counterparts elsewhere in the UK. A 1988 piece on Glasgow in *London Restaurant Business*, describing the above developments, suggested that the changes meant that Glasgow's 'large female working population' were finally being catered for (Guthrie 1988, pp. 16–17), although it is arguable that these new establishments were creating their own market as much as they were catering to it.

## 1995–1998

In 1994, an estimated 35,000 people attended the first Celtic Connections festival, an event which proved a useful way of filling all the various performance spaces in the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall during an otherwise quiet fortnight in January. Later that same year, a further 35,000 people descended on Strathclyde Country Park, south-east of Glasgow, for another festival. Run by DF Concerts, T in the Park was a large-scale, outdoor summer event featuring acts such as Blur, Pulp, Rage Against the Machine and Björk. While not a financial success in its first year, T in the Park was immediately popular with the public and the press. The festival went on to become an annual event, taking place at Strathclyde Country Park in 1995 and 1996 before moving to the Balado Airfield in 1997. T in the Park's main sponsor was Tennents Lager, the flagship brand of Tennent Caledonian Breweries, who had sponsored GIFF from its inception until 1992. Further developments followed: local music promoter Billy Kelly established a festival of American music, entitled Big Big Country, in 1995, and Big Big World, a festival of world music, in 1996. This increasingly diverse offering of live music events in the city and its surrounding area gave audiences – and, of course, sponsors – more options in terms of where to put their money.

Also in 1996, Glasgow City Council instigated a ban on the consumption of alcohol in the city's streets with the exception of certain licensed areas. The change in legislation was a response to growing concerns about crime and antisocial behaviour in the city; pilot bans had been in operation in other areas of Scotland since 1989. Quoted in the *Independent*, the Chair of Glasgow City Council's licensing board,

James Coleman, made it clear that the ban would not discriminate between 'somebody in the West End drinking Beaujolais and somebody in the East End drinking Buckfast ... If you want to drink your cheeky wee Beaujolais you will have to go to one of the areas we are happy to license in the city centre' (Bennetto 1996). As well as creating an additional administrative burden for outdoor festival activities, the ban illustrates the shifting attitude towards alcohol in Glasgow's public spaces.

By 1995, GJIF was carrying an operating deficit of £24,000. Developing commercial sponsorship was part of the company's strategy for addressing this shortfall and, to that end, it appointed Derek Gorman as Festival Director in 1994. With a background in advertising sales for commercial radio, it had been hoped that Gorman would bring with him contacts as well as expertise. Journalist Kenny Mathieson interviewed Gorman for the *Scotsman*:

He is under no illusions about the magnitude of the task, and is frank in his admission that there are more than simply artistic criteria which need to be achieved. 'I believe that many people within jazz try to present the music as elitist or inaccessible. One of our missions is to try to reach people who may think that jazz is not for them, and to make the festival more accessible ... *We also have to make the festival accessible to sponsors. The sponsors are entitled to reach the audience they want to reach, and we will put on some good music in the course of helping them do it.*' (Mathieson 1995, emphasis added)

The italicized sentences emphasise, perhaps better than any others in the GJIF archives, the relationship between the Festival and its sponsors: companies offering financial support to live music events expect *access to the audience* in the first instance. Gorman's use of the word 'entitled', and his framing of the Festival's musical offering as being of secondary importance to honouring this entitlement, is perhaps unfortunate – but this language betrays the true power dynamic inherent in such a relationship.

Mayfest, too, was running into difficulties. The 1997 event proved unattractive to both critics and audiences, and poor attendances left the organisation struggling financially. Mayfest was supported by Glasgow City Council to the tune of £500,000 a year, but was reported to owe around £130,000 to various creditors. The *Herald* reported that while the City Council was likely to bail out the company, it looked very much as though the 1997 Mayfest would be the last (MacKenna 1997). By mid-July 1997, the company had ceased trading. Shortly after it was announced that Mayfest was to be discontinued, Glasgow Folk Festival went into liquidation. According to a report in the *Evening Times*, the cause of both companies' demise was financial difficulty resulting from poor box-office sales (Duff 1997). The Folk Festival faced an additional challenge, as the Musicians' Union were reported to be considering legal action against it after performers complained of non-payment (Duff 1997). Although the GJIF team maintained publicly that the Jazz Festival had not been affected by the apparent summer slump, questions were inevitably raised in the press about what the shifting shape of Glasgow's festival programme would mean for the Jazz Festival.

Unfortunately, a much-needed increase in sponsorship income was not forthcoming and, by 1997, GJIF found itself with a deficit which had increased to almost £55,000. Derek Gorman left the organisation, and a new management structure – one which dramatically reduced the company's salary expenditure – was put in place. The task of increasing income from sponsorship fell to professional fundraiser Lesley Boyd, who set a target of £60,000 for the 1998 Festival (Boyd *et al.* 1997). In

order to reach this target, the new team aimed to develop a Corporate Membership scheme ‘... which would provide a base from which to strengthen and expand financial support within the local business community’ (Boyd *et al.* 1997). However, the timescale involved was tight, and Boyd recognised a need to focus efforts on title sponsorship, aiming to ‘... streamline the sponsorship opportunities for the ’98 and future festivals by securing a single main sponsor, then securing sponsors for individual concerts’ (Boyd 1998a).

## 1999–2001

Boyd’s approach to finding sponsorship was more strategic than that of her predecessor. In 1999 she reported to the Board of Directors that she intended to apply a methodology which involved careful identification and monetary valuation of the benefits on offer to potential sponsors. Boyd noted, however, that the formula she intended to use had been designed for sports events, and was ‘more difficult for arts events without significant media coverage’ (Boyd 1999a). Media coverage, of course, is another key way in which an event can offer additional value to a sponsor, providing it with brand visibility beyond the audience in attendance. Unfortunately, for GIFF, securing coverage in broadcast media has proved consistently difficult to secure.

Boyd had her sights set on drinks companies in general, and Glenmorangie in particular. While securing title sponsorship was a longer term goal, GIFF’s management team recognised that corporate hospitality events, as well as promotional opportunities, had a role to play in building relationships with sponsors (Boyd 1998a). Boyd also recognised the importance of developing long-term partnerships, and suggested that some degree of year-round activity – such as workplace concerts – might help to maintain GIFF’s profile among its sponsors (Boyd 1998b, p. 2).

Glenmorangie represented a promising option, having set aside a substantial promotional budget and indicating a specific interest in jazz (Boyd 1999a). Problematically, this put GIFF in direct competition with Edinburgh-based Assembly Direct, who promoted live jazz on a year-round basis (primarily at Queen’s Hall) (Boyd 1999a). While major sponsorship from Glenmorangie would represent a success in its own right, Boyd also viewed it as an important way of raising the Festival’s profile with other drinks companies:

All lagers seem to be geared towards youth market and see Jazz festival as ‘too old’ (quote!). Better chance of getting ‘Festival Ale/Beer’ if we have already secured a spirit brand. (Boyd 1999b)

By now well established as the Festival’s key venue, The Old Fruitmarket was proving to be far from suitable as a space in which to host events involving the sponsors. Boyd reported that ‘many prospective sponsors’ were put off by the low standard of corporate hospitality at the Council-run venue (Boyd 1999a). In terms of securing a deal with Glenmorangie, a more specific problem was the Council’s prohibitive position on product sampling, at that time the sponsor’s ‘primary demand’ and therefore a potential deal breaker (Boyd 1999a).<sup>5</sup> Matters were not helped by the

<sup>5</sup> Other venues, such as the Marriott hotel and the Princes Square shopping mall, had not placed any such restrictions on the sponsor (Boyd 1999a).

fact that liaison with two Council departments – Performing Arts and Venues, and Catering and Cleansing – was required in order to ensure that restrictions were lifted (Boyd 1999a). Finally, Boyd reported that Glasgow City Council had agreed to meet Glenmorangie's conditions, and that this was a 'huge step forward' in terms of the working relationship between GJJF and the Council (Boyd 1999a).

The resulting deal saw Glenmorangie become the 1999 Festival's joint main sponsor, along with Atlantic Telecom. The relationship between the two sponsors was manageable but not ideal, with the whisky brand's desire to offer on-site product sampling proving to be a particular source of tension (Boyd 1999a); however, Glenmorangie deemed the event sufficiently successful to warrant the serious consideration of a three-year title sponsorship deal (Boyd 1999c).

Once again, GJJF found themselves in competition with jazz promoters in Edinburgh. Boyd explained that:

[Glenmorangie] are currently in discussions with Edinburgh Jazz Festival for a similar three-year deal but we would like to persuade them to devote their attention and resources entirely to GJJF. My view is that this would be a far better option for GJJF and Glenmorangie, the title 'Glenmorangie Glasgow Jazz Festival' having significantly more impact for both companies. They feel the Edinburgh JF gives them greater exposure, being held during the main festival. My view is that their branding will be swamped by the competition from so many other sponsors. (Boyd 1999c)

By 2000, GJJF had offered Glenmorangie a three-year title sponsorship deal, although still considering other large sponsorship deals, and were seeking more single-concert and in-kind sponsorship (Boyd 2000a). The deal with Glenmorangie, comprising £40,000 cash and a promotional budget worth another £40,000, took into account a number of factors. Working in GJJF's favour were its reputation and its strength as a 'promotional tool', as well as its existing relationship with the whisky brand. Working against the Festival were its audience size and type – described as 'niche' – and the 'standard of corporate facilities available' (particularly at the Old Fruitmarket) (Boyd 2000a).

Initially, the partnership between GJJF and Glenmorangie proved to be fruitful, and the working relationship strong. As noted by journalist Kenny Mathieson, 'jazz and booze have had a close association for some time' (Mathieson 2000, p. 18); Glenmorangie capitalised on this association, creating a joint brand with GJJF on the theme 'The Spirit of the Festival', complete with a 'glass trumpet' logo. ABSA (now itself rebranded as Arts and Business Scotland) instigated an annual awards programme to celebrate and reward strong partnerships between arts organisations and their commercial sponsors. As well as nominating Glenmorangie for an award, GJJF – with other arts organisations – petitioned Arts and Business to extend their pairing scheme beyond new partnerships, so that new deals with existing sponsors might be eligible for matched funding. Such a change would allow potential sponsors to commit to shorter, trial periods in the first instance without compromising the possibility of matched funding (Boyd 2000a); this serves to illustrate that the landscape had become more difficult for arts organisations to navigate, with sponsors demanding more opportunities for short-term partnerships.

As time progressed, however, GJJF was reminded that – as illustrated by Bill Sweeney's earlier observation about the relationship with Guinness – commercial sponsorship is as much about individual contacts as organisational priorities. A change of personnel at Glenmorangie made communication between the companies



less straightforward and threw the title sponsorship deal into doubt. Boyd wrote that:

... we have agreed to allow G'gie title sponsorship for one year at £45k with an understanding that future years will be for not less than £40k. We are confident of Glenmorangie's long term aims and commitment to the Festival and are working with the G'gie team to ensure the relationship gives maximum benefit to both organisations. (Boyd 2000b)

In reviewing the title sponsorship deal, Boyd later reported, the whisky brand was '... particularly anxious to see an increase in audience numbers' (Boyd 2000b), once again demonstrating that access to people is the most important consideration to a commercial partner. In 2001 – a year before the original deal had been due to expire – Glenmorangie announced that it was discontinuing its relationship with GJF, citing a perceived lack of 'national and international coverage' among its reasons, as well as a mismatch between GJF's audience and its own target market of 25–35 year-olds (Boyd 2001).

## Conclusions

When Glasgow Jazz Festival began in 1987, it was against a backdrop of an emergent summer programme of festivals in Glasgow covering the performing arts, including theatre, dance, classical and choral music, and folk music. While arts organisations were having to compete for sponsors – particularly during 1990 – the Jazz Festival was able to attract substantial support from the private sector, with drinks brands including Guinness, Tennents, McEwans and the Famous Grouse proving to be among the most reliable and well-matched of their partners. At the same time, extensions to licensing hours, and the enabling of landlords to charge for entry to live music in pubs, provided the parent companies of these brands with opportunities to profit from the proliferation of cultural activities in the city.

By the mid-1990s, Glasgow's calendar of cultural events had changed quite dramatically. New festivals had been established and GJF's neighbouring events, Mayfest and the Glasgow Folk Festival, had ceased trading. These developments served to at least refresh, if not increase, the opportunities available for companies to support live events. T in the Park, in particular, offered an opportunity to reach younger audiences – an opportunity seized by Tennents (who still sponsor the event to this day). The changes were also set against the backdrop of ongoing concerns about the social effects of alcohol in the city, which led to the introduction of a ban on street drinking in 1996.

The application of a focused, strategic and well-informed approach to securing private-sector funding in 1998 led to a partnership with Glenmorangie which lasted for three years. This partnership came to an end in part because of a change in personnel at Glenmorangie, in part because of a change in the company's target market, and in part due to insufficient media coverage.

The subsequent title sponsorship deal with the Royal Bank of Scotland has proved to be the biggest sponsorship deal in GJF's history. The termination of this deal after the 2005 Festival coincided with the beginning of a slump in support for jazz festivals in general; Riley and Laing found that between 2005 and 2008 finance from all sources became more difficult to secure, with a growing number of festivals receiving no financial support at all (Riley and Laing 2010, p. 11). Sponsorship since



2008 has not included any cash sponsorship from drinks firms and only modest amounts of in-kind support; although there are promising signs that interest may be picking up, another partnership on the Glenmorangie scale seems improbable.

It is important to note that live music events which rely on a mixed economic model, such as Glasgow Jazz Festival, are under constant pressure to balance the often-conflicting demands of their various supporters. In order to generate income at the box office, as well as attracting income from private-sector sponsors, they are forced towards the relative commercial safety of household names; in order to satisfy arts councils and public bodies, they are required to strive for an artistically adventurous programme. For smaller events, the struggle for continued existence is often paired with a struggle for coherence.

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# 'I'm there to play music not break up fights': gigging entertainers' experiences of alcohol-related misbehaviour by audiences and its impact on performance

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## Abstract

*Despite the fact that drinking and music often share a space, the relationship between alcohol-related misbehaviour and live music has received little academic attention. Music has been demonstrated to influence drinking behaviour and entertainers have been observed influencing ('soft-policing') drunken misbehaviour by audiences. However, to date research has not given voice to those providing this musical entertainment. Are they aware of the effects they have on audiences' drinking behaviour and does this impact on performances? Our qualitative research fills this lacuna by drawing on the experiences of gigging entertainers to explore how they deal with intoxicated audiences. Interviews conducted as part of this research highlighted a lack of preparation on the part of performers for dealing with disorderly crowds and/or the unwanted attentions of drunken individuals; they usually have to learn appropriate responses 'on the job'. Success as a gigging entertainer was felt to be only partly founded upon artistic merit, with an ability to engage the (often inebriated) public being equally important. Although none had received formal training in alcohol issues as musicians, some utilised people skills (e.g. conflict resolution techniques) acquired via other employment. The authors ask if there is a place for training in alcohol-related issues to be offered by or integrated into music curriculums.*

## Introduction

This paper analyses the experiences of gigging entertainers working in alcohol-licensed venues and the challenges they face when performing to intoxicated audiences. This builds upon two previous projects by the research team which looked at the roles of music within pubs (Forsyth and Cloonan 2008) and alcohol-licensed nightclubs (Forsyth 2009) in Glasgow, Scotland. These prior studies were

designed to identify environmental factors that mediate levels of alcohol-related problems (e.g. violence) within venues, via a combination of field observations and interviews conducted with bar staff and patrons. Although music was omnipresent in both studies (e.g. DJs, karaoke, live acts), and was observably a key factor influencing alcohol-related behaviours (e.g. intoxication levels, aggression, sexual activity), those providing the entertainment were not consulted. The present project fills this lacuna by conducting interviews with a sample of entertainers who perform in Glasgow's pub/club scene.

We begin by locating our work within wider debates about music in everyday life, artist–audience interactions, live music and musical labour. We locate popular music practice within the broader leisure economy, before we go on to explain our methodology. We then reveal our research findings which examine entertainers' responses to disorderly audiences in general, specific problems with hecklers or stage invaders, and subsequent lessons learned in crowd control. Finally we discuss these findings in terms of entertainers' continuing professional development (CPD), before making some tentative conclusions and suggestions for further research.

## The research context

One aspect of the link between live music and alcohol consumption is the wide range of disciplines with which it finds interest, including (but not limited to) popular music studies (PMS), musicology, economics, health, psychology, social sciences and law. We seek here to locate our research within PMS and to limit our considerations to four broad areas: the use of music in everyday life, artist–audience interactions, live music and musical labour.

Alcohol consumption and music are both part of daily life, and their place there is well documented by the Music in Daily Life Project (Crafts *et al.* 1993) and De Nora's (2000) seminal text, *Music in Everyday Life*. However, the focus in such works has been on the audience and on recorded music in public places and in identity formation. Similar work in psychology (e.g. Krause *et al.* 2014; North *et al.* 2015) has also concentrated on recorded music. Our research builds on this interest in the use of music but offers new insights through a focus on performers rather than audiences, and on live rather than recorded music.

