A STUDY OF THE CPR-SPONSORED QUEBEC FOLK SONG AND HANDICRAFT FESTIVALS, 1927-1930

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by

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Folklore
Memorial University of Newfoundland

July 1982

St. John's Newfoundland

Our festivals were very beautiful. I use this word after thought. That is exactly what they were. They had a rich, rolling plumpness about them. They were reassuring. Attending one was like eating one's way through a long and abundant feast. But there was no sting or surprise there. No moments of shock. They did not stimulate.

Doris Lessing, The Marriages Between Zones Three, Four and Five (As Narrated by the Chroniclers of Zone Three) (London: Granda, 1981), p. 175. (Lessing's emphasis)

ABSTRACT

Between 1927 and 1931, the Canadian Pacific Railway sponsored at least sixteen major folk festivals in western and central Canada. This thesis presents a study of three of these events: the Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, which were held in the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City, in May 1927 and 1928, and October 1930. These three festivals presented the folk music, handicrafts and dance of rural French Canada and were intended mainly for an audience of affluent anglophone tourists.

The main sources of information for this study are the correspondence and publications of the two major organizers: John Murray Gibbon, head of publicity for Canadian Pacific; and Marius Barbeau, an anthropologist at the National Museum and a major figure in early folklore studies in Canada. These events were subject to extensive media coverage, and much information has also been gathered from contemporary newspaper and magazine articles.

This work seeks to detail and offer explanations for the apparent rise of an interest in folk culture among affluent, educated urbanites in the early decades of the twentieth century, with emphasis on the attention given to French-Canadian folk culture at that time. The Canadian Pacific Railway-sponsored festivals in Quebec are examined in the context of French-Canadian and Canadian nationalism, and related to the contemporary handicrafts revival in Quebec. The intellectual orientation of the major organizers and their social, political and artistic goals are discussed in detail. The significance of these

events as tourist attractions is also examined, and an assessment is made of the degree to which these events accomplished their goals.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dean Frederick Aldrich of Graduate Studies for generously providing the funding which made this research possible. People in numerous archives across Canada and in the United States contributed information to this thesis. It would be impossible to mention them all here, but I would particularly like to thank Renée Landry of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Stephen Willis of the Music Division, National Library of Canada, and Donald Jones of the CPR Corporate Archives for their invaluable assistance.

Neil Rosenberg has been a sensitive and incredibly patient supervisor, who was willing to lend me an ear, in spite of his own heavy workload. I thank him with all my heart. Many of my colleagues at Memorial and in the Folklore Studies Association of Canada provided moral support by taking a lively interest in my thesis topic, and in me as a person. Again, these are too numerous to mention, but I would like to thank Cheryl Brauner, who was always willing to discuss folk festivals, and Jane Burns, for making me laugh at times when laughter seemed least possible. I would also like to thank Martin Lovelace and Laural Doucette for their help and guidance, and especially my typist, Dallas Strange, who has the patience of a saint.

Ray, Kathe and Sam Talkington let me stay in their home during my visits to Ottawa. The kindness they showed during these visits made my research more pleasant than it would otherwise have been. Dr. Helen Creighton, who knew both Gibbon and Barbeau, allowed me to tape an interview with her in the spring of 1981. Although I do not

refer directly to this interview in my thesis, it was extremely helpful and allowed me to confirm many of the impressions I had, particularly of Gibbon.

Members of the Québécois community of St. John's have always been generous with their time and information. I especially thank Marie-Hélène Trudel and Yvon Martineau. Yvon was my chief translator, cartographer and a great source of information on Quebec. He was also my emotional foundation. Without him, this thesis would never have come into being.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, who have always thought that my work was important and have encouraged me in every way possible. This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, Arthur McNaughton, who died as the final draft of this work was being completed. I hope that the effort I have made here would have pleased him.

Abbreviations used in this work:

CF:	Canadian Forum
CGJ:	Canadian Geographic Journal
EMC:	Encyclopedia of Music in Canada
JEMFQ:	John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly
TRSC:	Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada

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INTRODUCTION

In the late 1920s and early 1930s the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) staged a number of major folk festivals at CP hotels in western and central Canada. The main organizer of these events was John Murray Gibbon, head of publicity for the CPR. These festivals were organized as publicity events for the hotels in which they were held. Some of these festivals provide the focus for this thesis.

At least sixteen large folk festivals were organized by Gibbon between 1927 and 1931. Those held on the prairies were mainly concerned with the presentation of the folk culture of recent European immigrant groups. The festivals held in Victoria, Vancouver and Toronto presented material from the contemporary English folksong and folk dance revival. A series of Highland Games and Scottish Music Festivals were held at the Banff Springs hotel in Banff, Alberta. The festivals held in Quebec City presented the folk culture of French Canada.

There is little doubt that these were among the first major folk festivals in North America. The first CPR-sponsored festival was held in May 1927. The first known folk festival in the United States was the Asheville Mountain Dance and Folk Festival, which was held in June 1928.

Originally, I had intended to study all the CPR-sponsored folk festivals in this thesis. However, the sheer bulk of material concerning the festivals held in Quebec was overwhelming, and demanded that these festivals be treated as a separate topic. Detailed documentation

of these events exists mainly in the correspondence of Marius Barbeau, the French-Canadian anthropologist who played a major role in organizing the 1927 and 1928 festivals in Quebec. I also decided to deal only with Quebec festivals so that they could be placed in the special social and political context of French Canada. This thesis is primarily a study of one aspect of the history of folklore studies in Canada.

The development of an interest in folk culture in Canada in the early decades of this century was the result of the convergence of a number of intellectual trends and cultural influences. One of the major aims of this work is to trace those influences and their effects. Such material is essential to a full understanding of the topic. So the Quebec festivals stand alone, though the other CPR-sponsored festivals are mentioned occasionally when relevant. I hope the future will provide an opportunity to deal as fully with the other CPR-sponsored folk festivals. They are equally worthy of scholarly attention.

It has been said that, as folklorists, we tend to study ourselves, or at least some aspect of our own lives.[1] In my case this is true. Growing up in Ontario in the 1960s I cannot remember a time when folk festivals were unknown to me. In 1963, at the age of nine, I was just outside Orillia when the infamous riot occurred at the Mariposa Festival.[2] As a high school student I began to attend the

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[1]Personal communications, Jane Burns.

[2]See Debra Sharp, "Mariposa: How Times Have Changed," in "For What Time I am in This World," Stories from Mariposa, ed. Bill Usher and Linda Page-Harpa (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1977), pp. 181-183 for a brief account of this riot.

Mariposa Festival, which had relocated to Toronto Island. While in university in the early 1970s I began to perform folk music. There was a demand for French-Canadian music in Toronto. Although my fluency in French is limited, the accent came easily to me and I performed French and French-Canadian music at universities and francophone cultural centres with Andrea Haddad. In 1977, we performed at the Mariposa Festival. In 1978, I sang at the Northern Lights Festival Boréal in Sudbury with Anne Lederman. By the time I finished undergraduate studies and decided to enter the graduate programme in folklore at Memorial University, both folk festivals and French-Canadian folksongs were a part of my life.