We do not wish to draw strict demarcations here, as the consideration of live music obviously means the consideration of audiences. Indeed, the relationship between audiences and musical entertainers has always been fraught. Research by Becker in the 1940s illustrated that many live jazz musicians saw their audiences as constraints on their art (Becker 1951), and a clear disconnect between artist and audience is evident in perhaps the most famous popular music performance of all time – Bob Dylan at the Newport Festival (Marshall 2006). Cohen's pioneering work on music making in 1980s Liverpool also revealed the relationships between bands and their audiences, including those with their potential hecklers (Cohen 1991, pp. 77, 91), as involving complex power relations (Cohen 1991, p. 95). More recent research, involving one of our team, found that audiences themselves had reservations about how their fellow audience members would behave at events where music was the main focus. They disapproved of such things as excessive dancing or making too much noise (Behr *et al.* 2014, p. 9). These problems can be seen as being exacerbated under circumstances where music is part of a broader milieu of

entertainment in the night-time economy, but they also serve to reveal the complexity of both audience–artist interaction and intra-audience interaction.

More broadly, research into live music has blossomed since it became economically dominant within music industries from 2008 onwards (Page 2009). The pioneering work in this 'turn to live music' has involved a concentration on the industry, rather than on performers per se, and in particular on concert promoters (see Cloonan 2012; Frith *et al.* 2013). Importantly, related work has shown how intimately intertwined the regulation of live music is with the licensing of alcohol sales, as was exemplified by the Licensing Act of 2003 in England and Wales. The Act made changes to alcohol licensing that came to have a disproportionate effect on the provision of live music (Cloonan 2007, pp. 53–8). Scotland too has witnessed the role of recorded music in framing drinking behaviour in pubs (Forsyth and Cloonan 2008). However, this is the first time that live musicians' experiences of regulating behaviour associated with heavy drinking have been examined.

Our work comes at a time where the relationship between live music and alcohol is becoming increasingly questioned. While the volume at gigs has long been of concern (Cloonan 1996, p. 184, Johnson and Cloonan 2009, p. 191), alcohol consumption can be viewed as something of a given. As bigger live music events such as arena tours, stadium gigs and festivals have grown, so has sponsorship of them. Key among such sponsors has been the alcohol companies. For example, Scotland's biggest festival, T in the Park, gets the 'T' in its title from the Tennent's beer brand. The association here is clearly one in which the consumption of alcohol is associated with 'cool' events. Concerns about the impact of alcohol on health (see [www.alcoholpolicy.net/scotland/](http://www.alcoholpolicy.net/scotland/)) are likely to be ongoing and the experiences of entertainment workers provide as yet under-utilised evidence from which to build policy.

Finally, there has been a growth of interest in issues of musical labour. Examples of this have included the Canadian journal *Musicultures* (41/1, 2014) and another project in which one of us is involved ([www.muhistory.com](http://www.muhistory.com)). While musicians' representative organisations have long been concerned about their members' working conditions, they have rarely considered the implications for musicians of 'binge drinking'. However, the UK's Musicians' Union has recently reported that musicians in elite entertainment venues (private members' clubs) face hostility from drunken patrons (Simpson 2015). Looking at musicians as workers in such situations can provide further insight into the lived reality of working in music. In sum, we bring together a number of overlapping issues and throw new light on what it is to be a popular music practitioner.

## Live popular music and 'drinkertainment'

The provision of live music and the consumption of alcohol have long gone hand in hand. Music is a feature of on-trade alcohol outlets (i.e. pubs and clubs) and alcohol is commonly available at designated live entertainment venues such as concert halls, theatres, festivals and other arenas hosting gigs. Taken together, as part of the night-time economy, their coexistence has been termed 'drinkertainment' (Bell 2007). The music policies adopted by individual alcohol-licensed premises are thought to result in sonic demarcation of the night-time economy, with patrons choosing which venues to enter, depending on the entertainments on offer (Purcell and Graham 2005; Measham and Hadfield 2009; Hunt *et al.* 2010). Thus anticipated levels of

alcohol-related problems experienced within any venue are likely to be a function of the types of clientele that its music policy attracts.

As well as attracting patrons to alcohol-licensed premises, once inside, entertainment provision can be used to structure their night. For example, changes to the music within a venue can signal when it's time to converse, time to dance (and how to dance) or time to take a break from the dancefloor (i.e. to visit the bar to purchase alcohol), and ultimately drinking-up/closing time (Caldwell and Hibbert 1999; Hadfield *et al.* 2004).

In experimental (bar-lab) settings, music has been found to influence alcohol consumption. The findings from such studies have concluded that: the presence of music increases alcohol consumption, especially when played in the company of other drinkers (Drews *et al.* 1992); louder music, which can stymie conversation, encourages consumption (Guéguen *et al.* 2008); a faster tempo can result in faster drinking (McElrea and Standing 1992); and music can distract from the taste of alcohol, leading consumers to underestimate the strength of beverages (Stafford *et al.* 2012). Lyrical content may also affect consumption, either obviously by priming drinkers with alcohol-related lyrics, including 'drinking songs' (Jacob 2006), or subtly via mood alteration (Bach and Schaefer 1979). Interestingly, in these studies the experimental condition (i.e. music) was always reported to increase consumption, perhaps suggesting a Hawthorne effect (i.e. where the presence of the experimenter influences the desired direction of the outcome), whereas in real world settings there would appear to be scope for music to also be used as a mechanism to decrease drinking rates within venues (e.g. through reversing these effects).

Two previous observational research studies conducted by this research team (Forsyth *et al.* 2005; Forsyth 2006) carried out in pubs and alcohol-licensed nightclubs in Glasgow, Scotland, noted these effects on drinking behaviours in real-world venues. On the one hand, music was observed being used to create a (binge) drinking, party atmosphere, but on the other, to create a more chilled vibe, fostering more moderate (but more exclusively priced) drinking. Additionally the entertainers providing the music were observed engaging in alcohol promotion, ranging from overtly advertising over the microphone to subtly acting as pied pipers, leading the consumers by example (see also Home Office/KPMG LLP 2008; Turney 2008; Briggs 2013). Thus musical entertainment (including DJs, karaoke and live acts) was observably a key factor influencing not only drinking rates, but also the resultant behaviour, including aggression. However, our previous research also observed these same entertainers actively attempting to maintain good order within venues, ranging from the obvious, such as alerting security staff to violent incidents over the microphone, to more unobtrusively, i.e. using music to rein in rowdy patrons, diffusing tense situations or recovering a positive atmosphere following violent incidents (Forsyth and Cloonan 2008; Forsyth 2009).

Thus, rather than venue managers booking acts solely on the basis of their musical talents, the purpose of pubs/clubs providing live entertainment may extend to forms of selective consumer attraction and violence reduction, via techniques which Hadfield (2006) describes as 'sonic-governance' and 'soft-policing'. Such practice entails attracting the right crowd, controlling their consumption patterns once on the premises and preventing drunken disorder by keeping the entertained customers satisfied. As Homel and Tomsen (1993, p. 687) noted, '[e]ntertained crowds are less hostile' and 'bands and music are perhaps of the greatest importance' in this respect. What remains unknown is the extent to which entertainers are themselves aware of these roles, as suggested in the following quotation from Hadfield (2009, pp. 98–9).



Music policy is a clever form of manipulation that most people do not recognise, even people in the industry. . . . managers, DJs and security staff . . . It is much more important to control the crowd with music than it is to control the crowd with security staff because if you have to constantly control the crowd with security staff you've lost the plot, basically. You should be creating an environment which keeps people out of the mood where conflict can occur. (Jim, Manager, high street bar)

The above quote by a venue manager implies that although those providing musical entertainment play an important role in crowd control they may not be aware of it. Perhaps this view is simply because to date no research has asked pub/club scene entertainers for their views and experiences. This is not because the entertainers are not interested in such issues. On the contrary, the dissemination of our previous research attracted critical attention from those working in the entertainment industry (we received e-mails from two artists (a Swedish house music DJ and Australian hip-hop promoter) who had read our work and we got feedback following presentation at the *Club Health 2008* conference in Ibiza). This drew our attention to the conspicuous absence of data obtained from those providing the music. It was suggested that: (i) our research into music and aggression in alcohol-licensed venues was incomplete without giving a voice to those providing the entertainment; and (ii) the impact that alcohol-related hassle from the audience has on entertainers themselves, and on their ability to perform, has been overlooked. The present project filled this lacuna by conducting interviews with a sample of gigging entertainers who perform in Glasgow's pub/club scene. Specifically we asked:

- Are those who provide the musical entertainment in pubs and clubs aware of their roles as crowd controllers and to what extent do they think preventing alcohol-related aggression within audiences is, or should be, part of their job remit?
- How do they deal with hassles from intoxicated audience members directed at them?
- Have they had any formal training in dealing with alcohol-related problems? If not, then how did they learn the people skills necessary to successfully deal with drunken audiences, and do they think musical entertainers would benefit from such training?

## Method

To meet our research aims it was decided to conduct 24 qualitative interviews with entertainers currently working in Glasgow's pubs and clubs (although some participants had toured extensively). A sampling frame was drawn up to produce a diverse range of participants. Three broad categories of entertainer were recruited: band members ( $n = 8$ ), DJs ( $n = 8$ ), and variety acts ( $n = 8$ ). The variety acts category differed from the others in that half its participants were non-musical acts. These four participants (comprising two stand-up comedians, a comedy sketch artist and a quiz host) are excluded from further analysis in this paper. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that their experiences of working in alcohol environments were broadly similar to that reported by the 20 musical acts. The exception was that the stand-up comics had engaged in formal courses in dealing with disruptive audiences (one band member had similarly been trained in stand-up). Although being a pub/club entertainer appeared to be a male-dominated profession in Glasgow, we recruited two female participants in each category and, reflecting the locality, 20/24 participants were white-Scottish, three were Irish and one was of another ethnicity (not further described for anonymity). A breakdown of the full sample's characteristics is

shown in [Tables 1–3](#), which include information on any previous employment in either the music/entertainment or alcohol/hospitality industries.

As can be seen from [Tables 1–3](#), although band members tended to perform mainly in pubs and DJs in clubs, most participants had a breadth of experience working across the night-time economy. Several participants were able to speak as members of more than one of our three categories; for example, three band members had worked as DJs, two DJs had been karaoke presenters, and our karaoke presenter had been a DJ. Several participants in each category had worked in alcohol hospitality jobs, ranging from bar servers to a licensee. In some cases, alcohol-related employment predated or was even their route into entertainment work; in others, ‘bar work’ was a means of financing their musical careers. Thus some participants were able to speak from experience gained on both sides of the bar about the issues they faced when dealing with the intoxicated public.

Each participant was interviewed in late 2014 using a semi-structured interview schedule, enquiring about the venues they played, the clientele, and their experiences with alcohol-related issues (also including topics such as their own drinking and alcohol marketing). In practice, the participants were very talkative, but in case any points of interest were missed the schedule included the following prompts regarding dealing with alcohol-related misbehaviour.

- Has there ever been any trouble that has arisen in venues when you’ve been playing? For example, what happened, what do you think caused it, what did you do (trouble in general, trouble directed at you, e.g. heckling, arguments, fights)?
- How do you deal with hassles (e.g. hecklers, bad behaviour, drunk people, bad requests, etc.)? Have you ever had to stop what you were doing as a result of crowd problems/trouble? What interventions did you make (e.g. call security, lights up, get involved yourself)?
- Have you ever had any training on how to deal with patrons in terms of crowd control or dealing with intoxicated people?

Interviews were recorded and later transcribed, before being analysed. Thematic analysis was used because of its ability to provide for ‘identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 79). To ensure full familiarisation with the data, interview transcripts were read multiple times, searching for patterns and ideas, making notes, before moving on to a more formal analysis (Bryman 2012). Data were entered into the qualitative data management software NVivo 10. Initially, coding was broad and inclusive in order to avoid moving pieces of data from their context and to leave room for multiple interpretations of ambiguous sections. The dataset was worked through systematically, breaking it into broad codes linked to the research question. These were sorted into potential overarching themes, considering how codes may combine together (Braun and Clarke 2006). Once a set of themes had been devised, these were refined, working back and forth between the entire dataset, notes, research questions and coded extracts.

## Results

All participants had experience of alcohol-related problems while performing as gigging entertainers. Broadly speaking, these hassles took two forms: either group disorders within the audience unrelated to their act, or the unwanted attentions of individual

Table 1. Band members.

ID	Sex	Age	Current/main act or music genres	Current venues/residency	Prior/other acts or experience	Prior/other or occasional venues	Alcohol work experience
#006	F	30	Indie-pop vocalist	Festival circuit	Musical family Drama course Recording act DJ.	Private clubs Church hall	Drinks sampler
#011	M	31	Rock covers guitarist & vocalist	Music pubs Weddings	Musical family Music degree Tribute show	Mainstream pubs Theatres stages	–
#018	M	38	Punk disco guitarist	Music pubs	Record shop server Recording act TV shows DJ	Arena tours Theatre stages Festivals	Pub licensee
#019	M	27	Folk singer-songwriter	Mainstream pubs	Quiz host Busker Quiz host	Theatre stage Music pubs	Bar server
#021	M	21	Blues rock drummer	Music pubs Mainstream pubs Weddings Tourist pubs	Musical family TV show Recording act Heavy metal guitarist Comedy course	Beer festivals Rock clubs Street fair float Folk festival Cafes Fete.	Waiter
#022	M	36	Folk percussionist				–
#023	F	30	Riot grrrl punk guitarist & vocalist	Music pubs Mainstream pubs Alternative club	Gig merchandise vendor	Arena tours Straight edge festival	–
#024	M	36	Indie guitarist	Music pubs	Club promoter Recording act DJ	Private club Theatre bar Festivals	Bar server

Table 2. *DJs.*

ID	Sex	Age	Current/main act or music genres	Current venues/ residency	Prior/other acts or experience	Prior/other or occasional venues	Alcohol work experience
#001	M	35	Indie-rock	Student club LGBT club	Lighting operator Karaoke presenter	Weddings	Bar server
#002	M	30	Jive/rock n roll	Niche club	Radio DJ	Student unions Student pubs	Waiter
#003	M	30	Commercial dance	Mainstream club	–	LGBT club	Bar server
#007	M	42	Cheesy pop	Student club	Karaoke presenter Quiz host	Hotel. Town halls	–
#008	F	25	Soul/funk/disco	LGBT club	Radio DJ	Shop (day-time economy) Art-house spaces	Drinks sampler Photographer
#009	M	38	Techno	Bar/restaurant	–	Music pubs EDM festivals	–
#010	M	27	World music Chart	International-theme pub Student pub Cocktail bar	Music equipment journalist	Mainstream club (student night) Shopping mall (day-time economy)	PR worker
#014	F	20	Rap/dancehall/R&B EDM	Student union Alternative clubs	Radio DJ Music culture journalist	–	PR worker

Table 3. *Variety acts.*

ID	Sex	Age	Current/main act or music genres	Current venues/residency	Prior/other acts or experience	Prior/other occasional venues	Alcohol work experience
#004	M	28	Quiz host	Tourist pub	–	–	Bar server
#005	F	45	Stand-up comic	Comedy club Bar/restaurant	Drama course Comedy course	Theatre stage Arts festival	Glass collector Bar manager
#012	M	36	Karaoke presenter	Mainstream pub	DJ	–	–
#013	M	33	Stand-up comic Compere	Comedy club Bar/restaurant	Comedy course	Arts festival Church hall	–
#015	M	49	Electronic (music) performance artist	Alternative clubs Music pubs Art-house spaces	Hard-core punk & metal vocalist Recording act	Student unions Arena tours Private club Town hall	–
#016	M	24	Comedy sketch performance artist	Comedy club	Stand-up comic	Mainstream pubs Bar/restaurant	Glass collector
#017	F	41	Cabaret singer	Burlesque clubs Bar/restaurant	Showgirl dancer Talent contest winner	Town halls Art-house spaces	Bar server
#020	M	27	Lounge pianist	Après ski bar Cruise liner International ferry	Music degree Rock band keyboard player	International club Festivals Weddings	Bar server

drunken patrons directed at them/their performance. An overarching theme influencing both types of hassle was the drinking context. This varied first by performing space, that is venue-type, as is illustrated in the following quote made by participant #008, a DJ:

In terms of alcohol and environment I think it really does depend on the type of bar or club that you're playing in. ... if it's the kind of place that's £4 [US\$6.30] a pint they are less likely to get so drunk, they're less likely to give you hassle and they're more likely to be there to see you or the night, whereas, if you're playing to a sort of £1 [US\$1.53] mixer they're just there to get drunk. There is a different reason for them being there than to see music or appreciate music. (#008, DJ)

Secondly, hassles relating to the drinking context could vary by performance time; for example, at late night gigs audiences were likely to have been on the premises longer and consequently to have consumed more alcohol, as is explained below by participant #006, a band member.

The people had just been drinking for far too long and it would have been far better for us to go on at like 12 o'clock rather than like 2, 3 in the morning because it just got to the point where it was just, you know, nobody was listening or people were being rowdy or, so there's definitely a time, there's a peak level, there's this window where it's like a wee bit drunk but not like being pains. (#006 band member)

### *Should I play or should I go: reacting to disorderly audiences*

There was little that participants could do to influence the contextual risk of different venues other than, for example, try to avoid bookings where 'maybe the reputation of clubs are not as good if these are the kind of people that are going in' (#003) or just accepting 'It's my own fault for booking gigs that are late at night' (#011). However, it was also suggested that alcohol-related trouble *is* inevitable in alcohol-licensed venues, for example, that 'there's always fights in nightclubs' (#003) or that it's 'just part of club-culture and nightlife' (#010). Perhaps such negative expectancies were in part shaped by entertainers' central position in the evening's entertainment, often the focal point of events, making them the most aware person in the venue when trouble was brewing. Indeed their often literally elevated position (on stages) offered them a panoptical (and sober) view of audience (mis)behaviours.

... point of view, like in the club like you'll always see, and it's interesting because they don't realise that you're listening, like sometimes you can pick up on conversations and because you're sober when you're working you get to see the whole night. You get to see what's going on, when you're drunk you don't see as much. (#003, DJ)  
People misbehaving, hitting light fixtures and stuff like that. Yeah, you see everything. In certain venues you can see the whole room. You have a vantage point. (#002, DJ)

Thus, owing to their unique 'vantage point', entertainers often doubled as the all-seeing-eyes and ears of a venue's security arrangements, alerting stewards to trouble spots by various means, including hand signals, radio messages or shouting out on the microphone.

... there's always going to be fights. So our job really at that part is just to mediate it and be like 'fight, that guy in the T-shirt started it, that guy there got punched for no reason' and we just say it all down the mic and security will deal with it any way they see fit, and that's the kind of agreement. (#020, variety act)



We had code-words so we would get on the microphone, so if you saw a fight that was kind of minor, so when I say minor punches being thrown that kind of thing you would shout 'blue-2' and then you would shout the area of where the fight was. . . . But if the fight was more severe as in maybe like a stabbing or something then I would shout 'red-1' and then the area. (#003, DJ)

The above two quotes identify a common dilemma faced by entertainers when trouble occurs within an audience; that is, should the band play on? In the first quote, lounge pianist #020 stops playing and makes it clear to all present exactly what is going on, whereas in the second, DJ #003 uses prearranged code-words so only the security staff need to know. The sample was split between participants who felt cutting the music, to draw attention to an incident, would get it dealt with more quickly and those who felt this risked more patrons becoming involved.

I would turn the music off. I would do the exact opposite of that [use code-words] . . . I would turn the music down so everybody would turn round and go 'what's going on'. If stewards don't realise there's something going on when I have called them out and the music is off. 'Can I get a steward over here please' and there is no music playing then something is happening, surely something is happening. That would maybe get it done quicker. (#007, DJ)

I don't like to cut the music but some managers and stuff tell you to turn the music off which I think is ridiculous because it focuses all the attention on it, whereas there might only have been twenty or thirty people at that certain area that are aware of it but then you're bringing the whole pub aware of it. Everybody then wants to get involved . . . I'm not a big fan but I'll go by what the manager says because then it's on his head. It's nothing to do with me. (#012, variety act)

Participants were divided according to the extent to which they felt preventing negative audience behaviours was part of an entertainer's job remit and, even if it was, at what point this became 'nothing to do with' them and better left to designated security staff.

You don't want to get involved yourself because you don't know what implications that's going to have . . . simply just go and get a management figure or one of the bouncers. That's their job at the end of the day. It's not mine. I'm there to play music not break up fights. (#010, DJ)

I'm the first one to jump over the bar as well and try and break it up. I shouldn't get involved but I have done. 'Cause I feel responsible.' Cause I genuinely believe that if I'm working in a nightclub I need to look after the welfare of the people that are there. I'm not just there to make them dance. (#009, DJ)

Although the above two quotes might seem to contradict each other, they reflect the different perceptions of the two DJs as to what the boundaries of entertainers' interventions might be (indeed whether they viewed their reactions as interventions), rather than the differences in their sense of their duty of care towards their audiences. For example, #010 went on to describe how, rather than ignoring what was going on, he might change the music to distract the audience from an incident and 'make them dance' again.

I mean [after fights] you may want to like choose a different sort of vibe, a different sort of song or something to sort of kick things back into gear, but nine times out of ten like you'll have an atmosphere for like a wee while, a minute or two after that's happened and then people just sort of forget about it and get back on. At the time it does almost clear the dancefloor. (#010, DJ)

Thus only being 'there to play music' could extend to soft-policing, even if unknowingly so. Entertainers' level of involvement in crowd management appeared to be dependent on their assessment of the situation and on their (lack of) training or authority for dealing with it, together with the level of responsibility they felt towards the audience and the power that their focal position afforded them. The following examples illustrate how one size did not fit all situations, and how entertainers tailored their actions accordingly.

When you feel a bad atmosphere then that's the DJ's job I think to rein it back and keep people cool a wee bit. You can do that. In clubs and stuff like that you can see people going a hundred mile an hour and it's good to play a song that just reins it back a wee bit, ... then you just go 'right ok, do you know what, something could happen here, somebody could be jumping about too much and bump into somebody and cause a fight', so just rein it back. (#012, variety act)

I've come out from behind the turn-tables and, you know, like put my hand on people's shoulders and, not when they've been mid fisticuffs! If that was the case I'm not the man to deal with that! But yeah, whatever the situation needs. (#002, DJ)

I would go out of my way to get involved ... I'd go out of my way which isn't professional, it isn't what to do. Generally speaking there are staff there for that but yes a 100 per cent I would go out of my way to have a comment in. There's a great sense of power in having a microphone in front of you so if you shout across at somebody 'wrap it' or 'stop doing that' or 'what have you?' they listen a bit more. (#019, band member)

### *Combat pub-rock: responding to hecklers, inappropriate requests and stage invaders*

In the final quote above, #019 comments on the power of 'having a microphone'. This was an effective tool in dealing with the other form of drunken behaviour they commonly faced, specifically abuse directed at them by audience members.

Sometimes when you are getting heckled you're kind of indestructible, you've got this microphone in front of you and you're amplified over the top of people so sometimes you do have an advantage and they do back down and stuff. (#022, band member)

You need to have quite a big personality and again that's magnified by having more people. If you've got four people with mics they beat 20 lads like because we're louder and we've got control of the majority of the room. (#020, variety act)

As #020 says, gigging entertainers also need to have a certain personality or temperament behind that microphone to deal with drunken troublemakers. Indeed, being able to handle tough audiences, for example by 'reading the crowd' (#010), was seen as crucial a natural talent or learned skill for a successful career as creative artistry or technical proficiency.

I don't think you should get into this industry if you haven't got a good personality or a good read of people. (#012, variety act)

It doesn't really matter whether you are good or not if you can seem like you're good and seem like you're confident and be loud enough to sort of carry the room a wee bit. It's not that important what you play. (#019, band member)

However, levels of abuse directed at entertainers were felt to differ according to the levels of respect that types of acts could command from an audience. Another factor

was the type of event – those events (e.g. weddings) where entertainers were viewed by intoxicated patrons as ‘a human jukebox’ (#10) or ‘a CD player that’s wearing clothes’ (#020) or ‘the hired entertainment’ (#021). This was especially the case when drunken patrons believed everybody could do the entertainer’s job, or that they had more expertise regarding music choices.

I think drunk people ... especially because ‘everybody is in a band these days’, so when people go into a venue and they see a band they don’t go ‘Oh cool, there’s a band playing’. It’s just another person that just happens to be working at the venue who’s got a guitar with him that night. (#011, band member)

You can’t argue with drunk people! [laughs] Like it just goes round and round and round and round. I kind of figured that out ... it’s not a war of wills and it’s not you know ‘you’ve come to my club to be educated by my amazing music’. (#001, DJ)

DJs felt an extra level of vulnerability in comparison to band members, partly because they tended to occupy static, more accessible spaces (this was also experienced by lounge pianist #020). They were often working alone, in the same venue every night (rather having ‘the road’ as an escape) with a residency job to defend. They were more prone to intoxicated patrons hanging around making very persistent inappropriate requests (e.g. for a genre incompatible with the venue’s music policy, or for songs with football/sectarian connotations).<sup>1</sup> Unlike band members, who may genuinely not know or be unable to comply with a request (e.g. ‘ask[ing] for something like “Bohemian Rhapsody”, which for a three piece is impossible’ (#011)), DJs faced the additional problem of being expected to have every piece of music quite literally at their fingertips (i.e. via the internet), a situation exacerbated in recent times by patrons downloading requests for DJs to play from their smartphones, etc. The following two accounts, both by participants who had experience gigging as DJs *and* as band members, illustrate this.

It’s harder as a DJ because you’ve got a more collective public duty ... when you are a DJ as technically you should have everything in the world if you are attached to wi-fi. So I still DJ from vinyl and CDs ... just so I can say ‘I genuinely don’t have that’ and then you’ll get someone handing you a phone or an *i-pad* saying ‘play that!’. So being in a band is different. (#018, band member)

I think there’s just something about, with DJing which people just feel like ‘oh, well I’d be a better DJ’ so come up and a lot of kind of shouting in your ear and things like that. Whereas, I suppose with the band there is to a certain degree ... I wouldn’t say to the same degree as kind of with DJing which can sometimes verge on even being a bit aggressive. (#006, band member)

The persistent attention of drunken patrons could impact on the quality of the show to a greater extent should they start interfering with expensive equipment, such as speakers or mixing desks, and attempt to play instruments or take control of the microphone.

<sup>1</sup> Glasgow, where our research took place, is well known for supporters of its two most famous football teams, Celtic and Rangers, being divided along religious lines. The singing of sectarian songs is an obvious potential flashpoint.

The piano is like literally just in the middle of the room, on a circle like a very small stage and there is seats all round you and a bar all round you so people can just walk over, talk to you mid-song, try and press the piano, that was the hardest gig to deal with. (#020, variety act)

[At weddings] You're there to be, almost like at their disposal as such and I think they think, sometimes people can think they can take advantage or come up on stage ... come up and are like 'give me a shot of your drums big man'. (#021 band member)

Stage incursions also presented a risk to others; for example, as #021 added, uninvited volunteer drummers risked 'tripping over wires and all that stuff, spilling drinks, electricity'. The invasion of performance spaces was *the* audience misbehaviour that participants were most fearful of, as it presented them with difficult choices over what constituted appropriately severe counter-action to safeguard themselves or their equipment, both in the heat of the moment and in the longer term planning of shows.

The worst thing we get is drunk people trying to get on stage and sing. They grab the microphone and things like that but I've got zero-tolerance policy for that these days. Even weddings ... but the amount of gear I have had broken over the years with people coming up on the stage ... somebody will get up and swirl their beer about and then they'll smash a cymbal with their pint glass and that cymbal is smashed. One cymbal is 300 quid [US \$462] because we all use professional gear and, if we didn't use professional gear, it's a *Catch-22*, we could go in with cheap gear that doesn't sound as good and we wouldn't sound as good as a band but we wouldn't have to worry about it being broken, or we could go and do a professional job and risk it getting broken. (#011, band member)

I remember playing [named concert venue] and there was no barrier at the front of the stage and the place was really full and there was just a guy ... loads of drinks in front of them on the edge of the stage and it was right where my drum machines were plugged in and I could see him just like footering [interfering] with the leads and that just kind of swaying about ... he had a pint in front of him and this is me having no alcohol in my system but I was just fed-up with his footering and I kicked his pint in his face, it was a plastic cup! (#018, band member)

Despite experiencing a wide variety of unwanted attention, participants felt their job did afford them some additional security compared to others in a venue. As well as obvious protection from security staff, some also felt safe from a sense of togetherness among fellow entertainers and with others working in the night-time economy.

I think like working in the entertainment industry, this sort of night-time industry there's a sense of sort of camaraderie almost ... and there's not many people with occupations that have to deal with people that have been drinking so there is a sort of sense of looking out for one another and that sort of thing. You know, definitely there's a feeling of support amongst you. (#010, DJ)

I suppose the good thing about the band is you're not just up there yourself, it's almost like you've got a little team behind you ... the DJ thing as it's more of a kind of singular thing but you would always probably just have somebody within the venue. (#006, band member)

This help from 'somebody within the venue' which #006 mentions extended to 'the back-up of the crowd' (#006), because should disruptive patrons start spoiling the show for the rest of the audience, a bystander intervention was likely to take place. To this end entertainers could rely on their fans and venue regulars, or even purposively cultivate a following during a show to third-party police on their behalf, as illustrated in the following examples.

If you punch a DJ, the DJ is a very visible figure in the room and other people are having a good time so it's not going to go down well. (#002, DJ)

It was just off his own back [audience member who defended participant from heckler]. I think there's ownership about a pub, regulars go to a pub and it's their pub, it's their watering-hole and if you play there long enough you become part of that, that's our band, that's our guy that comes in. (#019, band member)

They [drunken stag-nights/bachelor parties] have to come through my bar to smoke and I'm playing 'Fly Me to the Moon' and obviously quite an easy target because they're pissed [drunk] and it's new to them and they go 'Ah piano dickhead'. So I quite often had to create a situation where ... I quite often had groups of like older women, women of like say 40+ who would take a shining to me or I would play songs for them or whatever, who would like chase out groups of lads because I would create this sense of like 'we're all in this together and they are spoiling it for us' and they would just go full firm and be like 'get out! Stop being a nuisance!' which is great. (#020, variety act)

In sum, the responses here show that the live music arena can provide key insights into the use of music in everyday life and into the working practices of professional musicians, in particular the problematic relationship artists can have with audiences, especially if such audiences are not there primarily to see their act. The accounts here are far removed from media accounts of musicians' glamorous lifestyles, suggesting that the live music arena is not only a place where musicians make a living, but also where they place themselves in danger from audiences whose desire for an intoxicated night out can clash with the musical aspirations of performers.

### *Non-complete control: learning to deal with alcohol-related hassles*

When asked how they had learned their techniques for dealing with alcohol-related hassles, participants often explained that this had only been through length of work experience as a performer, making comments such as 'talking to the other DJs I guess' (#001) or 'learn as you go' (#002), 'just through experience' (#003), 'it becomes an instinct' (#012), 'you learn on the job' (#020) and 'just watch other people and just learn very slowly' (#009). Often painful lessons had been learned from repeated mistakes made earlier in their careers – for example, in the following accounts where participants describe how they had only 'very slowly' learned how to verbally engage with intoxicated patrons.

I was playing at a really dodgy pub ... and I think I just got a bit mouthy with this guy's girlfriend ... she was drunk and tried to get up on to the stage and, I dunno, I was a bit rude to her I think. I'd gave her a couple of opportunities to be civil about it but we just starting mouthing off and this guy came up and punched me in the face. I learned my lesson from there. It took a few of these situations to learn how to deal with people ... so I learned to be not as cocky. (#011, band member)

**#001, DJ:** I've had a few drinks thrown at me over the years. [laughs]

**Interviewer:** And how do you deal with situations like that?

**#001, DJ:** Oh dear, well eh well I got better at getting out of the way [laughs] and then I kind of started realising 'Well ok well why are people throwing drinks over me?' And then I realised well it's just because I was being, I was being a little bit cheeky with people.

Thus participants gradually adopted more passive conflict diffusion techniques over their careers, learning, for example, to 'take it on the chin and gracefully accept their criticism' (#010) or 'take that with the pinch of salt it deserves' (#020) or 'sort of apologise and show that you're listening' (#006). The best strategy seemed to be to remain composed, use non-threatening body language, be polite but firm, neither giving any ground to, nor ignoring troublemakers no matter how unreasonable they were.

I would always get scared of it at first and instinctively, like that big chap [patron who threatened participant if he did not play same song again] your thought is 'should I hit him or should I run away' or sort of 'take it on the chin' or 'what should I do'? I'm not saying I know the correct answer but it seems to be if you are firm enough they know you're not going to do that, i.e. what they're asking for. That seems to save any hassle. (#019, band member)

Just try to employ a disarming politeness. Apologise ... just saying sorry and, you know a lot of body language which comes into it as well. Appear apologetic with your body. Open your arms up and tilt your head and stuff. (#002)

What is interesting is that these de-escalation techniques are very similar to strategies taught to alcohol-serving staff in Scotland (e.g. Alcohol Focus Scotland 2001; Scottish Qualifications Authority 2014), yet none of our music acts had received any formal training (as musicians) in how to deal with such issues.

DJs are totally out on their own, I have never been trained in anything at all, which is probably why I was telling people to 'fuck off' and it's taken me time to learn. But I've never been given any training at all. I've always been expected to know. (#009, DJ)

No training whatsoever. I wish I had. ... it can be quite difficult to rationalise with someone who is that drunk ... I think it would be really beneficial in some sense to get some kind of help. But then, I guess it comes really down to the venue. Like the venue should be seeing us as part of their staff ... there's never been any sort of 'in the event that someone comes over this is what you should do', which I think I would appreciate. (#008, DJ)

Some participants had learned aggression management techniques through other employment or training, providing transferable skills which they were able to apply while gigging, including people skills acquired in customer service or voluntary work and even in other capacities within the night-time economy.

I've never had any formal stewardship or any kind of particular training around violence reduction. But I am [day job in health care] to trade and I probably learned quite a lot on-the-hoof in terms of de-escalation. (#015, variety act)

I did want to do stand-up at one time, so it's quite good having a little repartee of heckles or something or ways of engaging people and you keep them engaged till the bouncer finds out where they are and chucks them out. (#022, band member)

Only as a licence holder, not as an entertainer for sure, although admittedly having licensee training really, it's totally helped me in how to deal with anyone that's being aggressive or complaining, not even as an entertainer, just in any walk of life. As I was saying, my instincts when I was younger was just to fight fire with fire, you know, and just be like 'what the fuck are you saying?' and just, you know, not necessarily getting into endless fights but just simply not backing down and now I just, I really love to talk someone out of their anger, being very calm. (#018, band member)



One participant went further in suggesting that musicians might benefit from formal education about nightlife employment more generally (a topic beyond the remit of our research question), to include dealing with drunken misbehaviour but extending to the complicated payment arrangements that employment as a gigging entertainer within alcohol-licensed premises often entailed.