The CPR-sponsored folk festivals were uncovered while researching an essay topic for the History of Folklore Studies course at Memorial. Neil V. Rosenberg, who taught the course, suggested that I look at the work of John Murray Gibbon for this essay. I began to read Gibbon's books and to research the festivals he organized. As more and more information was uncovered, it became apparent that there was material for a thesis.

Folklore studies as an academic discipline is relatively young in Canada. Much valuable work has been done by people with little or no formal training in folklore studies. As academics, we often look askance at our non-academic predecessors who developed an interest in folklore for nationalistic or romantic reasons. There is no question that non-scientific subjectivity often coloured the work of early collectors and presenters of folk culture in Canada. But these people remain our intellectual parents. To disown them is to lose the opportunity to understand where we stand today. If we are to comprehend the current state of folklore studies in Canada, and especially

the attitudes of those who are not academically trained folklorists towards our discipline, it is essential that the early, non-academic heritage of folklore related activities be studied and understood. What we can learn about ourselves by subjecting our non-academic beginnings to serious scholarly examination is far more valuable than any shallow gratification which might be gained by pretending that those unacademic beginnings have nothing to do with us.

Folklorists who examine folk festivals are often concerned only with events related to traditional calendar customs. Examination of such events tends to be descriptive and culture specific. Many such writers are purists, and to them the commercial or revival festivals of modern times would not be considered a topic for serious scholarly attention. Perhaps because of this, there is very little analytical material on the subject of the commercial folk festival at the present time. Even where folklorists have given some attention to the commercial folk festival, it is possible to see traces of purist distaste for such events.

A good example of this can be found in John Moe's article, "Folk Festivals and Community Consciousness: Categories of the Festival Genre." In this article Moe establishes three basic categories of folk festivals based on levels of audience/participant involvement: participatory, semi-participatory and non-participatory. In his terms, the Quebec festivals would be seen as non-participatory events. Unfortunately, Moe displays a distaste for such events in his article which is both subjective and unscholarly. He defines the non-participatory festival as an event in which "a heterogeneous population of observers arrives on periodic dates to view a contrived

situation which is in a mode that is only vaguely recognizable."[3] It is clear that what disturbs Moe is the inauthenticity of this type of festival. He states: "The problem is that instead of an authentic festival, what has been created, at best, is a museum and, at worst, an illusion of a festival."[4] It cannot be argued that there is an element of inauthenticity in the commerical or revival festival. But as Moe himself suggests (though again in a rather pejorative manner) the reasons for this inauthenticity can in fact be the subject of serious scholarly inquiry.

Roger Abrahams has recently put forth a valuable model for analysis of festivals which can be applied to both commerical folk festivals and events based on traditional calendar customs. But Abrahams' analytical framework is contextual and therefore dependent upon direct observation of the events being discussed. For this reason his work is not applicable to the CPR-sponsored festivals.[5]

The analytical framework of the present work is mainly social and historical; I have attempted, wherever possible, to show how the Quebec festivals reflect the broader social and political concerns of their time. This analysis draws upon the anthropological concept of primitivism and also upon ideas put forth by Dean MacCannel in his book The Tourist. MacCannel's analysis is particularly valuable to the present work because the Quebec festivals were designed as tourist

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[3]John F. Moe, "Folk Festivals and Community Consciousness: Categories of the Festival Genre," Folklore Forum, 10 (1977), p. 35.

[4]Moe, p. 35.

[5]Roger D. Abrahams, "Shouting Match at the Border: The Folklore of Display Events," in "And Other Neighbourly Names": Social Process and Cultural Image in Texas Folklore, eds. Richard Bauman and Roger D. Abrahams (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 303-321.

attractions and because MacCannel approaches the study of such events, and especially the people who attend them, without value-laden preconceptions. The Tourist is particularly helpful in placing the Quebec festivals in social context and will be referred to in subsequent chapters.

The research methods used in this thesis are more typical of standard historical research techniques than usual folklore research methods. Because the CPR-sponsored events were held more than fifty years ago and all the key figures involved are now dead, I relied mainly on archival material and other printed sources rather than personal interviews. The chief source of information for this work was the Barbeau correspondence, which is housed at the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, part of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. The next most important sources of information were the newspaper and magazine reviews written about the Quebec festivals. These served as eyewitness accounts of these events. The published writings of Barbeau and Gibbon provided valuable insights into the motivations and goals of these two men. Festival programmes and related literature also provided important data.

Working from printed material rather than personal interviews had both advantages and drawbacks. I could not ask questions of course, so in some cases information that might have been helpful could not be ascertained and it was necessary to conjecture. On the more positive side, the correspondence includes many minor details that would have been forgotten after the fact. The correspondence also shows many sides of the same event and is therefore valuable in helping to create a complete picture. These letters also contained some sensitive material that might not have come to light in personal

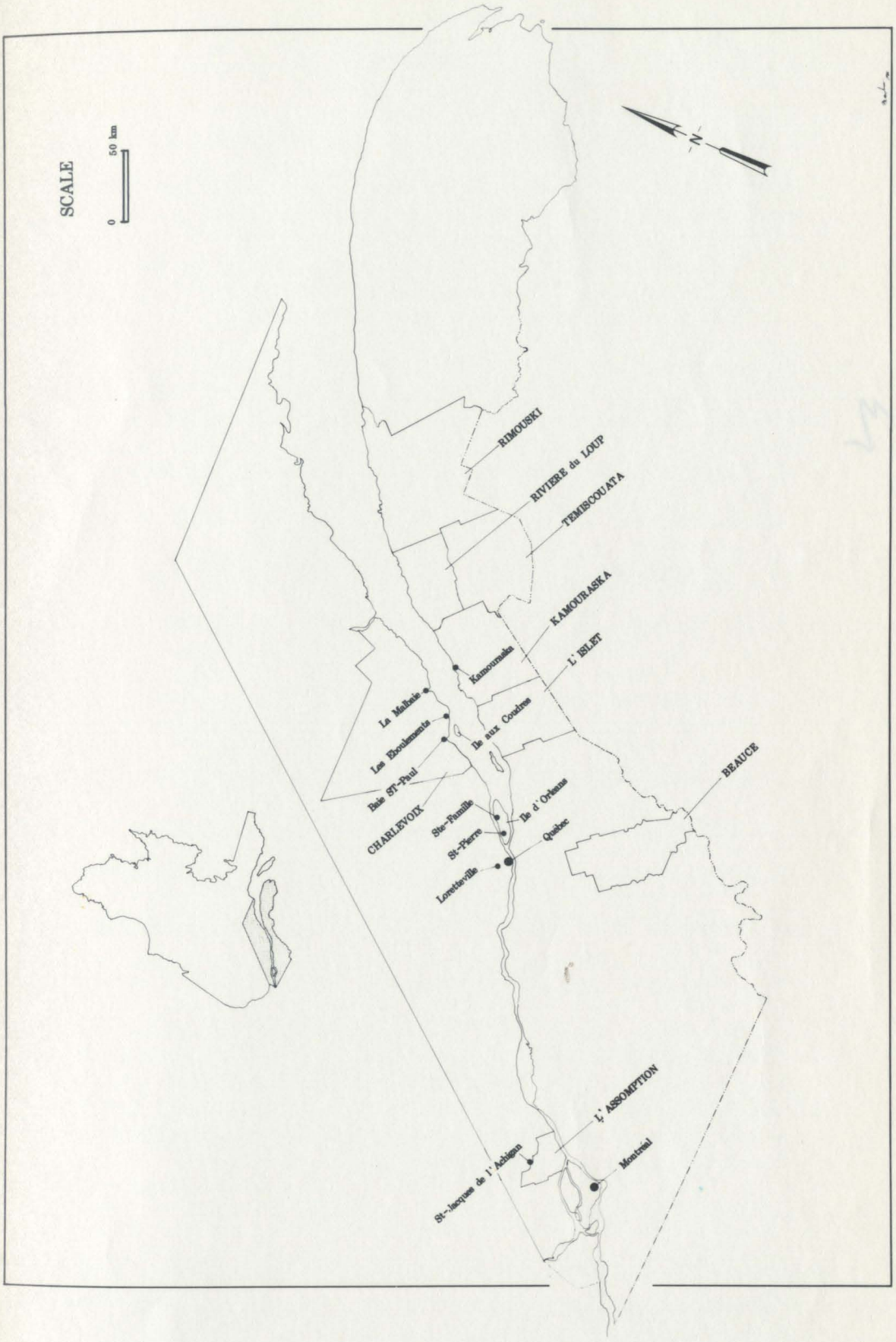
interviews. For example, the conflict between the festival organizers and Juliette Gaultier, which will be discussed in chapter four, reveals a great deal of information concerning attitudes towards the presentation of folk culture at the Quebec festivals. A knowledge of this conflict also helps to explain why a gifted performer such as Gaultier gave poor performances at the 1928 festival. But, because of the heated nature of this conflict and the fact that it shows all concerned to disadvantage, it seems unlikely that such information would have come to light in personal interviews.

This thesis proceeds in chronological order for the most part, though chapters two and six cover a broader time period than the other chapters. The first chapter traces the national romantic school of thought, which contributed greatly to an interest in the examination and presentation of folk culture, from its European beginnings to the English folksong revival. Barbeau and Gibbon are introduced at that point, as both were in England at the time of this revival. Finally, Gibbon's immigration to Canada and the intellectual milieu that awaited him are discussed in chapter one. Chapter two examines the relationship between folklore studies and French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec, with special reference to Barbeau. Chapters three, four and five are each devoted to one of the Quebec festivals, in chronological order.

Chapter six examines the contemporary handicrafts revival in Quebec. This chapter makes direct reference to the Quebec festivals, but is also included because it demonstrates that the Quebec festivals were not an isolated occurrence, but part of a larger trend among educated, urbanized and affluent people to place special value on folk

and primitive cultures with the rise of modernization in the twentieth century. Chapter seven details the folklore-related work of Gibbon and Barbeau and the years following the Quebec festivals, and the impact of the CPR-sponsored events on the folk festival movement in North America.

Fig. 1. Map of the St. Lawrence River area of Quebec. (The province of Quebec is shown in miniature at the top of the map.) Beauce county is Marius Barbeau's birth place. All other counties shown are the areas from which most of the source performers were drawn for the Quebec festivals, and were also Barbeau's main field areas. Quebec City, the site of the festivals, is near the centre of the map. Credit: Yvon Martineau.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CHARLEVOIX
Ste-Famille
Ile d'Orleans
St-Pierre
Quebec
Loretteville
St-Jacques de l'Achigan
Montreal

CHAPTER I

INTELLECTUAL BEGINNINGS OF THE CPR-SPONSORED FOLK FESTIVALS

The three Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals were held at the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City in May 1927 and 1928 and October 1930.[1] The Chateau Frontenac is a Canadian Pacific hotel. An imposing stone structure, it sits on a cliff 200 feet above the St. Lawrence River in the centre of old Quebec. The design of the hotel is based on that of mediaeval chateaux on the Loire River in France. First opened in 1893, the hotel fronts on a large wooden terrace, sometimes called the Dufferin Terrace. Begun by the Earl of Durham in 1838, this terrace was finished by the Earl of Dufferin in 1878. The Chateau Frontenac is as much a landmark as a commercial hotel. It is an extremely imposing and dramatic structure and, as reviewers of the Quebec festivals noted, it is difficult to imagine a better setting for the romantic presentation of French-Canadian folk culture.

The Quebec festivals were mainly concerned with the presentation of traditional francophone culture, though some native Indian, Eskimo and Métis material was presented as well. These events were staged over three to five day periods. Folk music, songs and dances were presented at evening concerts and afternoon matinees. Handicrafts demonstrations, exhibits and informal concerts were presented in the afternoons as well.

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[1] For convenience, these festivals will hereafter be referred to as the Quebec festivals.

The CPR-sponsored folk festivals were the physical expression of an intellectual and artistic movement in Canada. This movement sought to create a greater awareness of folk culture among Canadians and was basically nationalist, romantic and conservative in nature. Like any intellectual movement, the one under study here represents the confluence of a number of diverse influences. This chapter will outline the most important of these influences and show how they shaped the thoughts and attitudes of the two major organizers of these festivals: John Murray Gibbon and Marius Barbeau.

The national romantic school of thought can be seen as the major intellectual influence on both Gibbon and Barbeau. This school of thought had its beginnings in the work of Johan Gottfried von Herder in eighteenth-century Germany. Herder's concept of nationalism developed in response to the fragmented political state of Germany at that time; he wished to see German speaking people united into a single nation. Herder was also reacting against the emphasis which Enlightenment thinkers placed on the universal nature of mankind, and the rights of the individual over those of the state.