I did a music degree, and I know that out of everyone that did the degree not everyone is going to be a gigging musician, but a lot of them are, and so for example the cultural relevance of music in the 80s is all well and good, but really, how to do your own accounts, how to deal with drunk people are two lectures I would have turned up for every time ... there are lots and lots of things that I was taught in university that are totally useless, as there are in schools and I'm sure all courses and stuff, but not even a nod to the fact that you will very, very soon, as soon as you leave university be much, much more likely than say a lawyer of doctor or anyone else, even people that do more menial jobs, to be one; self-employed and do your own tax from day one and complicated tax ... and number two, some sort of crowd management, group psychology, something like that which I've had to develop over the years would have been wildly helpful when I first started. (#020, band member)

Our findings have confirmed that gigging entertainers working in alcohol-licensed venues are aware of their role in crowd control, although views differed on the extent to which this should be considered part of their job. They were also on the receiving end of alcohol-related audience misbehaviour and this did negatively impact on their ability to perform. In the absence of opportunities to access any relevant training courses, musicians performing in the pub/club scene had often begun their careers unprepared for dealing with drunken audience misbehaviours. The final section will discuss how these issues might be addressed.

## **Conclusion**

The participants in this research felt it was normal to expect some level of drunken misbehaviour while working as gigging entertainers. This is probably not something everyone who chooses a career in music considers prior to finding work in this industry. During interviews there was usually an awkward moment when the participant acknowledged that patrons often came to venues to get drunk rather than hear them perform. This may of course reflect Scottish drinking culture and elsewhere different circumstances may pertain (a point not lost on our participants who had toured internationally). Alcohol-related trouble varied and was felt to be worse at certain types of venue (e.g. selling cheap alcohol) or types of events (e.g. weddings).

This differentiation, between types of gigs, chimes with recent research by Aresi and Pedersen (2015) who conducted interviews with Italian drinkers to create a three-part typology of event-appropriate intoxication; first 'social drinking', where alcohol is a 'side-dish', secondly 'dance settings' where moderate alcohol consumption is necessary for disinhibition, and thirdly 'celebration events' (e.g. weddings) where extreme intoxication is the goal. For our entertainers trouble seemed to be more likely where music was the 'side-dish' (e.g. a marketing tool) for alcohol, or at celebration events where audiences had less respect for their music or job as entertainers (rather than, say, gigs where extreme intoxication was present but where music remained the focal point). That said, less trouble might be anticipated at gigs held earlier in the evening, for example in #006's 'window' of intoxication, or where there was an (even nominal) entrance fee (or membership), because patrons

investing in such gigs would be more likely to have come, as #008 put it, to 'appreciate music' (i.e. where alcohol is the 'side-dish'). Another possibility might be the provision of more alcohol-free performance spaces, but 'dry' venues might reduce the enjoyment of the show (less disinhibition), lowering attendances (our participants equated these venues with underage events, often struggling to think of ever having played to an entirely sober adult audience).

Acknowledging that alcohol-related problems (drunken criticism, persistent inappropriate requests, heckles, threats, even assaults) are part of a gigging entertainer's job was one thing, but ascertaining whether it was part of their job to combat these problems (e.g. trying to prevent or intervening in fights within the audience) was quite another. Is their job just to entertain? While online guidance for musicians is clear that they should stop playing (Severe Tire Damage [n.d.](#)), our participants' views on this varied by the individual performer's circumstances, and overall there appeared to be a lack of consistency in what interventions entertainers felt they could make. Some felt that the show must go on, whereas others would stop playing. Often this varied according to inconsistent house rules that participants might follow regardless of whether they felt these were appropriate. Other participants, especially DJs, felt on their own to make judgements as to how best to deal with situations.

Those who felt unprepared for dealing with alcohol-related issues were positive towards musicians being offered some form of early career training in people skills because many had only learned conflict de-escalation techniques from their past mistakes. Interestingly, the techniques they had devised were similar to those in mandatory training taught to bar-serving staff in Scotland (or in stand-up comedy courses). The question remains as to who would be willing to provide or pay for the delivery of such training to musicians.

One body which might take this on in the UK is the Musicians' Union, many of whose members work in the sorts of environments portrayed here. Few of our participants worked for the venues they performed in; most were self-employed and the Union is one of the very few bodies providing the sort of CPD services within which such training might take place. Informal consultation with the Union suggested that thus far their intervention has been limited to alerting members to the dangers of their own excessive consumption of alcohol, rather than advising members as to how to deal with intoxicated audiences. Some participants felt the onus should be on the venues (i.e. the licensed trade industry) to provide training. However, we feel that there may be resistance to this from the security industry (who will see it as *their* job) and from venue management (who might see this as an admission of problems, jeopardising their licence). Also there may be a danger of overkill, in that too much security or mandated training may undermine the point/ethos of gigging entertainment, providing artistic freedom for new talent and accessible venues for local or niche audiences.

We feel one option might be, as participant #020 put it, for at least 'a nod' to be given to the practicalities of performing in the real world of 'drinkertainment'. This might be incorporated into formal music courses (e.g. in schools, tertiary education or private tuition), such as a lecture covering the issues raised in this paper, as well as other aspects of the night-time economy which students might one day face (e.g. self-financing). Finally, there may be some scope for informal mentoring between gigging entertainers, perhaps via online forums (our participants already used the internet as a self-marketing tool). This would allow gigging entertainers to more rapidly exchange their experiences with future musicians.

This paper has addressed a knowledge gap in the relationship between alcohol and music – specifically entertainers' experiences of drunken misbehaviour by audiences. In doing so it has shed further light on the use of music in everyday life but broadening the approach into the live music arena. While that area has been subject to detailed analysis in recent years, the lived-in experiences of the participants here adds a new angle, while also furthering accounts of musical labour and artist–audience interaction. Although our data were rich in depth, our sample was relatively small, limited to one city (and drinking culture), and it was not possible to include all types of performers or genres. Future research could be cross-cultural, allowing more of these voices to be heard and compared, or undertaken with a view to evaluating any future schemes that are introduced to reduce the alcohol-related hassles that musicians face. As workers, musicians should be as entitled as any other worker to go to their place of employment without fearing the sorts of incidents which our research uncovered. Breaking up fights should not lead to broken musicians.

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# Drink, song and disorder: the sorry saga of the Licensing Act 2003

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On 17 April 2012, the English folk-rock trio Show of Hands were invited to perform at the Houses of Parliament in London. The highlight of their set was the song ‘Roots’. Composed by the band’s leader, Steve Knightley, it celebrates the history of popular music with a specifically English flavour. The verse which was most anticipated by many in the audience of musicians, music industry figures and politicians was this:

And a minister said his vision of hell  
Is three folk singers in a pub near Wells  
Well, I’ve got a vision of urban sprawl  
Pubs where no-one ever sings at all

The lyrics refer to an event which occurred in 2001. During a debate in the British Parliament, a government minister, Kim Howells, told the assembled legislators that ‘for a simple urban boy like me, the idea of listening to three Somerset folk singers sounds like hell’. Howells was responding to arguments opposing his government’s plans to make all performances of music on premises where alcohol was sold subject to licensing by agencies of the State, primarily local councils, arguments which predicted a fall in the number of gigs and an increase in the number of ‘pubs where no one ever sings at all’.

Despite the opposition, the plans advocated by Howells came to fruition in the form of the Licensing Act 2003. However, criticism of the Act’s treatment of live music persisted to the degree that governments made concessions and amendments to the Act, culminating in a new Live Music Act of 2012. The concert of 17 April 2012 was organised to celebrate the success of the campaign for this new law.

The 2003 Act was presented by its proponents as a modernising piece of legislation, but it can be placed in a long history of attempts by the English and later the British State to impose order on the unruly or Dionysian side of music making, alcohol consumption, and the conjunction of the two. This history of both music and alcohol has been marked by regulation in the name of public order and moral improvement.

Popular music and alcohol have been associated in England in various ways for hundreds of years. In the Middle Ages, taverns were reported to provide musical entertainments well as drink for their habitués (Sanjek 1988). In the 18th and 19th centuries, itinerant musicians were sometimes recompensed in kind by their audiences, 'kind' often taking the form of food and alcoholic drinks (Harker 1981).

Over five centuries, a series of laws attempted to monitor, supervise and regulate the public environments in which drinking and music making took place. It began with a 1552 law which licensed alehouses, premises where beer was bought and sold and consumed. Two centuries later, the Disorderly Houses Act of 1751 sought to control the public performance of music and dance. The pace of regulation increased in the 19th century, in step with the massive growth in the provision of commercialised popular entertainment. The 1843 Theatres Act created a two-tier system for public performance venues. While plays were allowed to be given in a small number of halls, the more numerous taverns and public houses were permitted to sell alcohol and tobacco during musical or other shows.

Until the 1880s, venues that possessed a licence to sell intoxicating drinks did not need a separate licence for providing entertainment. This changed with the coming of the music hall as the principal site of popular entertainment in Britain. Especially in London, music venues were enmeshed in a web of laws and regulations from the 1880s until well into the 20th century.

By the late 20th century, the motive for yet more legislation on alcohol and music was to replace what Hunt and Manchester (2007) called this 'mishmash' of laws. Within the mishmash, the only live music performances that could be given in venues selling alcohol without applying for permission from law enforcement agencies were those by a solo performer or a duo; a combo of three or more players and singers needed a licence. This state of affairs became known in the music profession as the 'two-in-a-bar' rule.

The process of law making began in 2000 with the publication of a white paper or government discussion document, *Time For Reform*. The stated aim of a new law was to introduce 'an integrated system of control of alcohol, entertainment and late night refreshment'.

The 'control', however, was to be decentralised, for example to enable flexible opening hours for venues with alcohol. The justification for what was universally understood to be longer hours for selling alcohol were three-fold. First, 'staggered closing times' for pubs, bars and clubs would avoid 'disorder' involving queues for taxis, problems at fast food outlets, etc. Secondly, it would enhance local 'night-time' economies. Thirdly, it would encourage tourism (Hunt and Manchester 2007, p. 9). Almost as an afterthought, the government's Guidance document referred to other key aims and purposes. One of these was 'further development within communities of our rich culture of live music, dancing and theatre' (Hunt and Manchester 2007, p. 13).

But these various intentions to expand the night-time economy and its 'rich culture' were limited by another piece of Guidance, which advised that local authorities should, if necessary, defer to local experts or 'stakeholders' in making decisions. These included police, fire authorities, environmental health experts, planning authorities and local residents and businesses. The list did not include musicians or music promoters.

A very different interpretation was taken by many in the live music business. It was melodramatically summarised by one journalist writing in late 2002:



Secretively bundled up in this legislation, however, is a change to public entertainment licensing which could kill off live music in hundreds of pubs, restaurants, churches, libraries, private clubs and even private houses across the country. (Lewis 2002, p. 101)

The early drafts of the Act were strongly criticised by the Musicians Union (MU) and others, who argued that music performances should not be subject to specialised licensing. Although the MU's general secretary John Smith was later to say that 'ten significant amendments' were made in the progress to the final version of the Act, the union's basic 'philosophical point that music should not be licensed in this way' was not conceded. Smith was still opposed in principle to a situation where pubs needed a licence to provide live music, but not for 'big screen sports' (Allison 2004, p. 7).

The 2003 Act passed by parliament had four 'licensing objectives'. These were the prevention of 'crimes of disorder', the prevention of 'public nuisance', 'public safety' and the protection of children. These areas, broadly those of social control, were traditionally the province of the Home Office (interior ministry), with its responsibilities for policing, etc. But between the publication of the Home Office white paper and the introduction of the new law, its sponsoring department became the Department of Culture, Media and Sport. This had been set up by the New Labour administration in 1997 to replace the former National Heritage ministry and swiftly became the champion of the newly fashionable cultural and creative industries (Cloonan 2007).

So great had been the organised opposition to the legislation, both during its passage through parliament and its coming into force, that the government agreed to monitor the impact of the Act in the early years of its implementation. The Act did not come fully into operation until November 2005, in order to allow time for potential venues to apply for, and receive, licences.

The monitoring was undertaken in conjunction with a new advisory body, the Live Music Forum (LMF). It was chaired by Feargal Sharkey, former singer with the Undertones and now a music industry campaigner and official. Its first task was to undertake research to 'create a benchmark of live music activity against which the impact of the new licensing act can be measured'. This surveyed live music staged in England and Wales in 2003/2004 (the Act did not apply to either Scotland or Northern Ireland) and was published in mid-2005. This report showed the quantity of music performed prior to the introduction of the Act. In mid-2006 a new survey of 2000 small and medium-sized venues was launched. The aim was to provide comparative data so that the impact of the new law could be measured.

A principal aim of the legislation had been to standardise the approach of local authorities towards licensing, and to eliminate wide variations in the costs and conditions imposed on those applying for licences. But after a few years there was much evidence that this had not occurred. Hunt and Manchester reported that the some councils had failed to comply with the spirit of the Act, by insisting that licensees conduct their businesses according to the preferences of the licensing authority, contravening the intention of the government. Another piece of research concerned with crowd management and safety at events concluded that 'the introduction of the Licensing Act 2003 might have contributed to a lack of standardisation ...' (White 2009, p. 16).

In its final report in mid-2007 the LMF called on the government to 'robustly' censure those councils guilty of 'overzealous or incorrect interpretation of the legislation'.

The report also argued that all forms of unamplified live music should be exempt from licensing, giving examples of poetry readings accompanied by didgeridoo players 'being ruined'. The 91-page report concluded that in the first year of its operation, the Act had a 'broadly neutral effect on the provision of live music. However, it is also true to say that the Licensing Act has not led to the promised increase in live music.'

During the 2001 debates on the proposed law, a government spokesperson sought to strengthen the case for the control of live music by quoting a statement from Chris Fox of the Association of Chief Police Officers. Fox had said: 'Live music always acts as a magnet in whatever community it is being played. It brings people from outside that community and others who come and having no connection locally behave in a way that is inappropriate, criminal and disorderly.'

In 2008, this statement was brought to the attention of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport, composed of elected members who were tasked with monitoring the actions of the government department, by John Smith, the General Secretary of the MU. He added that on hearing of the Fox statement, the regional officials of the MU had contacted local police chiefs to ask for their views.

Smith quoted two responses to this union survey. Dorset police said that 'in the majority of cases, customers frequenting a particular venue attend to specifically listen to the music and not to cause trouble'. The Essex police expressed the view that 'the effect of live music itself on the licensing objectives is probably minimal ... the playing of live music in smaller premises presents the Essex Police with little or no problems that affect the four objectives described'. Feargal Sharkey added that, as chair of the LMF, he had taken the issue up with ACPO itself, which eventually admitted that they could not substantiate the allegation that people who attend live music concerts behave in a way that is 'criminal'.

Despite this, the largest police force in Britain introduced a policy that linked live music audiences with criminal activities. In 2007 the Metropolitan Police, responsible for policing London, adopted a new strategy, linked to the Licensing Act. Its 'clubs and vice unit' published a form which it advised local authorities in London should be completed by event promoters as a condition of the licence issued to venues. Known as Form 696, it requested full details of all participants in specific live music performances. Because the examples of music genre mentioned by the police were 'Bashment, R'n'B, Garage', it was soon seen as having a racist agenda and a subtext which defined such genres as inherently liable to provoke crime and disorder. Like Kim Howells' comment on folk singing, the Met Police action provoked a protest song, though a less eloquent one. 'SIX-NINE-SIX' by Welsh songwriter Rob Woodley included the refrain: 'No more crap from the boys in blue / free to play and get our kicks / bollocks to you and your six-nine-six.'

While statistics, policing and prejudice were flashpoints for the critics of the Act, the most sustained attempts to mitigate the law's impact on the live music ecosystem focused on exemptions to the requirement for all live music to be licensed. The original text of the Act had listed two types of exempted performance. One, curiously, was Morris dancing, a traditional English folk dance. The other was a poorly defined category of 'incidental' music. It was on this, and on a campaign to exempt small-scale shows, that would-be reformers of the Act set their sights.

The government's Guidance for the Act gave as examples of 'incidental' music the use of jukeboxes in pubs and comedians using music as part of their shows. But

musicians' organisations argued that live music could qualify as incidental if it was not advertised as a key part of a venue's activities, or even when there was free entry to a venue without a special charge to hear music. By the end of 2009, the MU, supported by the beer and pub association, local authorities and the government itself, was launching a campaign to make venues aware of the incidental music exemption and encourage them to take advantage of it.

The MU, the LMF and the select committee also argued for all venues with an audience capacity of 200 or less to be exempt from holding a music licence. The government grudgingly accepted the principle but instead proposed that the maximum audience size should be 100. It launched a consultation on this proposal but, before any action could be taken, a general election was called in May 2010.

The Labour government was replaced by a more right-wing coalition between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. The new government's first contribution to modifying the 2003 Act was a consultation document called *Rebalancing the Licensing Act* which, ominously for the live music industry, proposed to give greater influence to 'local communities' in licensing decisions, specifically to 'residents' worried about noise or disorder associated with music venues.

The election had also brought about the demise of a proposal for legislation to exempt 200-capacity venues, the initiative of Tim Clement-Jones, a member of the House of Lords, the upper house of the British parliament. Clement-Jones reintroduced his Live Music Bill in 2011 and, with conditional support from the coalition government, this bill became the Live Music Act in 2012. In addition to the exemption of smaller events, it amended the 2003 Act to make all unamplified performances licence free. Three years later, this exemption was extended to include venues with a maximum audience of 500.

So, 12 years from the start of the tortuous process of law making, some live music in England and Wales was once again free of specific regulation, but only by amending, not abolishing, this 21st-century equivalent of the Disorderly Houses Act. Instead of basing the unlicensed gigs on the two musicians-in-a-bar rule, there was now a ruling that such gigs should be performed to no more than 500 listeners.

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## Reviews

***Vinyl: The Analogue Record in the Digital Age.* By Dominik Bartmanski and Ian Woodward. London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015. 240 pp. ISBN 978-0-8578-5731-6**

doi:10.1017/S026114301600009X

*Vinyl*, by Dominik Bartmanski and Ian Woodward, is subtitled *The Analogue Record in the Digital Age*. The book is more than this, however. As well as looking at the vinyl record's relationship with digital technologies, it also tells the history of the format. The aim of the book's first chapter is to offer a 'historical background of vinyl's cultural biography' (p. xxi). This is nevertheless one of the weaker aspects of the book. The authors have only a loose grasp of the format's development and although they claim to have surveyed 'the extant literature on the topic' there is little evidence of their doing this (p. xv). From the technical point of view there is no Gelatt (1977) or Read and Welch (1976). Moreover, despite the book's focus on theory, there is no mention of some of the key thinkers on the subject. Kittler (1999) and Eisenberg (2005) are both missing, for example. The authors do admit, however, that the format's history is not their 'primary interest' (p. xxi).

As well as being wider than its subtitle would suggest, the book is also narrower. One notable aspect of vinyl's digital afterlife is how long it has lasted. In fact, this phase of its existence has now surpassed its reign as the 'king format' (p. 1). In Britain, for example, vinyl was the leading recording format, sales-wise, for 27 years. It surpassed shellac records in 1958 and was overtaken by the cassette in 1985. This book has been published 30 years after this initial eclipse. There is plenty to be written about vinyl's digital experience in these three decades, examining the format's relationship with digital recording, the CD, the download and now the digital stream. Bartmanski and Woodward's focus is nevertheless restricted to the resurgence of vinyl over the past five years. As such, they fall prey to the belief that it is only now that vinyl is being revived: 'few cared at all about the hastily abandoned vinyl until sales numbers 'proved' that it *can be* 'successful' and when the hip showed that it *is*, well, hip' (p. 4, emphasis in original). There have nevertheless been a number of vinyl revivals throughout this 30-year period and the format has continually received media attention disproportionate to its sales performance. Furthermore, not only are they focused on the present phase of digital technology, but they also believe that this phase will be the future. They state, 'vinyl saw a socially broader renaissance exactly at the time when the digital revolution seemed complete' (p. 166). Surely, however, the dust of the digital upheaval has not settled yet.

There are also oddities about the book's methodology. The current vinyl revival has been rooted in sales of LP records, at least according to official figures. Here, the main genre being sold is rock music, whether via reissues of the classic albums of vinyl's 'golden age' (p. 147) or the releases of artists who hark back to this era. Despite this generic bias, the authors' primary means of exploring this vinyl revival is to interview composers and DJs working in Berlin's electronic music scene. Although these practitioners are excellent at discussing the mystique of vinyl, they

are not particularly well placed to analyse the rock market. In addition, they are focused primarily on the 12" single. This points to another lacuna within the book's framework. One of the key aspects to vinyl's appeal is that it has formats within formats: the 7" single, EP, 12" single and LP. These each look and operate in different ways. They also appeal to different markets and genres. However, despite their ambition to explore 'the range of materially mediated cultural meanings' that adhere to vinyl (p. xxi), Bartmanski and Woodward have little to say about how these sub-formats have been articulated. This neglect is representative of a broader need to present the vinyl record as a monolithic thing. The authors' premise is to account for vinyl's popularity in the 'very properties of the medium itself and the experiences it affords' (p. 36). To do this they have to represent it as unchanging. They state that 'Berliner's basic idea has remained unaltered' (p. 70) and that the analogue record has 'never changed' since the introduction of vinyl in the 1940s (p. 70). This is simply not the case: the format has been refined and adapted.

Despite its flaws, the book has much to recommend it. The authors have a fine grasp of the complex and overlapping issues that are involved in establishing vinyl's status as a 'special object' (p. 162). Moreover, they have come up with a good chapter plan for exploring these facets. After Chapter 1's analysis of the format's history, Chapter 2 focuses on the way that vinyl functions as a medium, Chapter 3 looks at the production of vinyl, Chapter 4 addresses the ways in which consumers experience vinyl as a commodity, while Chapter 5 looks at the locations in which vinyl is 'sold, traded and played' (p. 137). This diverse exploration enables the authors to conclude sensibly that there are multiple causes for vinyl's current popularity: it is 'not about any one narrative or sentiment, be it nostalgic retromania or hipsterish snobbery' (p. 98).

In addition, the concentration on Berlin vinyl fanatics does bear fruit. In particular, there are some fascinating insights into vinyl production. That said, these practitioners do get carried away when trying to establish vinyl's 'self-reliant, anti-systemic and counter-cultural meanings' (p. 149). Peter Runge, for example, states, 'If you play vinyl, government people do not know that you do it ... as long as you don't pay for records with a credit card' (p. 151). The analysis of the current state of vinyl retail is also interesting, with a particularly good probing of the 'lifestyle and boutique' shop phenomenon (p. 142).

Finally, despite my gripes with the authors' definition of the digital age, the focus on the here and now of the vinyl phenomenon is highly valuable. It has resulted in a fascinating analysis of the format's 'meaningful circulation' (p. 170). Moreover, while Bartmanski and Woodward admit that 'It goes without saying that more work could be done on any of the topics we treat in this book' (p. 170), it is the case that any future scholars should bear in mind the methodology and the results of the approach they have adopted here.

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***The Hank Williams Reader*. Edited by Patrick Huber, Steve Goodson and David M. Anderson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 352 pp. ISBN 978-0-1997-4319-3; 0-1997-4319-3**  
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In the introduction to his authoritative biography of Hank Williams, Colin Escott argues that, in terms of creating a legend, Williams's death at the age of 29 'left what is still the most important body of work in country music; in fact, one of the defining caches of American music' (pp. 2–3). As with other 20th-century icons who died young, subsequent writings about Williams have given many interpretations to this legend. Such differing literary representations include Williams as the 'humble country boy' or as the 'hedonistic tabloid celebrity' or as the 'rock'n'roll pioneer', to name but a few. In collecting together 79 selected writings from across a wide variety of sources, including liner notes for CD compilations and court documents relating to Williams' divorce from his first wife Audrey Mae, the editors of *The Hank Williams Reader* provide a wealth of material which both informs and challenges these differing interpretations.

The writings, presented in chronological order, are divided up into seven sections – each dealing with a certain time period. The first section presents writings that were published while Williams was still alive, including the aforementioned divorce decrees and also a newspaper article describing his arrest for being drunk and disorderly. The remaining six sections bring together writings that were published after his death, and in many respects these reveal more about the writers' differing attitudes towards Williams (and more generally the culture/society of the times) than they illuminate his life or personality. For instance, the newspaper editorials that were published following his death subtly highlight the class divisions prevalent at that time between country music and the print media. Similarly, the writings produced by Williams' immediate family promote a positive and wholesome image of the singer-songwriter. These texts contradicted earlier reports of his behaviour, but this is unsurprising given his family's personal and financial interests in maintaining his legacy.

In addition to the ones mentioned above, the editors identify a number of other interpretations of Williams' life and work, including the 'tragic hero', 'organisation man', 'model family man' and 'original outlaw'. However, one of the strengths of this collection is that it provides possibilities to construct both an understanding of how these interpretations have developed and how they are interlinked. For example, in relation to the interpretation of Williams as a 'pioneer of rock'n'roll', both Bill C. Malone (in an excerpt from *Country Music, USA* (1968)), and Greil Marcus (in an excerpt from *Mystery Train* (1975)) explore the notion that Williams did as much to dilute country music as he did to promote it. For Malone, Williams' music reduced the rural purity of the genre and for Marcus, part of his music missed the hillbilly soul that Jimmie Rodgers 'had celebrated' (p. 172). Williams' music dealt with fear and resignation rather than the hedonism of



rock'n'roll. Similarly, the description of Williams in John Mothland's *The Best of Country Music* (1984) bridges a number of the singer-songwriter's representations through considering his music as being about limits – either those imposed by the poverty of the rural South, or those placed on him by his fans or his employers, such as The Grand Ole Opry. Rather than a proto-rock'n'roller, Williams was a child of the transitional South who 'had brought the modern world into country music and country music into the modern world' (p. 202).

While the anthology includes excerpts from scholarly articles, such as "'Everybody's lonesome for somebody": age, the body and experience in the music of Hank Williams' by Richard Leppert and George Lipsitz (1990), alongside rarer newspaper excerpts and archived documents, what is also of great interest is the inclusion of short vignettes describing moments where people's lives intersected with that of Williams. Joe Pennington's description of his short-lived experience as a guitarist with Williams's band is particularly enlightening, but even more so is Nolan Porterfield's examination of the day he heard that Williams had died. In this article, 'The day Hank Williams died: cultural collisions in country music', from 1992, Porterfield is clear about the emotional impact that Williams' death had on him and on his fellow school friends. At the same time his account describes the ambivalence with which his generation viewed country music during this period.

This collection of writings is further enhanced through the editors providing a short introductory essay to each of the seven sections (as well as a shorter essay introducing each of the separate source materials). These essays help both to place the different pieces of writing into a historical and cultural context and to highlight any factual inconsistencies that they may contain. Overall, *The Hank Williams Reader* provides an important addition to the scholarly study of Williams and of the genre of country music in general. Furthermore, given the breadth of material contained within this volume and the degree to which the editors have rigorously researched, contextualised and fact-checked each piece of writing, this collection is valuable for the wider study of popular music.

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***Turbo-Folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia.*** By Uroš Čvoro. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. 209 pp. ISBN 978-1-4724-2036-7  
 doi:10.1017/S0261143016000118

Any book that undertakes the task of dealing with turbo-folk – one of the most controversial forms of popular culture in the Balkans – faces the challenge of bringing new perspectives to music that has been the subject of heated debate for almost three decades. Turbo-folk was coined in the late 1980s to describe a hybrid of

regional folk music and Eurodance, subsequently adopted as a 'conceptual signifier' for wider cultural practices. Its notoriety peaked during the Yugoslav civil wars in the 1990s, when it was appropriated by Slobodan Milošević's far-right regime in Serbia, and was consequently dubbed a 'soundtrack to genocide' (p. 1). Since 2000, however, turbo-folk has morphed into an 'ostensibly harmless' Balkan pop (p. 80), or at least this is what Čvoro argues: 'although turbo-folk is closely connected to the Serbian nationalism of the Milošević regime, its popularity transcends nationalist animosities ... and effectively acts as a cultural form of reconciliation' (p. 2). This idea underpins the principal aims of Čvoro's book: to rethink negative readings of turbo-folk as a mass-produced media spectacle that fosters mindless consumerism, sexism and criminality (p. 2), and to argue that turbo-folk acts as a form of Balkan cultural resistance to globalisation and neoliberalism, which Čvoro terms 'new Balkanness'.

The book comprises six main chapters, divided into two parts. The first part traces the ideological evolution of turbo-folk music and surrounding debates, while the second part analyses how turbo-folk is used as a 'readymade' in art, sculpture, architecture and film. Against the central narrative of Balkan empowerment, the book invokes other important themes: the legacy of Yugoslav socialism and its working class, debates on taste and value, cultural elitism, the rural-urban split, issues of gender, sexual empowerment, war, criminality, hedonism, excess and escapism. Even though Čvoro omits some key sources, and at times slips into reductive catalogue-like summaries of some excellent scholarship in the field, the book on the whole offers a useful synthesis of existing literature and debates.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the merit of Čvoro's survey is undermined by conspicuously poor editing and proof-reading, which make it difficult to recommend this book as a reliable source for Serbian/Croatian references. The footnotes and text are littered with over 70 typos, missing diacritics and other errors. These range from misspellings of authors' names and incomplete footnotes to factual mistakes. For example, the singer on p. 12 should be Šaban Šaulić instead of Nino; footnote 53 (p. 44) has five mistakes, including typos, a missing co-author and confusion between title and publisher; and on p. 78 Čvoro recalls listening to a song in 1992 ('Kad bi bio ranjen' If you were wounded) which was not released until 1996.

Čvoro's arguments also reveal many missing links and contradictions. He overlooks important explanatory steps that make it particularly difficult for non-Yugoslav specialists, for example, when he uses concepts such as 'self-management' (pp. 5–6) and 'kitsch tax' (pp. 15, 24), before they are properly explained (pp. 31–5 and pp. 43–7, respectively). In the chapter on 'Turbo-folk as the Vanishing Mediator of Nationalism', the reader finally learns on the last page that the mediator does not actually vanish but is better understood as Jodi Dean's 'displaced mediator' (p. 80). In the conclusion he introduces the idea of 'turbo-folk as parody', yet the reader is left to work out how this concept relates to the book as a whole (pp. 180–4). In short, there are many ambiguities and much has to be taken on trust. Furthermore, Čvoro's idolatry of Žižek frequently obfuscates the narrative and is counter to Čvoro's own warning that the 'slavish embrace of his [Žižek's] insights runs the risk of generating a field of ready-made theory that simply reproduces, rather than engages with, Žižek' (p. 6). Consequently I wonder whether a

<sup>1</sup> Čvoro overlooks several important sources on turbo-folk and censorship: Archer (2012), Delić (2013) and Hofman (2011, 2013). Also relevant to his discussions of consumption and materialism is Patterson (2011).

dialogue with other theorists, such as Huyssen and Laclau, would have yielded more productive enquiry into questions of memory and populism?

These issues aside, Čvoro offers some sophisticated ideas, especially in the chapters on art and film. While it is not always clear how the second part of the book relates to the conceptual parameters of turbo-folk, Čvoro nonetheless generates stimulating discussions, especially on the use of turbo-folk star Dragana Mirković in Milica Tomić's art installation *This is Contemporary Art*, and in his investigation of the turbo-folk anthem 'Ne može nam niko ništa' (No one can touch us) in Srđan Dragojević's films.

Moreover, his analysis of Ceca and her effect offers some of the most convincing readings on this singer to date. Ceca, 'the undisputed queen of turbo-folk' (p. 65, although she rejects the turbo-folk moniker), rose to fame in the early 1990s through a carefully forged matrix of politics, sexuality and Serbian Orthodox iconography. She married the Serbian warlord Arkan, sang to his troops on the front line, and boasts a public portfolio of criminal connections. Despite all of this, Ceca is today one of the most popular stars in the Balkans (p. 58). That said, she is yet to give a concert in either Croatia or the non-Serbian part of Bosnia. The downside to Čvoro's analysis of Ceca is that he makes little distinction between different listening practices (from ubiquitous listening in pubs to different modes of listening in concerts and private settings), and for the most part treats the 'audience' as a homogenous group that unanimously represents his views.<sup>2</sup> As others have noted, Ceca invokes multiple representations – a symbol of female empowerment, an unjust victim, a strong Serbian patriot – yet Čvoro essentially glosses over the nationalist residues that haunt both Ceca and turbo-folk.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise he downplays the implications of instances that rupture his totalising narrative, such as the statue of Bruce Lee that was removed from Mostar due to ethnic tensions, and the attack on the Kontekst Gallery in Belgrade for staging works by Kosovar artists. In other words, behind Ceca's beguiling affect lies a spectre that haunts both Čvoro's book and the legacy of turbo-folk – the Yugoslav wars. And in the week that marks the 20th anniversary of Srebrenica, with palpable ethnic tensions and incidents circling the media, to embrace Čvoro's utopian narrative of colourful thugs, harmless nationalism, and Ceca and turbo-folk as symbols of trans-national reconciliation, would be nothing short of false consciousness.

In conclusion, Čvoro advocates provocative and challenging arguments about the trans-Balkan popularity of turbo-folk and has made a valuable contribution to studies of Balkan popular culture, albeit with blind spots and palimpsests, and at the cost of important ethical questions implicit in the legacy of the 1990s.

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<sup>2</sup> An exception to this is a discussion of interviews Čvoro conducted with audience members in Sydney (pp. 95–7), although his observations add little to those in Volčič and Erjavec (2011).

<sup>3</sup> See Volčič and Erjavec (2011). For a more recent ethnographic study of turbo-folk in Croatia, see Pavlovsky (2014).