Herder's theories were based on the belief that the basic unit of mankind was the Volk, a linguistically determined ethnic group. He maintained that each Volk was entitled to political self-determination. Although he is often accused of fathering a narrow nationalism, Herder believed that each nation or Volk had its own valuable and unique character, and that it was impossible that one might be qualitatively better than another. In opposition to the liberal nationalism put forth by Enlightenment thinkers, chiefly Rousseau, Herder stressed that the will of the individual was secondary to the will of the nation,

and that service to the nation state was the highest occuption of mankind. In Herder's terms the individual could only fulfill himself to the degree that he was true to the national culture of which he was a part. This concept of human fulfillment was called Humanitat, and could only be achieved if each nation remained true to its own unique soul. Thus, no nation could develop on a cultural foundation other than its own.[2]

Herder believed that the deepest insight into any culture could be gained by looking at its folk traditions, and because of his emphasis on language, he turned to the study of folk literature. From this study he developed the concept of Naturepoise. Naturepoise was not only the folk literature of a nation, such as ballad and Märchen texts, but the work of any writer who was being true to the spirit of his national character. Herder felt that the collection of oral literature and a knowledge of it among educated writers in Germany would result in the development of a uniquely national art which would help to move the culture toward national fulfillment. He felt that this fulfillment would come in a Golden Age of nations which lay in the future. He also felt that writers who drew upon what he viewed as the spontaneous style of oral forms would produce a literature that would add vitality and energy to their culture.

The collection of folklore was central to Herder's philosophy. Items of folklore were not only to be gathered, but used as a source of literary inspiration. This concept of using items of folklore as the raw materials for a national art was widely accepted by those who followed Herder, and is central to the concerns of this thesis.

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[2]William A. Wilson, "Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism," Journal of Popular Culture, 6 (1973), 820.

In Germany, as a direct result of Herder's work, young scholars were stimulated to collect and publish examples of folk literature. Most significant among these were Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Herder's ideas also found a sympathetic audience in Eastern and Central Europe, where ethnic boundaries seldom matched those of existing political states. The impact of Herder's writings on Germany, the Slavic countries and Scandinavia resulted in the emergence of a new school of thought: national romanticism.

Herder's ideas formed the basis for this national romantic school of thought, but were subject to adaptation. Significantly, early adherents to this school rapidly lost sight of the progressive aspect of Herder's philosophy: the concept that the Golden Age of nations lay in the future, and that folk culture was to be used as a means towards that future. The national romantic school of thought replaced this concept with the opposite view, put forth by Rousseau, that the Golden Age of man lay in the past. Folk arts were seen not as the lore of contemporary people so much as an expression of the glorious past, and the aim of collecting folklore was to revive a more desirable, bygone age. Thus, those who ascribed to the national romantic school of thought were conservative in the truest sense of the word in that they looked back in time and strove to restore the past as they perceived it.

While this school of thought rejected Herder's concepts on this one important point, those who ascribed to national romanticism did remain true to his theories in a number of other areas. Adherents to this movement embraced the idea that linguistic groups had a right to political self-determination. They also emphasized the importance of

passion and instinct over reason, and national differences over universal aspirations. The collection and use of folklore remained central to the national romantic school of thought, just as it had to Herder.[3] Another important characteristic of this school of thought was that it found greatest acceptance among the middle class, so that use was being made of folk culture not by the actual bearers of tradition themselves, but by affluent and educated people. While the folk and their culture might have been romanticized, class barriers were maintained.

Like most intellectual movements, the national romantic school of thought was most likely to take root where it had some relevance to the needs of a society as perceived by its members. Thus it is not surprising to note its growth in places where some form of cultural dominance of one nation or linguistic group by another existed. French Canada certainly fits into the type of ethnic area most likely to prove receptive to the national romantic school of thought. The development of national romanticism in Quebec will be examined in detail in chapter two.

The impetus to combine the national romantic school of thought with folk music in Canada in the early twentieth century seems to have come from the contemporary English folksong and folk dance revival. The ideas behind this revival were brought to Canada by John Murray Gibbon and Marius Barbeau. The results of this cross-fertilization of European ideas and Canadian folk music were the CPR-sponsored festivals, and a related attempt to develop a national music movement in Canada in the late 1920s and 1930s.

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[3] Wilson, p. 820.

At first glance, England would appear to be strange ground for the seeds of national romanticism, as England had been in control of its own culture and government for centuries and was not adverse to imposing itself, politically or culturally, on other nations. But by the late nineteenth century, English composers of classical music were beginning to react against more than a century of domination by German styles.[4] In England, the ideas of the national romantic school of thought were utilized at this time to escape German domination of music composition in much the same way that Germany had earlier escaped French domination of its literature: through the use of folk art forms as a source of inspiration for more formal art.

In 1889, as a result of this movement, a number of English musicians and folksong collectors came together to form the English Folk-Song Society. In keeping with the stress which the national romantic school of thought placed on applied use of items of folklore, the aim of this society was to collect English folksongs so that they might serve as the source of inspiration for the composers of art music.

Members of the English Folk-Song Society were influenced by Fabian socialism, which was then an important force in English intellectual life. Drawing upon this ideology, they added to the national romantic school of thought the somewhat contradictory concept of internationalism: the idea that folk music could not only be used as a means of expressing the unique aspects of a nation, but could also be used to bring people of different cultures together in mutual appreciation. This concept would prove especially attractive to those

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[4] Andrée Desautels, "The History of Canadian Composition 1610-1967," in Aspects of Music in Canada, ed. Walter Arnold (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 100.

faced with the diversity of immigrant cultures in Canada when the English approach to the national romantic school of thought was transplanted here.

The Folk-Song Society accomplished little in its early years. A change came when Cecil Sharp began his vigorous reorganization of its structure in 1904. Sharp was a music teacher by profession and a composer, though not a successful one. Totally committed to the national romantic school of thought, Sharp urged the education system to adopt folksongs as part of the curriculum so that English children would grow up thoroughly familiar with the idioms of their folk tunes and would, as adults, be inclined to compose music that would reflect folk influences. Through interest generated by the Folk-Song Society under Sharp's direction, a number of talented composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams and Percy Granger were exposed to the music of English folksongs. The result was a successful move away from German chromaticism toward diatonic and modal styles based on English folk melodies.[5] It was during this intense and successful period in the English folksong revival that Barbeau attended university in England and Gibbon began his career there as a journalist.

John Murray Gibbon was born in Udeweller, Ceylon in 1875, the son of Sir William Duff Gibbon, who has been described as "one of the pioneer tea planters in Ceylon."[6] Gibbon's education would tend to indicate that his family was quite wealthy. He was educated at

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[5]Desautels, p. 100.

[6]Sir Charles G.D. Roberts and Arthur Tunnel, eds., The Canadian Who's Who 1936-37 (Toronto: The Times Publishing Co., 1937), p. 413.

Gordon's College and King's College in his father's native city of Aberdeen, Scotland. While at King's College he was one of the twelve editors of Alma Mater, a school publication. During this time he learned to proofread, a skill that would be useful to him as a professional journalist.

Although the dates of events in Gibbon's early life are uncertain, he went on to study English Literature at Christ Church, Oxford, after Aberdeen, and graduated with first class honours. He then attended the University of Gottingen in Germany where he studied Sanskrit and Greek Archaeology, two fields which were then closely related to folklore studies due to the interest in Solar Mythology, and the influence of early anthropologists such as Edward B. Tylor on British folklorists.