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***Please Allow Me to Introduce Myself: Essays on Debut Albums.* Edited by George Plasketes. Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013. 250 pp. ISBN 9-781-4094-4176-2**

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An addition to Ashgate's Popular and Folk Music series, *Please Allow Me to Introduce Myself* ... is an edited collection that considers the lasting significance of the debut album, with a chapter being devoted to each of the 23 chronologically arranged examples (the exception being Little Richard and Huey 'Piano' Smith, who share one chapter). These range from Buddy Holly's initial long player in 1957, to the debut release by The Go! Team in 2004. Comedy, country, soul, folk and variants of rock are among the fairly broad spectrum of genres represented, albeit rap, hip-hop and jazz are conspicuous by their absence. Male artists also heavily outnumber female artists. The examples include albums by the familiar (Elvis Costello), the forgotten (Wilson Pickett) and (to these ears at least) the obscure (Willis Alan Ramsey). As the editor George Plasketes suggests, the debut album can possess special meaning for those involved in its production and consumption by virtue of its capacity to launch careers, embody a new sound, develop new listening relationships and engage critics. Popular music's ongoing infatuation with the 'new' in the marketplace (pre-releases, debut releases, sales charts, etc.) also frames such considerations. First albums can therefore embody unique values as determined by the never-to-be-repeated newness and innovation that only accompanies a debut release by an artist. In this respect, Plasketes argues that the first album can be considered to be an identifiable genre which, on the evidence presented, represents a valid proposition.

Referred to as the first academic study devoted to this topic, it is claimed that the collection itself represents a debut album of sorts. However, with over 100 editions available, Bloomsbury's mostly excellent 33 1/3 series, where individual albums (including several debut releases) are the focus of an entire short book, can be seen to have already encroached upon the intricacies of the first album. In acknowledging such potential overlaps, the editor avoids duplicating any of the debut albums featured in the Bloomsbury series. Nonetheless, by sheer number alone, the 22 chapters within this somewhat slim collection allow limited scope for the authors to discuss their chosen albums in any great detail (unlike the 33 1/3 texts). Despite this, some of the chapters do resonate, with the essays that incline towards elevating the

cultural-musical importance of the release in question tending to be among the most effective examples.

These include Ian Inglis' insightful evaluation of George Harrison's *All Things Must Pass*, which helps us to excuse the fact that this was actually Harrison's second release after the Wonderwall soundtrack. Elsewhere, Deena Weinstein's chapter on Metallica's debut outlines how it introduced thrash as a new metal subgenre and was, in 'best first album' traditions, a release that was never bettered by the group. Plasketes' chapter on Rickie Lee Jones's first album (one of four he provides overall) illustrates how her charismatic appearance on the NBC TV show *Saturday Night Live* initiated a media frenzy that propelled the album towards platinum sales.

In another chapter, Thomas M. Kitts' essay on The New York Dolls' initial release (1973) traces the group's passion for pop music, camp theatre and the (then-decaying) city of New York as being the main drivers that shaped their explosive debut. In a further essay by Plaskete, which focuses on Warren Zevon's eponymous debut of 1976, the editor portrays the release as symbolising 'album as place' (p. 104), where the dark decadence of mid-1970s Hollywood acts as a link between the singer-songwriter environment typified by Laurel Canyon and the soon-to-materialise punk genre. Sarita M. Stewart's chapter on LeAnn Rimes' 1996 initial release is noted for the way in which the artist's age (then 13) is offset by her newly acquired maturity, and the manner in which this process shapes the album's subsequent global success. Given its disputed merits, the inclusion of *Up the Bracket* by The Libertines could be questioned in some quarters, yet Michah Rueber's essay on this 2002 release generally succeeds in convincing the reader with regard to its modern-retro attributes.

Still, while several of the chapters are of interest, a sense prevails that, underpinned by the piecemeal nature of the various contributions, the overarching trajectory of the debut album through the decades tends to be neglected. While Plasketes may suggest that 'Every artist – past, present, future – has, or will have a debut album, whether disc or digital' (p. 2), this claim fails to fully engage with the vast changes that have occurred within the creative environment since Buddy's Holly's debut, which, as per prevailing album tradition, contained a batch of recent singles (both A and B sides), along with some cover versions (including novelty songs).

Key differences also exist between the album as an analogue and digital text. As an extension of this factor, and driven by the changing consumption habits which are clearly evident within the digital landscape, the recent steep decline in album sales has also impacted greatly on the value previously attributed to debut releases. The fact that only three 21st-century examples (Sharon Jones and the Dap Kings, The Libertines and The Go! Team) are featured in the collection may be reflective of such traits. Debut albums do, however, feature prominently within many of the recent 'best ever' lists within several rock music magazines, such as *Rolling Stone*, *New Musical Express* and *Uncut*, and have since helped to shape the debut album canon. While some examples of the said lists are provided within the appendices, they remain in isolation and their presence only receives passing mention in the introductory chapter, thus representing a missed opportunity for further analysis of the genre. Overall, as noted above, the collection possesses a number of chapters that provide relevant, albeit short, case studies on specific debut album releases, and may therefore gain the attention of those who embrace the artists' releases in question. However, as the sum of its missing parts makes evident, many questions about the debut album's pathway across a number of pertinent fields within popular

music studies remain unexplored. The collection does nonetheless initiate discourse on our continuing fixation with the debut album and the myriad of meanings it can possess.

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***Between Nostalgia and Apocalypse: Popular Music and the Staging of Brazil.* By Daniel B. Sharp. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2014. 159 pp. ISBN 978-0-8195-7502-9**

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This book scrutinises the renegotiation of a music and dance folk genre kept by a few local families from the northeast of Brazil as an officially recognised tradition in contemporaneity. The work is the result of the author's one-year ethnographic research in Arcoverde, a small town in the backlands of the state of Pernambuco. The book's focus is *Samba de coco*, a type of folk music which mimics the movements and sounds of stomping mud on the ground of local shanty houses to flatten the floors. It was first recorded in the 1930s during Mario de Andrade's expedition, which aimed to forge an official cultural identity for the country. Its resurrection as a cherished tradition, Sharp's case study, occurred over half a century later in the post-dictatorship period, concurrent with the implementation of neoliberal policies in Brazil and when a new impetus to reassess the notion of 'Brazilianess' also took place. The revival of *samba de coco* paralleled a global shift in the understanding of folklore, triggered by UNESCO's new categorisation of 'intangible heritage', although the genre is not officially designated as such.

Sharp's debate centres primarily on two musical groups from Arcoverde which emerged in the reawakening of the genre: Coco Raízes, formed by the *coco* families Calixto and Gomes, embodies the concepts of regional and folk; Cordel do Fogo Encantado, founded by a younger generation of musicians, merges traditionalism with heavier sounds as well as elements of 20th-century avant-garde theatre performance. Sharp uses Svetlana Boym's conceptual frames of restorative and reflective nostalgia to problematise the rise and survival of both groups within the reinvention of *coco* as a tradition. Whereas restorative nostalgia appeals to the construction of an idealised past to promote cultural heritage, reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, is ambivalent since it also adopts a critical stance towards such idealisation. However obvious the categorisation of Coco Raízes and Cordel do Fogo Encantado, respectively, as restorative and reflective may seem, Sharp argues that by seeking to promote themselves the two groups resort concomitantly to both registers of nostalgia. This is in fact the book's central thesis.

Sharp offers a penetrating analysis of the various discourses produced along with the renegotiation of Arcoverde's *coco* as a regional tradition. He canvasses the narratives implied in the spaces and events he attended while in the region. For instance, as discussed in the second chapter, the effort to evoke traditionalism is conspicuously suggested in the display of objects at the local museums of the Calixto and Lopes families. A television show featuring Arcoverde and the *coco* families, examined by Sharp in the fourth chapter, also conveys a restorative discourse.



Such an attempt to produce a coherent account of *coco* as a tradition embedded in Arcoverde's history is critically addressed in Cordel's apocalyptic performances which recalled a mythical northeast of violence and misery. As Sharp points out, despite the critique, Cordel's members acknowledged the extent to which their rise and survival still depended on having the group's image attached to the notions of regional and tradition represented by the *coco* families and Arcoverde. In much the same way, being associated with Cordel is perceived by Coco Raízes as possibly facilitating its entry into the music market.

A suggestion made in the beginning of the book has the potential to generate some confusion. According to Sharp, 'within the story of samba, the Northeast serves a reservoir of tradition, while Rio de Janeiro in the Southeast serves as the site where the genre later coalesced' (p. vii). It is important to keep in mind that *samba de coco* and the music and dance often associated with the slums of Rio de Janeiro and carnival – also called samba – are, aside from their names, completely different genres. The passage transcribed above, though, seems to me to imply some continuity within a tradition categorised as 'samba'. Until its reappropriation by the rising music industry at the beginning of the 20th century, the term samba did not refer to any specific type of music but rather meant an informal gathering simply to play, sing and dance.

In a captivating narrative, Sharp elaborates on the spatial layout of the São João festival in Arcoverde, revealing the conflicting stances of local authorities, inhabitants and visitors, as well as performers from various social backgrounds. The several stages, from the gazebo to the high-tech main venue, insert Arcoverde into an imaginary, linear, timeline. The hosting of different groups performing distinct genres symbolises inclusion within a developmentalist frame. Nevertheless, underlying tensions are exposed by Sharp's analysis of the event. For instance, a traditional mud shack intended to be a museum is misperceived by low-income residents as being government-subsidised housing, indicating that poverty and exclusion are in reality very far from being a thing of the past in contemporary Arcoverde.

Sharp unveils an intricate fabric behind the renegotiation of *samba de coco* as a local tradition. For the Calixto, Lopes and Gomes families, restoring *coco* as such meant the possibility of entering the music market and claiming their full citizenship in contemporary Brazilian society, leaving – as Sharp puts it – the margins of modernity. Local politicians, however, saw an opportunity to promote Arcoverde as a tourist destination (a survival expedient among the recently deindustrialised regions of the globe). For middle-class urbanites, mingling with Arcoverde's residents while attending *coco* sessions conjures up the fantasy of an idyllic past of cordial social relations overreaching class boundaries, far removed from the asphyxiating reality of high rises and strip malls. Sharp portrays this as visiting a *favela* ('slum') light in the *sertão* ('great backlands') light. Moreover, the encounters between the *coco* families and the tourists are understood by Sharp as promoting a temporary reversal of social status due to the roles assumed by the former and the latter within that context – as respectively cultural bearers and fans seeking to 'drink from the source'.

By disentangling complex narratives within the renegotiation of Arcoverde's *coco*, Sharp situates contemporary Brazil between the nostalgia of an imagined past and the apocalypse of our post-dictatorship social reality.

Gustavo Borchert

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***Let's Talk About Love: Why Other People Have Such Bad Taste.* By Carl Wilson. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014. 243 pp. ISBN 978-1-4411-6677-7  
doi:10.1017/S0261143016000143**

When I used to produce records for other people, a singer friend once called me about an album he was about to start work on: would I be interested in producing it? 'Who do you want this album to sound like?', I asked him. His reply was 'Céline Dion', and the ensuing silence was enough to stop the conversation dead: I couldn't understand why anyone would want their album to sound like Céline Dion, let alone expect me to accomplish such an epic task. A similar lack of comprehension lay behind Carl Wilson's 33 1/3 volume on Céline's 1997 album, *Let's Talk About Love* (I'll refer to the singer by her first name, as Wilson does throughout), which has now reappeared in a slightly revised and considerably expanded edition, appending a 'cocktail party in prose' of short essays by guest writers in response to the original text.

Wilson's aim was to write critically about music for which he had little initial sympathy, employing the same approach that he would take to music that he cared about or identified with, and the questions that this threw up led the book to become an exploration of the nature of aesthetic taste, an embodiment of Simon Frith's (2004, p. 17) observation that labelling music as 'bad' is a matter of argument as well as of aesthetics.

Wilson's personal quest to comprehend and appreciate Céline's overblown sentimental pop balladry wrapped in what he calls 'conspicuous production' (p. 71, more of a clever pun than a description really) was one of the most successful and thought provoking of the long-running 33 1/3 series of short books about individual albums.

Wilson leads the reader around a welcome variety of approaches, working the Québécois relationship to mainstream US culture, the subtleties of international marketing at Sony, biographical background about Céline herself, and personal encounters with her fans, into a very entertaining but also thoughtful and well-read discussion about how musical taste is formed, developed and viewed. The 'cocktail party' appendix, including contributions from big names like Krist Novoselic and Nick Hornby, ranges from perceptive and well-crafted reflections to the written equivalent of being stuck in a corner with a pub bore, and on balance it doesn't add much to the thrust of the book other than enlarging its heft to that of a standard paperback. However, one of the better essays, by Drew Daniel, makes the excellent point that after Wilson's work, the question to ask about bad music is not just 'bad at what?' but 'bad for whom?' (p. 226).

The new edition could have fixed a few things in the original. The throwaway gags don't always work seven years on, and a cheap joke that conflates social awkwardness with autism should have been removed at the editing stage, as should another contributor's inexcusable use of the word 'spaz'. And for all the genuine sincerity of Wilson's epiphany in coming to understand how Céline's music works, the tone of patronising condescension in the book's original closing chapter is still rather sour: 'she seems to [ ... ] have made a much-belated discovery that she has a self' (pp. 160–1). Ouch.

But the glaring omission from the book is that Wilson doesn't attempt to explore the musical processes involved in the making of the recordings, as though the end product was summoned into existence by an act of will. This lack of knowledge about the mechanics of an 'uncool' musical practice does his criticism no favours: suggesting that Céline's music is 'lousy music to make aesthetic judgments to' (p. 159) as he does, is to imply that no aesthetic judgements or negotiations were made in the course of its formation in the first place. As my singer friend demonstrated, the expertise required to make such uncool aesthetic judgements has its own cultural value – otherwise, he wouldn't have wanted his album to sound like one of Céline's – and Wilson's canny account of the operations of Sony's international A&R staff shows that these aesthetic judgements also carry major financial clout. Wilson describes George Martin's work on 'The Reason' as 'bogglingly accomplished prestidigitation' (p. 146), a phrase which itself tries to wave a magic wand over the author's ignorance of what Martin actually did. Production studies (or in old musicology parlance, analysis) can be useful to reception studies, and the shying away from a detailed discussion of the actual music is a weakness.

A few years after the success of *Titanic* and its ubiquitous Céline-voiced 'My Heart Will Go On', the film music broadcaster Tommy Pearson and I visited its composer, the late James Horner, at a movie-tracking session, and what was striking from the conversation was his Romantic lack of distance from the emotional content of his work. Describing his initial act of sketching musical material in response to picture, he said 'That's when I cry'. It seemed almost absurdly melodramatic. But half an hour previously, he had been conducting a 93-piece orchestra to picture in his own 10-minute music cue, hitting every streamer and spot exactly, and getting a round of applause from LA's most hardened session players. I would love to know whether the production process of Céline Dion's music included similar juxtapositions of high-end craft and shameless heart-on-sleeve sincerity, and to hear about the social circumstances of how these modes interacted. If we were there in the studio, would our judgements of taste force us to cringe in horror, or would they allow us to gaze in admiration at these people at work?

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***Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives.* By Martin Dowling. Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. 350 pp. ISBN 978-1-4094-3510-5**

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Adopting a historical approach, Martin Dowling traces the trajectory of traditional music's development in Ireland since the 18th century, looking at the constellation of political, economic and social influences on its generation. This decision to

highlight the historical context of music is Dowling's key original contribution to the existing oeuvre of research on traditional music in Ireland; most existing academic research on traditional Irish music tends to emanate from an ethnomusicology background and therefore typically draws from various cultural studies approaches. As such, what makes Dowling's book so innovative is his charting of the impact of a range of historical milestones – political, economic and social historical milestones, namely, the pre-18th century union with Britain, the Famine, the revival, and contemporary conflict and peace in Northern Ireland – on traditional music's evolution. To integrate these various fields of study together is no mean feat, but very conveniently for the rest of us Dowling has painstakingly condensed into one book a political, economic and social history that we previously would have had to read approximately over 20 books to absorb.

The book is comprised of five chapters and opens with one that investigates the foundations of what we now know as 'traditional music'. Moving from Chapters 1–3 through various critical historical conjunctures such as the pre-Famine, Famine and post-Famine years, it becomes clear that this type of music fomented and cemented out of a very particular set of circumstances that has at its core the Anglo-Irish War. The notion of 'traditional' music only emerges at the end of the 1800s with Dowling explaining over the course of Chapter 3 that prior to this the now so-called 'traditional' music was simply the 'popular' music of the time. However, in the context of the Anglo-Irish War this music gradually becomes part and parcel of the identity-building exercise concerning what exactly connotes 'Irishness'. Simply, Irish identity becomes everything that isn't British. This means that traditional music, the Gaelic language, Gaelic sports and Catholicism are presented as key facets of this new national identity. Dowling's (p. 161) focus, however, is on traditional music in particular and he shows how 'popular' music came to be painted as anglicised in 1892 with Douglas Hyde's comment that 'our music ... has become anglicised ... I must hope ... that people may be brought to love the purism of "Siubhail, Siubhail" or the fun of "Maureen Ruadh" in preference to "Get Your Hair Cut" or "Over the Garden Wall" ... '. From the 1890s on, then, 'traditional' Irish music was to be distinguished from the supposedly anglicised popular music.

Throughout these chapters, the book progresses from an exemplary merging of the work of an array of academics such as Christopher Marsh, T.C. Barnard and Adrian Scahill to focusing on Dowling's own primary research into music making in the 19th century. The book thus appears to constitute two distinct segments, with Chapters 1–3 moving seamlessly through a linear historical narrative, while Chapters 4 and 5 focus on James Joyce and the music traditions of Northern Ireland, respectively. However, the connection of these two latter essays to the earlier narrative seems to be the discussion in Joyce's depictions of Dublin concerning traditional song. Moving further into the 20th century, then, the final chapter reads almost as an autoethnographic piece on Dowling's own engagement with the music traditions of Northern Ireland – his adopted home since the 1980s – with him writing compellingly about the challenges facing the Ulster-Scots culture and identity. This is another facet which demarcates Dowling's book from others on the topic – given the sometimes hostile treatment this particular tradition receives in studies of Irish music, Dowling's depiction is refreshingly passionate and inclusive.