Upon graduation, Gibbon served a year's apprenticeship without pay with Black and White magazine, a fact which would again tend to indicate that his family was quite wealthy. In 1900 at the age of twenty-five he married Anne Fox of Cumberland, England. After his marriage Gibbon continued to work for Black and White, becoming assistant editor and eventually editor. Gibbon also studied art at Westminster School in London and at Colarossi Atetier in Paris at some point in his early life, though it is not clear when.

In 1907 Gibbon became Supervisor of European Propaganda for the Canadian Pacific Railway. In this job he was responsible for encouraging European immigrants to come to Canada. To this end, Gibbon visited Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Scandinavia. He also visited Japan, though why he did is not clear as immigration of orientals into Canada was severely restricted during this time.

Such extensive travel may have helped to contribute to the open-minded attitude that Gibbon exhibited towards other cultures throughout his work with the CPR and in his own writings.

Gibbon edited a collection of fairy tales which was published in 1909 under the title The True Annals of Fairyland in the Reign of King Cole in the Everyman Library series. In 1911, the first book that Gibbon authored appeared. This was Scots in Canada: A History from the Earliest Days to the Present Time. This work reflected his interest in immigration, Canadian history and his Scottish ancestry, which were all to be important themes in Gibbon's later work. Two years later, Gibbon himself immigrated to Canada to become head of publicity for the CPR. Coming, as he must have, from a world of private clubs and titled acquaintances, Gibbon seems to have been favourably impressed with the less rigid class structure of Canada. In the introduction to a later book, Canadian Mosaic, he stated:

> On the day of my first arrival to Canada, I saw a member of the Dominion Cabinet, the Hon. Jacques Bureau, on a Government tugboat at Quebec, serving ginger ale in his shirt-sleeves to a party of newspaper men, and singing the French-Canadian folksong "En roulant ma boule, roulant," and I imagined the kind of letter some English Colonel would write from his Club to the London Times if a British Cabinet Minister were to have done anything of the sort.[7]

Charles Marius Barbeau was born in Beauce county, Quebec, in 1883. His father was a farmer and a horse breeder. His mother had spent seven years as a novice nun in the Ursuline order before deciding not to take her final vows. Two years after Marius was born, his family set out for the Idaho gold fields, and a year later they moved to Nebraska, so that Marius must have been raised in a

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[7]John Murray Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1939), p. x.

bilingual milieu from an early age. When he was still a child, his family returned to Beauce. Although Barbeau's family was rural, they seem to have been affluent and well educated. Barbeau was taught at home until the age of twelve.

After studying humanities, Barbeau received his B.A. at the age of twenty and proceeded to study law at Université Laval where he met some of the young elite of French Canada. Among them was Louis St-Laurent, who would later become Prime Minister of Canada, and who urged Barbeau to apply for a Rhodes scholarship. Barbeau did so successfully and in 1907 went to Oxford to study anthropology. He spent his summers in Paris at the Sorbonne and the Ecole d'Anthropology during that time.

After his return to Canada, Barbeau was hired by the National Museum in 1911 to study native Indian populations. This was the area in which he had received his anthropological training. However, evidence of Barbeau's attachment to the national romantic school of thought appeared early in his career, as he turned his attentions to the collection and study of his own culture.

When Barbeau and Gibbon arrived in Canada many of the ideas of the national romantic school of thought were already part of the intellectual and artistic traditions of this country, especially in French Canada. But Barbeau and Gibbon brought to Canada a concept of folklore and its uses which had been given fresh vitality by the recent folksong revival in England. During the 1920s, Barbeau and Gibbon would attempt to introduce their ideas about folk culture and its uses in Canadian society to both French- and English-Canadians through the vehicle of the Quebec festivals. The hoped for results

of this was to be a folk revival for Canada similar to the revival experienced in England, and a parallel emergence of a national school of music compositions based on folk music themes. To understand their efforts fully, it is necessary to briefly examine the social milieu that awaited them.

Canada had entered World War I as a colony but emerged from it as a fledgling nation, ready to demand new rights and responsibilities from Britain. The 1920s can be characterized as a period of optimistic nationalism for English Canada, and also of unprecedented economic growth. Rapid industrialization in Western countries created new demand for natural resources, while traditional commodities such as timber, fish and grain continued to find profitable world markets. At the same time, Canada was beginning to take tentative steps towards industrialization. The outlook, especially in English Canada, was essentially bright. In his writings on the literary history of English Canada, Desmond Pacey states that in the 1920s there was "a general air of change, excitement, and confidence."[8]

Gibbon, as an anglophone, was visibly influenced by the cultural milieu of Anglo Canada in the early decades of this century, just as Barbeau, as a francophone, was shaped by social and political trends in contemporary Quebec. Barbeau's responses to his cultural environment will be discussed in the following chapter, and Gibbon's will be outlined briefly here.

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[8]Desmond Pacey, "The Writer and His Public 1920-1960," in Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English, ed. Carl F. Klinck, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), II, 4.

In his early years in Canada Gibbon was a novelist. In 1916 or 1917 his first novel, Hearts and Faces was published and in 1919 the second of his five novels, Drums Afar appeared.[9] Probably because of his experiences as an author in Canada resulting from the publication of these novels, Gibbon became active in the movement to gain adequate copyright protection for writers in this country. In 1921 he helped to found the Canadian Authors' Association.

Soon after its inception, the Canadian Authors' Association ambitiously set out to promote an interest in Canadian fiction among the reading public. This campaign was undertaken in a spirit which Pacey has characterized as "boosterism": an uncritical air of self-confidence in which the very word Canadian was regarded as synonymous with good.[10] Although there were dissenting voices, this was the general attitude of the time. Mediocre talents were praised to the skies and even writers of "amorous pot-boilers" were taken seriously by their literary peers.[11] It was, in short, a time when the shallow efforts of the dilettante were as likely to find eager critical reception as the more strenuous creative efforts of the gifted.

During this time, escapism was seen as a dominant function of fiction. The historical romance was one of the chief types of escapist novels produced in Anglo Canada and significantly, the French

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[9] Gibbon's other novels were: The Conquering Hero (1920), Pagan Love (1922) and Eyes of a Gypsy (1926).

[10] Pacey, "The Writer and his Public," p. 5.

[11] See Desmond Pacey, "Fiction, 1920-1940," in Literary History of Canada, pp. 170-177, for a discussion of this.

régime in Quebec was the most frequent setting for this type of work. Pacey gives a number of plausible reasons why New France so captured the English-Canadian imagination.[12] Whatever the reason, by the 1920s the literary imagination of English Canada had been fueled with romantic images of l'ancien régime for almost a generation.

Many of the "experts" on Canadian folklore of this time were, like Gibbon, writers. They came out of this dilettante tradition and were steeped in romantic notions of French Canada. These factors contributed to the development of what Carole Henderson Carpenter has identified as "a continuing tradition of . . . romantic literature based on the French-Canadian oral traditions and peasant life style" in works concerning folklore.[13] In keeping with the uncritical spirit of the time, those who wrote in this vein were readily accepted in Anglo Canada as experts on French-Canadian folklore.

Gibbon was a publicity agent by profession. He had been exposed to the national romantic school of thought through the English folksong revival as a young man. After immigrating to Canada he became involved in a literary milieu which regarded French Canada in a highly romantic light. Given these factors, it is not surprising that Gibbon chose to popularize a romantic vision of French-Canadian folklore.

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[12]Pacey, "Fiction," pp. 172-173.

[13]Carole Henderson Carpenter, Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture CCFCS Mercury Series 26 (Ottawa: National Museum), p. 210.

CHAPTER II

FOLKLORE STUDIES AND FRENCH-CANADIAN NATIONALISM IN QUEBEC PRIOR TO THE CPR-SPONSORED FESTIVALS

The collection of folklore, the use of ethnographic material in works of literature, and the study of folklore in French Canada are tied to the national romantic school of thought and a related interest in preserving culture that was felt to be unique to French Canada. The CPR-sponsored Quebec festivals can be better understood when seen in the context of the development of French-Canadian nationalism and the related rise of an interest in folklore in Quebec.

The development of the "acute sense of group-consciousness"[1] which may be regarded as nationalism emerged in Quebec in the early nineteenth century, coinciding with the rise of a francophone middle class. The major factors that contributed to the development of this nationalism seem to have been economic. During the last decades of the eighteenth century, French-Canadian traders lost considerable economic control of the fur trade by remaining staunchly individualistic in the face of conditions that increasingly demanded pooled capital and effort.[2] The generally conservative attitude of the middle class made them

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[1] Jean-C. Bonenfant and Jean-C. Falardeau, "Cultural and Political Implications of French-Canadian Nationalism," in French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969), p. 19.

[2] Fernand Ouellet, "The Historical Background of Separatism in Quebec," in French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, ed. Ramsay Cook, p. 52.

unwilling to move into vital new sectors of the economy such as lumbering and ship building. As a result, by the turn of the century, French-Canadians had no talented or powerful business men to provide economic leadership. The society was left to the economic guidance of "a lower middle class made up of notaries, lawyers, physicians, land-surveyors and small businessmen . . . who were hardly even conscious of the new economic requirements, let alone ready to lead their countrymen toward meeting them."[3] So English merchants and ambitious Loyalists gained control of the economy.

Agriculture remained one of the chief spheres of influence for francophones. The pre-conquest seigneurial system had been maintained by the British as a means of establishing rapport with the francophone elite who remained after the conquest. This system was a type of land tenure derived from French feudalism. Land in the St. Lawrence river valley had been divided into seigniories, units which averaged one or two leagues of river frontage by two or three leagues in depth. These estates were granted to seigniors, elite land owners, who reserved part of the land for themselves and divided the balance into farms which were granted to the habitants (a term applied to the rural inhabitants of the land). This seigniorial system involved reciprocal responsibilities for seignior and habitant. The influx of Loyalists at the time of the American revolution did not precipitate the type of cruel land transfer that had led to the Acadian expulsions in 1755, nor significantly alter this system.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, agriculture declined in Lower Canada until the region became dependent on Upper

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[3]Ouellet, p. 52.

Canada for supplies.[4] This decline was due to the continuance of the outmoded seigniorial system and lacked of innovation in agricultural technology. The decline in agriculture might have been corrected by political moves such as the abolition of the seigniorial system, which would have facilitated the update of technology. Reforms in the education system which would have introduced a general education designed to produce skilled workers and a managerial class would have helped French-Canadians to regain control of their economy. But the political elite required to accomplish such reforms did not then exist among francophones. French-Canadians were not at that time sufficiently accustomed to the British parliamentary system to be able to use it to their advantage. This new form of government had only been introduced in Lower Canada in 1791, when a reluctant British government finally acceded to the demands of the Loyalists.

In this atmosphere the first stage of French-Canadian nationalism emerged. This nationalism has been characterized as "defensive" and was based in the francophone middle class.[5] This was also an isolationist nationalism which directed a good deal of hostility towards the English who dominated the economy, an area of endeavour that might otherwise have been controlled by the very francophones who

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[4]Quebec has officially been called by a number of names in its history. These names have been maintained in the present discussion because they refer to specific times in history, and also because it seems anomalous to call a territory Quebec when it only officially became known as such in 1867. These names and their historical periods are: New France, which refers to the pre-conquest period; Lower Canada (because it is on the lower Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway) from the conquest in 1763 until the Union Act of 1841; Canada West from the time of the Union Act until Confederation in 1867; and from that time onward, Quebec.

[5]Bonenfant and Falardeau, p. 19.

fostered this nationalism. Two important institutions to emerge from this first wave of nationalism were a political party called the Patriotes, and la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, a nationalist organization.

The Patriotes party developed during the election of 1827, under the leadership of Louis-Joseph Papineau. While this party expressed concern for such liberal issues as social progress, democracy and reform, it was characterized by an aggressive and intense nationalism, as manifest in its programme to boycott British products.

Initially the habitants took little interest in this nationalism. However, from 1826 onward the crisis in agriculture intensified with the failure of wheat as the staple crop and increased population resulted in subdivision of the limited arable land. As their traditional economy began to crumble, the habitants were increasingly receptive to the nationalist message. In 1834, members of the Patriotes party founded la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste. It was hoped that this organization would establish a stronger link between the francophone elite and the habitants, groups which had drifted apart as social structure became more diverse. The purpose of this society was to "unite French-Canadians and give them a rallying cry,"[6] and the early meetings took the form of banquets. New leaders of the Patriotes party were eventually drawn from the ranks of la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, so even at this early date the distinction between political and cultural goals was blurred.

Through the institution of the Patriotes party and la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste the middle class

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[6]Bonenfant and Falardeau, p. 21.

> started shaping a vocation of their own wherein were consecrated both their role as a lay élite and their right to act as spokesmen for an agricultural, feudal society.[7]

In shaping this vocation a great deal of emphasis was placed on the importance of agriculture to the future of French Canada. This is not surprising, as agriculture was one area of the economy still controlled by francophones. But in stressing a declining sector of the economy the nationalists were resisting involvement in economic progress. While many of the reformers in the Patriotes were openly anti-clerical, la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste did much to stress the unconscious relationship between patriotism and religion and to promote "a true reverence for tradition and the institutions of the past."[8] While the Société itself did not directly encourage activities related to folklore studies, it certainly helped to create a climate in which the national romantic school of thought would flourish.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a new respect for tradition and interest in habitant culture was emerging as a significant trend in French-Canadian literature. The Québécois who wrote in this vein were influenced by the romantic writers of France who were responding to the national romantic school of thought, as it became a major force in European intellectual life, by turning their attention to peasant culture.[9] But social trends in French Canada had made an interest in habitant culture a logical progression for educated francophones, and

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[7] Ouellet, p. 53.