The book draws to a close, then, as it began, with Dowling's personal reflections on his journey through traditional music. His text thus elaborates on how music

provides not only the texts that recount the lives of societies but also the texts that recount the lives of individuals. This personal autoethnographic touch is something not often revealed in academic texts but then, as Dowling puts it on the first page, his first book was inspired by the message on an 'oblique strategy' card created by the ambient musician Brian Eno, which urged him to take a self-displacing move and, in a way, this willingness to take a risk is what has led Dowling down the side paths to originality – and this book is no exception.

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***Going into the City: Portrait of the Critic as a Young Man.* By Robert Christgau. New York: Dey Street/Harper Collins, 2015. 370 pp. ISBN 978-0-0622-3879-5 doi:10.1017/S0261143016000167**

While retrospective collections of reprints of the American pioneers of rock criticism are familiar – Bangs, Christgau, Goldstein, Meltzer, Marcus, Nelson, Willis all gathered together one way or another – Robert Christgau's *Going into the City* is the first book-length autobiography of that generation. This is not only a bird's-eye view of how rock criticism emerged; it's likely to be *the* bird's-eye view.

The memoir covers the period from Christgau's birth in 1942 to 1985 and the joyous adoption of a daughter, Nina. Looking back in 1983, just in his forties, Christgau observed the ageing of new music: reviewing 1982, his 'Pazz and Jop' essay identified 'pushing 40s' and '35-niks', noting that 'old farts abound'. He joins a cluster of game changers and Christgau-obsessions born during World War II: John Lennon, George Clinton, Bob Dylan, Paul McCartney, Paul Simon, Lou Reed, Randy Newman, Joni Mitchell and Van Morrison, with Neil Young and Al Green following close on VJ day.

While *Going into the City* is Christgau's sixth book, it's the first as start-to-end continuous prose, preceded by three collections of record reviews and two collections of essays. That said, each of the 11 chapters includes regular dividing spaces, so that the essayist's skills are still in play. By way of gossip, I particularly liked the one (p. 190) where Christgau in 1968 takes a phone call – famously inaudible – from William Shawn, editor of the *New Yorker* magazine, seeking a regular column on rock music. But the call is for Ellen Willis, not Christgau and, in the following gap of the memoir, I hear Gladys Knight hollering 'It should have been me!' And when Willis left the resulting 'Rock Etc.' column in 1975 (gathered in *Out of the Vinyl Deeps*), was Christgau expecting to listen again to Shawn's whispered request? In the memoir (p. 271), Christgau's thrill at his first collected essays, *Any Old Way You Choose It* (1973), is for a 'collection just like A.J. Liebling and Pauline Kael', both *New Yorker* regulars; Liebling's essay on the Marciano-Moore heavyweight bout of 1955 was a key inspiration to Christgau's becoming a journalist (pp. 144–5).

Indeed, he rates Willis's 1967 'Dylan' essay as its equal (p. 177) – while Kael's *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* of 1968 is a favourite collection. Responding to Barbara O'Dair in an interview published in 2001, Christgau described the *New Yorker*, with reservations, as 'the one place I'd have always liked to have worked' (Carson *et al.* 2002, p. 159).

*New Yorker*, *Village Voice*: going into the city (p. 74), Christgau is tied to New York in the way that many of my family are strictly Ammanford in South Wales. Nearly always in New York, he goes to college elsewhere, walks off to look for America (pp. 140–2), travels to other cities for jobs and, after 299 pages, visits Europe. His 2010 visit to Dakar is a long way off, reflecting an interest in Afropop that gets going at pp. 309–10. We're congratulated in Europe for landscape, food and socialism (p. 300), but the Eurosceptic hint remains: he still conceives (p. 43) of a 'Germanophile musicological establishment that protects its academic suzerainty to this day'. Happily recall that one of Christgau's all-time funny reviews is of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra's tragic 1982 disco record, *Hooked on Classics*, with the role-reversal of Christgau's dreams: 'at last, the three B's get to roll back over on Chuck Berry.'

A Great American Novellish tome, the book is often a real page turner, helped by sex-related family drama early on (pp. 45–7) and towards the end (pp. 335–6). The list of *dramatis personae* is lengthy but dominated by close family, the artist Bob Stanley (appearing first at p. 127), and three women: Miriam Meyer (pp. 91–131), Ellen Willis (pp. 161–208) and Carola Dibbell (pp. 216–363). Uxorious to a degree (*OED*: 'dotingly or submissively fond of a wife; devotedly attached to a wife'), Christgau's wedding to Dibbell featured T-shirts labelled 'MONOGAMY' (p. 282) and, even with a lovely detail like that, he's attentive to the way marriage could be 'in that peculiar subcultural moment, an ideological act'. That's typical if unsurprising of the book: chock-full of ideas, among which the Introduction (p. 7) singles out contingency as a consistent theme (see pp. 97, 101, 172, 259 and 318).

Alongside the long-walk narrative, the book stops off for many leisurely picnics, revisiting books, films and records from the period, but crucially from the 2010-ish perspective of the memoir's composition. Introduced at p. 6, the list of works includes (mainly by title alone): *Kon-Tiki* (pp. 41–2), *South Pacific* (pp. 42–4), *Mad* magazine (pp. 58–60), poems by Coleridge and Ernest Thayer (pp. 63–9), *Crime and Punishment* (pp. 78–83), *Now's the Time* (pp. 110–1), poems by W.B. Yeats and William Carlos Williams (pp. 122–4), *Jules et Jim* (pp. 131–4), *Aftermath* (pp. 168–71), Willis's essay 'Dylan' (pp. 177–8), Greil Marcus's essay 'Rock-a-Hula Clarified' (pp. 229–32), *John Lennon/Plastic Ono Band* (pp. 237–9), novels by Theodore Dreiser and Christina Stead (pp. 254–60), Steely Dan (pp. 276–9), *Marquee Moon* (pp. 304–8), *Mumbo Jumbo* (pp. 316–8), and *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (pp. 342–6). Christgau often wonders whether he'll still sense the same power in these works as at their initial experience, but they all come through, generating an air of celebration and permanent wisdom to these revisitings. Among other anecdotes, the 1963 epiphany at the gallery – the Connie Francis art work – is again lovingly recounted (pp. 136–7); James Wolcott's memory (*Lucking Out*, p. 33) of Christgau's wearing 'nothing but red sheer bikini underwear' (and 'pensively scratching his ass') is firmly denied (at p. 289, and attributed to Lester Bangs); but the scrap with James Chance of 1978 is nobly passed over. (There's a great photo of that at pp. 72–3 of *No Wave Post-Punk* by Thurston Moore and Byron Colley, Christgau's *cheveux longs* (p. 322) intact.)

In the fabric of Christgau's prose, Blake's 'minutely organized particulars' are a familiar virtue, and here we find impressive lists including: eight aspects of



sensibility (p. 6), eight 'girlish virtues' lacked in school (p. 32), 14 and 12 words counted in two lines of verse by Coleridge (p. 64), 15 present participles for *Jules et Jim* (p. 133), eight aspects of sex with Ellen Willis (p. 164), 21 aspects of Mick Jagger's performance of 'Goin' Home' (p. 169), 10 groups of people who misremember the 1960s (p. 175), 13 memories of concerts (pp. 262–3), 11 rap sounds (pp. 357–8), and 12 adverbs for *Marquee Moon* (p. 306). The Jagger list is a possible record, and nearly all vocal (he 'claps his hands' and 'falls to the bed'): of the remaining 19 verbs, only one ('yelps') is duplicated in the one-sentence list of 12 vocalisations heard in the band Liliput (Christgau 1998, p. 294). As a minor word-related matter, I stumbled over some of the Americana, such as 'pizza heroes' (p. 49), 'Red Hots' (p. 57), 'coed lower-Ivy' (p. 91) and 'unhornswoggled' (p. 205).

The early chapters are fascinating: I enjoyed the detailed attention to religion and church (pp. 30–93) and the portrait of the family fighting to get at the piano (pp. 22–3), with Auntie Mildred the master of modulation. Who'd have thought he was a 'nominal Republican till JFK in 1960' (p. 51)? The fifth chapter covers Christgau's years studying English at Ivy League Dartmouth College, the very college and period (c.1962) that informed the film *National Lampoon's Animal House* (1978). The Dartmouth literature course was a series of great books, the New Criticism dominant and, although he reacted to everything there ('most of what I learned there was wrong', p. 97), he after all goes on to evaluate 16,000 albums; 'not sure Christgau ever really got out of the Academy at all', as Simon Frith suggested (Carson *et al.* 2002, p. 69). Christgau ends the Dartmouth chapter with readings of two favourite poems he admired 'not just as aesthetic structures but as guides to life and contemplation' (p. 123): 'Vacillation', Yeats in the 1930s, and 'The Dance', from a 1962 collection by William Carlos Williams. And there was I thinking that Robert Creeley's *For Love*, also 1962, was the key text, more so than the 'especially' he gets at p. 147. That said, it's a Robert Creeley fan who, at p. 146, has 'an exceptionally moist and succulent cunt' – thank you for that, Mr Christgau – and a reminder-by-default that, in Stephen Burt's phrase, 'Creeley could be frank'.

To readers of *Popular Music*, it may be the strand of *Going into the City* mapping out the emergence of rock criticism that proves most seductive. Christgau's journalistic models appear at pp. 155–6, there are interesting passages on Willis and Richard Goldstein (pp. 176–7), and the earliest rock criticism is carefully tracked, culminating at pp. 199–203. Editing for *Village Voice* generates stellar lists of writers (for example, at pp. 293–4 and 353–5) while (at pp. 287–9) there is brief discussion of the editing skills demonstrated in *Popular Music* in 2005.

'A fucking tour de force', Christgau concluded of a 1974 Earth, Wind and Fire album, and the same punchy summary could be applied to his absorbing memoir.

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***Pop-Rock Music: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in Late Modernity.* By Motti Regev. Polity Press, Cambridge and Malden, MA, 2013. 208 pp. ISBN 978-0-7456-6173-5**

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In this monograph, Motti Regev expands on his notion of the 'pop-rockization' of popular music worldwide (drawing on his previously published articles), in an effort to show how global popular music fits into his view of a single, all-encompassing world culture that he calls, following Urry 1995 and others, 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism'. The basic idea, which is probably uncontroversial at this point (if not universally accepted), is that 'late modern world culture is, in effect, one cultural space', wherein the older idea of 'distinct, separate cultural units – be they national, ethnic, local or indigenous' (p. 7) – is replaced by one of mere subunits within one complex cultural entity, subunits that share 'large proportions of aesthetic common ground' and through which national, ethnic, local and indigenous groups 'signify and perform their sense of [cultural] uniqueness' (p. 3). This aesthetic common ground, when it comes to popular music and its environs, is pop-rock, by which Regev means everything from doo wop to disco to heavy metal to hip hop. *Pop-Rock Music* offers a 'sociological theorization' of the 'emergence, legitimation, and consolidation of world pop-rock music', a repertoire that in turn serves as 'a perfect empirical case through which aesthetic cosmopolitanism can be characterized, elucidated, and explicated' (p. 3). (In these last two quotations, and elsewhere, the writing is weighed down by clunky rule-of-three lists.)

After an introduction, the book proceeds in Chapter 2 to describe in detail the way in which pop-rock music became ubiquitous. Through a process Regev calls 'expressive isomorphism', the sonic signs of pop-rock, although developed by Anglo-American musicians, have been adopted and adapted by musicians around the globe, initially as exoticist markers of the Anglo-American West but eventually as geographically neutralised elements that blend with indigenous features to collectively signify, among other things, unique late-modern non-Anglo-American cultural identities. This chapter devotes most of its space to proving simply that global pop-rockisation is real and well underway (having begun in the early 1960s), by proffering evidence of pop-rock's presence in international recordings and their journalistic and scholarly discourse.

Chapter 3 treats global pop-rock as a 'field of cultural production'. As such, pop-rock represents a space of hierarchical relations, whose dominant positions consist of consecrated canonic musicians and works, and of the corresponding production of meaning positions that maintain the successfully imposed criteria of evaluation [of pop-rock as autonomous art] and who [sic] monitor the entrance into the canon of new (or old) musicians (pp. 59–60).

Regev here dives into the familiar territory of the Anglo-American pop-rock canon to demonstrate how the repertoire's characteristic sounds have changed over

the decades through contentious expansion, resulting today in five major stylistic subfields of cultural production: metal, electronica, alternative/indie, hip hop and R&B (one subfield), and the central subfield, the last being the hierarchically dominant category normally called the 'mainstream'.

In Chapter 4, global pop-rockisation is theorised as a 'long-term event', by which the author means, confusingly, not an event in the normal sense of the word, but rather a '*longue durée*' (p. 25), a 'sequence of occurrences' spanning several years or even decades, which has had 'long-lasting effects on ... [the] field, and therefore on the practices and experiences in the corresponding realm of culture for the larger social unit in which the field is set' (p. 94). The long-term event of global pop-rockisation is depicted as a battle between musicians, the music industry, critics and media professionals over the acceptance of foreign Anglo-American sounds (and their values) versus the maintenance of more locally based musical traditions.

While Chapter 4 examines the production side of pop-rock, Chapter 5 looks at its consumption, particularly fandom, which is described, somewhat mundanely, as comprising membership in assorted 'aesthetic cultures' individuated according to distinct pop-rock genres within the 'aesthetic meta-culture' of pop-rock as a whole. These aesthetic cultures of fans are 'cluster[s] of practices, arrangements, and mechanisms ... [that] make up how we experience, evaluate, and sense the world' (p. 129). (Notice again the rule of three.) Regev devotes particular attention to the importance fans and critics have placed on knowledge of the repertory, a value only intensified since the proliferation of relevant information online.

In the final, sixth chapter, the book turns to the listening body, to the physical effects the sounds of pop-rock actually and necessarily have on their audience. Pop-rock is here taken out of the world of the mere intellectual and auditory, and theorised as having 'a certain transformative effect on reality' (p. 177); our corporeal responses to the auditory stream constitute the creation of storage facilities within our own bodies for memories of associated places, and in this sense pop-rock has become ineludibly inscribed in the very flesh of late-modern listeners worldwide. To commemorate this literal metamorphosis, the author posits the science-fiction-worthy concept of the 'aesthetic cosmopolitan body', a body 'not just ... capable of recognizing, accepting, and adapting itself to [aural] otherness, ... but rather a body that articulates its own local identity by incorporating elements from alien cultures' (p. 176). (The rule of three arises again.)

The general argument about pop-rock music, about its global proliferation and creative appropriation by non-Anglo-American communities, is spot on. The essential definition of pop-rock as a broad continuum ranging from hard to soft styles is also convincing (more on this in a moment), as is the claim that aesthetic cosmopolitanism is fundamentally a process of 'mutation' that entails cultural otherness transforming 'into something always familiar, never fully alien or strange' (p. 179). This said, I would question the need at all for such heavy-duty sociological machinery in explaining our fairly obvious state of pop-rockisation and aesthetic cosmopolitanism, a state that even the author admits is 'routine, ordinary, and trivial' (p. 136). (Need I point out the rule of three yet again?)

More troubling, considering that the book's main title is simply *Pop-Rock Music*, are its claims about the repertory. The discussions of specific musicians are fine as far as they go, if seemingly arbitrary in their choice of featured artists, but the musical generalisations range from imperfect to downright baffling. For a repertory as broad as the author claims, including, by his own admission, Elvis, Phil Spector,

Bob Marley, Madonna, Joni Mitchell, and all manner of electronica and hip hop artists, I find it odd that he repeatedly claims that the principal position in pop-rock's sonic hierarchy is occupied by the electric guitar: we are told that the 'tones and timbres of the electric guitar are probably the definitive sonic metonyms for pop-rock music' (p. 164), and that '[s]ome, if not most of the emblematic museme strings and stacks of pop-rock are associated with the sounds of electric guitars' (p. 166). Indeed, some. But *drums* (acoustic and electronic) would seem to offer a much more obvious auditory connection between, and thus a clearer marker of, all these disparate artists and styles. More problematic still is the utter neglect of that most maligned of the commercial giants of pop-rock genres, country music: the book barely even acknowledges country exists, let alone properly theorises country as a major stylistic subfield. Instead, we get a field theory with a gaping hole. This dereliction of discussion goes hand in hand with the overemphasis on electric guitars; in any case, an exploration of how country music, with its intense associations with the American South, has been appropriated and made locale neutral by global musicians would have been both fascinating and, I think, completely in sync with the spirit of the book.