[8] Bonenfant and Falardeau, p. 21.

[9] Luc Lacourcière, "The Present State of French-Canadian Folklore Studies," in Folklore Research Around the World, ed. Richard Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 88.

the Canadian movement was as much organic as imitative.

French-Canadian authors influenced by French national romanticism included Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, Joseph-Charles Taché, Honoré Beaugrand and Louis Frechette. These men were motivated by a desire to preserve and popularize French-Canadian folk culture, and chiefly used the genres of legend, custom and belief in their writings. Historian Ramsay Cook states that the goal of these national novelists was

> to emphasize la vocation rurale of French Canada. Indeed, the whole literary school of 1860 . . . was devoted to the glorification and deification of the rural mission. . . .[10]

This movement was literary and involved little actual collecting of folklore. But it is significant in that it helped to entrench national romanticism and a related interest in habitant culture in the intellectual life of French Canada. These interests would eventually give rise to serious folklore collection.

The literary trend of the 1860s was only part of a general movement in French Canada which placed great importance on agrarianism to the maintenance of a distinct French-Canadian culture. Agrarianism has been defined as "above all a general way of thinking, a philosophy of life which idealizes the past and distrusts the modern social order."[11] This emphasis on a mystic attachment of the people to the land would become central to French-Canadian nationalism. Traditional forms of expressive culture were seen as manifestations of the romantic past, and so became significant to francophone cultural identity.

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[10]Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1974), p. 85.

[11]Cook, p. 292, quoting from Michel Brunet in La Présence anglaise et les Canadiens.

Contemporary with the national romantic writers of the 1860s was the first collector of folksong in Quebec, Ernest Gagnon. Born in 1839, Gagnon was a musician who completed his musical studies in France at the time when that country was organizing its first collections of folksongs by decree of Napoleon III. Upon returning to Canada Gagnon assumed the position of organist at the Quebec Basilica and began to collect folksongs. In 1865 his Chansons populaires du Canada was published. Although Gagnon worked alone and inspired no immediate followers to continue his collecting, the importance of his publication to French-Canadian folklore scholarship and the encouragement of a popular interest in folklore cannot be overstated. Folklorist Luc Lacourcière has likened the significance of Gagnon's work for folksong study in Canada to that of Child's work for ballad scholarship in the United States.[12]

Sixty years after the initial publication of Chansons populaires du Canada, Gibbon was well aware of the impact of Gagnon's work. Gibbon's Canadian Folk Songs Old and New, published in 1927, consisted mainly of translations of songs from Gagnon's book and, as he stated in a letter to Barbeau:

> There is no question that Ernest Gagnon in his 'Chansons Populaires' has the songs that are most familiar in this Province. His collection is now in its seventh edition, and has been used so widely as a school prize book that the songs are still alive, and are not merely known to a few casual singers.[13]

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[12] Lacourcière, p. 89.

[13] John Murray Gibbon, Letter to Marius Barbeau, 6 December 1927, Barbeau Correspondence, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. All further quoted correspondence is from this collection.

Gagnon was also one of the first musicians in Canada to base compositions on folk music themes and to provide classical arrangements of folksongs. As early as 1858, Gagnon wrote Stadconé, a "danse sauvage" for piano. Helmet Kallman and Stephen Willis note that this may have been the first piece of art music imitative of native themes. Chansons populaires du Canada contained only unaccompanied songs. However, Gagnon did arrange many of these songs and they were later published as Les soirées de Quebec in 1877, Cantiques populaires du Canada français in 1897 and Chants canadiens (n.d.). Kallman and Willis note: "After 1865, whether inspired by Gagnon or drawing on personal familiarity with folksong, more and more [Québécois] musicians adapted such folk material."[14] So the idea of using folk music as a source of inspiration for art music had an early start in French Canada.

In terms of folklore scholarship, Lacourcière has noted a significant gap between the work of Gagnon and that of Marius Barbeau which began in the early decades of this century.[15] As the interest in habitant culture can be related to the rise of conservative nationalism from the 1820s onward, it may be useful to attempt to explain this gap in terms of changes in French-Canadian nationalism. This interpretation flows from the idea that immediate political changes will not manifest a change in so subliminal a social trend as attitudes towards folklore for some time. So, just as the events of the 1820s and 1830s helped to create a nationalism that gave rise to an interest in folk culture in the 1860s, events from the 1840s onward can help to explain the gap between Gagnon and Barbeau.

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[14]Helmut Kallmann and Stephen Willis, "Folk-music-inspired composition," EMC, p. 344.

[15]Lacourcière, p. 90.

The failed rebellion of 1837 led to the Durham report, which recommended uniting the parliaments of Upper and Lower Canada into a single government in which the use of French would be expressly forbidden. This recommendation was implemented in the Union Act of 1841. One of the stated purposes of the Union Act was the assimilation of French-Canadian culture. In fact, it had the opposite result. The cultural threat posed by the Union Act seemed to bring forth new energies and also coincided with a real mastery of the British parliamentary system by francophone Canadians. From that point on, "French Canadian nationalism then took a strong political orientation within the context of British parliamentary institutions."[16] This resulted in a new balance of power and the emergence of a francophone political elite. Under the leadership of Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine, progressive French-Canadians allied themselves with the reformers of Canada West in the new joint parliament. This resulted in considerable social reforms in the fields of education, municipal affairs and agriculture during the Union Act period.

Given this more positive direction of energy, it is not surprising that the nationalists became "less aggressive, less vocal and more oriented toward practical developments,"[17] contributing to the climate of good will between the two ethnic groups that would lead to Confederation in 1867. Moreover, the bond between the rural habitant and educated classes now seemed less important to the upper and middle classes than it had in previous years. There was a general decline in interest in habitant culture among educated francophones in the years

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[16]Bonenfant and Falardeau, p. 22.

[17]Bonenfant and Falardeau, p. 23.

following Confederation as energies were directed to more concrete areas.

The trend toward a serious examination of rural culture which had begun in the 1860s died out accordingly. A branch of the American Folklore Society was established in Montreal in 1892, due to the brief interest in Franco-North American folk culture created by the research of Alcée Fortier in Louisiana. But this interest did not last, and the Montreal branch of the AFS was more or less annexed by educated anglophones who concerned themselves with armchair study of native Indian and other exotic cultures. So the Montreal branch of the AFS did not give rise to any significant collection of French-Canadian folklore until it was revitalized by Barbeau in 1914.

The good will which led up to, and continued briefly after Confederation was entirely destroyed in the late 1800s and early 1900s. During this time much of the political interaction between anglophone and francophone Canadians was marked by conflict and hostility. Briefly, the major events in this time period were the Métis uprisings, which ended in 1885 with the execution of Louis Riel; the Manitoba schools crisis of the 1890s, which led to a Supreme Court decision that made English the only official language in that province; Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's decision in 1899 to allow Canada to participate in the Boer War; and the conscription crisis of World War I.