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***'I Hear America Singing': Folk Music and National Identity.* By Rachel Clare Donaldson. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2014. 225 pp. ISBN: 978-1-4399-1079-5  
 doi:10.1017/S0261143016000180**

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,  
 Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should be blithe and strong,  
 The carpenter singing his as he measures his plank or beam,  
 The mason singing his as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work,  
 The boatman singing what belongs to him in his boat, the deckhand singing on the steamboat deck,  
 The shoemaker singing as he sits on his bench, the hatter singing as he stands,  
 The wood-cutter's song, the ploughboy's on his way in the morning, or at noon intermission or at sundown,  
 The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young wife at work, or of the girl sewing or washing,  
 Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else,  
 The day what belongs to the day – at night the party of young fellows, robust, friendly,  
 Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs. (Walt Whitman, 1867)

The above poem, from which Rachel Clare Donaldson takes the title of her book, deserves to be quoted in full, because it completely establishes the sense and theme of the book – that American folk music is tied to the American people.

'They sang of heroes, outlaws, murders, fools. . . . Above all, they seemed to be frank, straightforward, honest.' Pete Seeger, writing on his early experience of American folk music, provides the starting point for Rachel Clare Donaldson's exploration of national identity through music and also highlights the themes referenced by Whitman (p. 1). Seeger's argument that folk music is a way for Americans to understand each other, and to unite and make real the giant 'national community' is also Donaldson's argument in this historical overview of the American folk revival (p. 1).

Setting out to explore what it means to be American by looking at the country's music, Donaldson shows the symbiotic relationship between music and politics from roughly the 1930s to the 1960s. Chronological in approach, the major social and political events of mid-20th-century America are laid out alongside the revival and resurgence of interest in folk music.

The book's strength lies in its demonstration of the extra-musical aspects of the folk music revival. Music is, in fact, notably absent from most of the text. Instead Donaldson focuses on the people, genres, movements and themes within the broader American folk spectrum.

Chapter 1, 'Hearing the People', is the book's strongest chapter. This lays the groundwork for both the folk revival movement and the remainder of Donaldson's study. She introduces the main characters of Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie and John and Alan Lomax, and explains how their interests and activities intersected with New Deal policies and programmes. The competing strains of Americanism become evident through the early folk festivals, with some focusing only on music descended from the British tradition, whereas others focus on Eastern European traditions. As with almost every aspect of American culture, the inclusion or exclusion of African or African American traditions is always noteworthy. Competing definitions of what it means to be American emerge, and the cliché of the great melting pot is readily apparent. Interestingly, the folk in American folk music are exclusively seen to be working class, as in the Whitman and Seeger passages referenced above. President Franklin Roosevelt and his wife were fans of the music, and through a combination of their early support of festivals, and the working-class nature of the musicians and other fans, the movement became entwined with leftist politics and the Communist Party. The early movement may have been a way to help Americans come to terms with the Great Depression and provide a national culture and national music that may not have existed earlier.

In general, Donaldson avoids a discussion of the music and the lyrics in favour of discussing the role and function of the movement and the characters involved. What emerges is a sense of the American folk revival's political, rather than artistic, significance. For a movement that overtly appeared to be inclusive, the picture that Donaldson presents is that the actuality was much more complex and varied. Her argument that the work of revivalists, not the music itself, aspired to create the identity that the revivalists wanted, is perhaps difficult to accept but bears further investigation. I should also note that this is a compelling and interesting read, offering great insight into the different roles of how music worked to shape American political identity.

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***Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy.* By Danielle Fosler-Lussier. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015. 352 pp. ISBN: 978-0-520-28413-5 doi:10.1017/S0261143016000192**

Imagine that during the Cold War you are asked to lead the United States' propaganda and diplomatic efforts. And then you are told that the resources with which you have to work are music and musicians. Which musicians and what music would you select – classical or pop performers, crooners or cornet players? And what would you ask them to do? Maybe you would just hope that, in a moment, you would wake from this bizarre dream. But this was no fantasy. It was the reality for those who worked in the State Department's Cultural Presentations programme, a world elegantly rendered in Danielle Fosler-Lussier's fascinating *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*. And while this book might seem to be of marginal or incidental interest to music scholars, it touches on issues and arguments that resonate across our field.

From 1954 to the early 1970s, the USA committed time and money to using music as a means to various diplomatic ends. This meant arranging for American musicians to travel abroad and to perform to audiences in the Soviet bloc, Vietnam, Japan, Iraq, Iceland and the Philippines, among other places. It meant arranging master classes with local musicians, it meant concerts at embassies, it meant engaging with local audiences, and it meant striking a delicate balance between aesthetic values and political interests.

Behind these initiatives was the idea that the music and its performers would convey a particular impression of US virtues and intentions, while sometimes subtly (and sometimes not so subtly) seeking to subvert the system and beliefs of the host countries. But another part of the agenda was to indicate to the populations of Eastern Europe that they were not forgotten. Here was an early example of what Joseph Nye labelled 'soft power', in contrast to the hard power of military might and elite diplomacy.

Just as with the other means of conducting international relations, music poses problems and creates risk. At its most obvious, the music sent overseas, intended to impress and/or to entertain, may end up offending or boring its audience. Then there was the problem of dealing with artists. You can brief and discipline professional diplomats. It is not the same with wilful and free-thinking musicians, unused to the peculiar nuances of diplomacy.

The earliest musical diplomats were classical musicians, but interestingly they were not all required to play music from the mainstream classical canon. 'Performances of avant-garde art music', notes Fosler-Lussier, 'were extremely important to a small number of influential people' (p. 24). Such music was also intended to enhance the reputation of the USA as an advanced nation, and to give form to ideas of 'freedom'.

The avant-garde was risky because of the demands it might make on audiences. Popular music was risky in other, almost opposite, ways because 'it could alienate intellectuals and insult anyone who knew that the United States was sending more prestigious music elsewhere' (p. 37). Different countries had different views of jazz, for example. Some saw it as the voice of the oppressed, others as a lesser form of art, and others still as the embodiment of creative free expression. The State Department's default position, though, was that jazz fitted a democratic narrative, and was presented as such – by, for example, black and white musicians sharing



a stage. Meanwhile, audiences and performers made connections between the music and the civil rights movement.

One chapter is devoted to what Fosler-Lussier calls the 'double-edged diplomacy of popular music' (p. 143). For the officials in Washington, the problem with pop was that it was 'pure entertainment', and as such it could do 'nothing'. This concern was mitigated by the association that could be made between popular music and protest. This meant that the State Department favoured the blues – Junior Wells and Buddy Guy were presented to audiences in Africa – and folk – The Phoenix singers visited Egypt. Rock music, too, featured towards the end of the programme. Blood, Sweat and Tears played gigs in Eastern Europe – which earned the band the ire of the Yippies. This response delighted the State Department who, because they were also getting criticised by the political right, could claim that BST represented the political centre ground. Meanwhile, the music itself served to excite audiences behind the Iron Curtain, where 'the West's popular music was both more commonly heard and more stringently forbidden than was its art music' (p. 170).

The story told by this book is based on primary sources, and vividly captures the thinking of the government officials and diplomats in the countries that were visited. It also documents the experiences of the musicians and their audiences. For some who heard the music, this was their first ever encounter with an American; some of the musicians actively embraced their role as ambassadors.

Fosler-Lussier argues that, while the USA's ambitions might look like top-down imperialism, 'if we look from the bottom up ... we see an intensive process of negotiation and engagement' (p. 7). While there were imperial ambitions at work, there was also a developing globalisation. The book makes this case convincingly. In doing so, it has much to say about the values and meanings to be attributed to music, and about how its performance does things (both political and social) to the world in which it circulates, and how, in turn, music's involvement with government changes it. Fosler-Lussier talks, for example, of how the State Department's use of jazz facilitated its 'institutionalisation' and its inclusion in the canon (p. 100). She also notes that, while it might have been supposed that popular music evoked and inspired ideas of freedom, this was not what the State Department wanted or how it evaluated its programme's success. Rather, Washington was more interested in the music's acceptance. And towards the end, Fosler-Lussier wryly notes: 'The US embassy in Moscow routinely reported to Washington on the vicissitudes of Soviet musical judgements as if they corresponded to other political matters' (p. 185).

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***Networks of Sound, Style and Subversion: The Punk and Post-Punk Worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975–80.*** By Nick Crossley. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015. 268 pp. ISBN 978-0-719-08865-0  
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Perhaps the most difficult challenge in studying punk music today is striking a balance between mythology and history. Punk is a genre saturated with legend. Figures such as Sid Vicious, Joey Ramone and Ian Curtis linger many years after their deaths,

inspiring us even as they serve to tether punk to a bygone era. Their ghostly pull is as much a promissory note as it is a flirtation with the grandiose. And yet, the term *punk* also brings with it a plea for specificity. Punk evokes the local, the scene and the sub-cultural. It challenges all attempts to elevate music into the otherworldly. The need for caution in discussing punk history has only expanded in the wake of the 1970s, as the term has come to reference a range of subgenres scattered throughout a 40-year history that reaches across the globe. As punk hovers somewhere between New York, London and Jakarta, it is increasingly difficult to speak of it in the singular. It has grown into something larger and stranger than what it once was, whatever that might have been.

Far from unique to punk, this tension between the phantasmal and the concrete situates the genre as one more staging ground for a larger methodological question in music scholarship: how do we balance those moments of music that most enchant us with the intense social activity required to sustain music making? Nick Crossley's new account of British punk is an important attempt to answer that question. *Networks of Sound, Style and Subversion* takes seriously the power of punk even as it resists its mythological pull. In so doing, Crossley stages a dialogue between punk's legends and its broader cast of actors.

Crossley's text zooms in on early British punk, concentrating on the second half of the 1970s in order to bring out the particularities of that era. His story begins with the formative moments of London's punk scene in the mid-1970s, continues through its explosion into national headlines, and concludes with its subsequent fragmentation into post-punk at the end of the decade. By further focusing on four key cities (London, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield), Crossley constructs an impressively detailed map of the many hundreds of people who participated in punk in its early years.

While achieving this level of precision is crucial for Crossley's account, it serves a broader claim about the sociology of music. The first four chapters of the text outline his theoretical approach, which largely centres on relational sociology and *social network analysis* (SNA). Crossley begins from the simple assumption, that 'social interactions, relations and networks are the most basic elements in social life' (p. 13). He then argues that punk constituted a series of local networks, a small but centrally massed group of individuals collaborating to create music through a diverse array of social and artistic interactions. Throughout, he provides painstakingly diagrammed reconstructions of the British scene, all of which reveal the complexity of the network structure underlying punk.

Crossley is careful to preserve the aesthetic dimensions within his social model. In his understanding, punk was a *musical world*, held together by musical interaction, collective identification and meaning making (pp. 28–35). In defending punk's musical orientation, Crossley offers a (potentially controversial) challenge to subcultural studies, which frames the genre as a repository for working-class politics during the UK's tumultuous 1970s. Crossley concedes that the subcultural account is a helpful means of grasping punk's political content, but he contends that such an interpretation risks obscuring the complexity of individual agendas. Even as some sought to recruit punk as a vessel for the left wing, others sought to tether it to the right and still others simply ignored politics altogether (p. 53).

Chapters 5–10 provide an alternative theory of British punk's social character. Here, Crossley's exploration of the dynamics of this quickly shifting musical world is nothing short of virtuosic, managing to integrate punk's most sacred myths

with the many 'micro-mobilisations' that helped to foster its robust social life. He weaves many (in)famous moments, from the Sex Pistols' legendary appearance on Bill Grundy's *Today* to Joy Division singer Ian Curtis's tragic suicide, into an extensive narrative about the larger collective activity that made punk possible. Most striking is the way in which this framework integrates Crossley's theory of social networks into cultural, aesthetic and political questions. Much more than a report about who knew whom and how, *Networks of Sound* recalls a considerable network of individuals concerned with the broader possibilities facilitated by punk style.

Given that Crossley appeals to this notion of *style* throughout his text, one can't help but want a more central part for music in the story. Crossley is rightly suspicious of reductive claims about punk's sound and meaning, and the call for interpretive caution is well taken. But it was music that constituted the nexus for punk networking, and the forms such practices took deserve a prominent role in the account. This is a small gripe, and one easily overshadowed by the merits of Crossley's social analysis. His book is a crucial tool for continuing the conversation about punk in that iconic early moment. It will further stand as a model for how to attend to the diverse and often conflicted impulses that continue to drive punk into the 21st century.

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***The Twenty-First-Century Legacy of The Beatles: Liverpool and Popular Music Heritage Tourism.* By Michael Brocken. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015. 236 pp. ISBN 978-1-4724-3399-2 doi:10.1017/S0261143016000210**

Popular music is now recognised as 'heritage' in specific locales around the world – and Liverpool most recognisably so, as the home of a number of historically significant 'Beatles sites' around the city. Michael Brocken, himself a native Liverpudlian, explores the popular music heritage tourism of Liverpool – specifically in relation to the Beatles – in terms of ideas, places and spaces. He discusses travel and Beatles tourism in Liverpool, ideas and identities, the context for popular music tourism in 1970s Liverpool, the beginnings of popular music tourism in the 1970s, and the issues surrounding this in 1980s Liverpool as the industry began to grow. Brocken also discusses American instances of Beatles tourism, including the failed Beatle City in Dallas, TX, and he provides extensive Liverpool case studies – in particular, the National Trust, and 'Beatles Streets'. Further to this, he discusses guided tours, specifically the Cavern City Tours and the Replica Cavern in Liverpool and their relationship with Beatles fandom.

In terms of cultural geography, Brocken demonstrates that tourism such as that generated by Beatles fandom in regard to Liverpool can help to 'reshape and display vitally important identities and aesthetic values and meanings in a postindustrial city' (p. 2). As such, he discusses the industry from a spatio-historical perspective, delineating the city of Liverpool's relationship with the Beatles. This, in Brocken's study, raises issues of class politics, authenticity, contestation and tensions surrounding the Beatles' relationship to Liverpool and what in fact constitutes an authentic

heritage site. As Brocken states, 'Entrepreneurs need to gain a type of semiotic authority via their unique "take" on the Beatles, but they also need to subscribe to an agreed mono-history in order to be seen as legitimate' (p. 28), and specifically so when it comes to the cultural capital of Beatles fandom. Throughout, he utilises detailed anecdotes pertaining to his own experience as a music fan and collector, shedding further auto-ethnographical light on periods in the recent history of Liverpool. Importantly, he traces a shifting engagement from Liverpool tourism officials – from a lack of interest in the Beatles' importance to the city, to a slow recognition that the band's success might be a drawcard for the Liverpool tourism industry. The importance of the Beatles in regard to heritage, Brocken reveals, was in many ways a complex negotiation in respect of what he describes as the city's mono-history of collective struggle, conservatism, and the co-optation of any counter-histories, which he delineates in useful detail.

Although Liverpool received relatively few tourists in the 1970s, after the death of John Lennon Beatles fans had begun to visit the city. Brocken discusses the beginnings of Beatles tourism proper in the 1980s, when Bernadette Byrne began working as a Liverpool City Tour Guide; it was her personal interest in the Beatles that led to her introducing Beatles' minibus tours as part of her guiding. Following this, Beatles tourism grew during the 1980s and became significantly more economically important during this period and in the 1990s. Brocken discusses two significant tourist operations – The Beatles Story and Cavern City Tours – placing them in detailed, insightful historical and political context, and demonstrating the ways in which such historical and political forces affected both the city of Liverpool, and Beatles tourism itself.

He provides a particularly illuminating discussion of the National Trust's role in Beatles tourism in Liverpool and the attendant 'politics of space' (p. 157) in regard to this. He focuses specifically on the purchase of the former homes of John Lennon and Paul McCartney and the author's own experience of visiting these sites; he also provides useful insight into the *non*-purchase of George Harrison's and Ringo Starr's former homes, and the historical distance created by the National Trust between whom they consider the 'serious composers', Lennon and McCartney, and the (supposedly therefore) less musically important Harrison and Starr. This reveals a process of 'selective selection' and the privileging of certain historical facts over others – as well as the relationship with what each individual Beatle connotes in terms of 'historical significance', and in regard to the city itself. This, Brocken demonstrates, reveals a complex politics of identification: how Ringo Starr feels about Liverpool, for example, affects 'how Liverpool feels' *about Ringo Starr*; and this, in turn, affects the potential for officially recognised Ringo Starr heritage sites. The homes of Lennon and McCartney, having been agreed upon as appropriate and 'ideologically sound' heritage sites, so to speak, are even then subject to the organisation of historical facts (and artefacts) into an agreed-upon 'historical schema' (p. 154), aimed at producing a sense of 'authenticity'.

As Brocken points out, Liverpool is a mythologised city existing both in the present and in a past that may or may not have existed. He insightfully illustrates this with his discussion of the guided tours of Liverpool, including the Cavern City Tours, and his own experience of being guided by Phil Coppell – and he does so in illuminating anecdotal detail. His discussion of the Replica Cavern and the ways that visiting Beatles fans engage with this replicated space as 'phenomena of symbolic representation' (p. 189), reveals yet another complex interaction between

place, space and identity. Importantly, he notes that ‘... fandom does not simply respond to music spaces and places, it *creates* them’ (p. 212) – and he points to the importance of the shared experience between fans as a personal, ‘life-giving’ experience where friendships and mutual understandings are formed.

This thoroughly detailed work will be of interest to those working in the fields of Beatles studies, fandom and popular music tourism. Brocken successfully combines his discussion of fandom with ethnographic detail, personal anecdotes, historical research, cultural theory and cultural geography to present both the story of a city, and the *story of the story* of a city in popular music culture. And beyond the buildings and the tourist sites, he successfully presents the stories of the people who produce these pop-cultural experiences – those who benefit from their production, and those (the fans) who consume it.

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### Editors’ note

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