In each of the first three cases, the majority of francophones were strongly opposed to the decision finally reached by the government or the courts. The Métis rebellions were essentially a conflict between native peoples and encroaching Europeans, but many of the Métis, including Riel, were francophone and Catholic. In Quebec, these struggles were identified as an attempt to preserve French-Canadian

culture in the face of non-French immigration. The outcome of the Manitoba schools crisis crushed the cherished hope of francophones that the west would be opened as an integrated bilingual area. The Boer War was generally regarded in Quebec as an Imperial effort to repress the rights of a linguistic minority.

The conscription crisis of World War I was an extremely heated clash in which Quebec was accused of being indifferent to the Empire. The idea that French Canada was not contributing a fair share to the war effort was not entirely accurate. A large percentage of the men recruited from the other provinces were British-born, and could naturally be expected to feel more responsibility to Britain than native born Canadians of either ethnic group. Although the Canadian forces argued successfully for the right to maintain units independent of the British forces, it did not occur to the leaders of these forces that the same tactic might have been good for French-Canadian morale; only one French-Canadian unit was organized, and its officers were mainly anglophone. The French-Canadian enlistees often found themselves surrounded by men with whom they could not communicate, and this did little to encourage enlistment. The government also failed to understand why a call to defend the British Empire might fail to arouse in Quebec the same enthusiasm as it did in other provinces, and the recruitment campaign was generally managed very poorly in Quebec. By the end of the war, French Canada was decidedly cold to the war effort.

Due to all these events, there was throughout this period a sense of disillusionment with Confederation in Quebec. What had been hoped to be a partnership of equals looked very much like the domination of anglophones.

In this same time period, the agrarian way of life which had become so important to French-Canadian nationalism appeared to be threatened. Virtually all the arable land in Quebec lies along the river valleys of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. From the 1850s on, almost all of this land was being farmed. The rural people of Quebec were urged to remain on the land for nationalist reasons, but this was often not economically possible. In the last half of the nineteenth century, about half a million French-Canadians emigrated to anglophone areas of North America.

This was also a time of increasing urbanization. From the turn of the century, there was a sharp decline in the rural population within Quebec. In 1890, about one-third of the population was urban. By 1910, this figure had risen to nearly one-half, and by 1911, slightly less than one-third of Quebec's population was involved in farming.[18]

This trend toward urbanization was in keeping with events in similar parts of North America; Ontario exhibits almost identical statistics for the same time. But in Quebec, the decline in the rural population was seen as a threat to francophone cultural identity. This identity was felt to be deeply related to farming and Roman Catholicism. Agriculture had been the one area of the economy completely controlled by the francophones in Quebec for almost a century. As such it was symbolic of the French-Canadian way of life, and this symbol had been given deeper meaning by the national romantic writing

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[18]Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), p. 148.

of the 1860s. After the French Revolution, the Catholic clergy in Quebec had come to regard French-Canadians as the francophone people chosen to carry on God's mission on earth. As this idea gained general acceptance, religion and nationalism became inseparable. The Church was organized on the rural parish system, and it was felt that those who left their parishes to live in urban centres would drift away from its influence.

For these reasons, a concerted effort was made by the government of Quebec and the Roman Catholic Church to keep the people on the land in the early decades of this century. This effort took the form of colonization of the northern areas of the province, and programmes such as the Department of Agriculture's efforts to encourage a home textile industry. During this time, the importance of agrarianism to francophone cultural identity was again stressed. In 1902, the ultramontane editor of La Vérité, Jules-Paul Tardivel, summarized the interconnection of nationalism, the land, and the Church when he stated:

> It is not necessary that we possess industry and money. We will no longer be French-Canadians but Americans almost like the others. Our mission is to possess the earth and spread ideas. To cling to the soil, to raise large families, to maintain the hearth of intellectual and spiritual life, that must be our role in America.[19]

Also around 1900, this new surge of nationalist feeling took concrete form in the evolution of a new political movement, the Ligue Nationaliste Canadienne. This organization was characterized by "a middle-class leadership with its status consciousness, fear of big business but rejection of socialism, emphasis on a non-partisan

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[19] Cook, p. 86.

approach, and, not least of all, nationalism."[20] Initially the Ligue was interested in economics and economic reform. Over the years however, members of the movement became increasingly concerned with less progressive, more traditional issues.

In the early years, this movement centred on the charismatic personality of Henri Bourassa, though his doctrines were widely re-interpreted, sometimes to the point of distortion. Bourassa, grandson of the famous rebel Papineau, had become a focal point for nationalist feeling in Quebec when he resigned his seat in federal parliament to protest Canadian involvement in the Boer War, and was returned to office by acclamation. Significantly, Bourassa was not a separatist. He believed in the equal importance of the two charter ethnic groups in Canada, and in working within the established political system. Unlike his grandfather, Bourassa was religious and supported the role of the Church in French Canada.

The political programme of the Ligue Nationaliste was based on the anti-imperialism aroused by the Boer War, the need for integral bilingualism in Canada, the autonomy of both Canada within the Empire and Quebec within the country, opposition to mass European immigration, and the settlement of the minority schools problem.

The conscription crisis of World War I considerably heightened nationalistic feeling in Quebec, but after the war the most strident nationalists became anti-clerical as well as anti-British and the more conservative, Church oriented nationalists emerged as the stronger, more popular voice. By 1917, French-Canadian nationalism was inward-looking, ultra-clerical and more politically passive than it had been

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[20] Cook, p. 95.

in previous years.

After World War I, these conservative nationalists became concerned by the industrialization that was accelerating in North America and beginning to encroach upon Quebec. This industrialization contributed to urbanization, which was in itself seen as a threat. In addition, like most of the economic changes in Quebec since the decline in the fur trade, the industrialization was "financed, directed and controlled from the outside."[21] The impetus for this change came mainly from anglophones, who saw the province as an excellent source of cheap labour and raw materials.

In the interwar period, this inward-looking nationalism helped to create a climate in which traditional ways of life and forms of expressive culture were once again of interest to educated, urban French-Canadians. Under these conditions, folk culture was valued as a manifestation of a glorious past and unique national culture. In 1923, Bourassa wrote: "Our race will survive, grow and prosper in the measure that it remains peasant and rustic."[22]

The perceived value of traditional rural culture was further enhanced by the belief that such culture was endangered by modernization. The middle class, urban people of Quebec who believed this had counterparts in much of North America. Innovations such as electricity, the automobile and the radio brought technological change into daily life, and modernization was impossible to ignore. As North Americans felt threatened by these rapid and far-reaching changes, they took

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[21] Cook, p. 84.

[22] Cook, p. 96.

refuge in the concept of primitivism.

Primitivism is more often a subliminal attitude than a consciously embraced philosophy. It has been simply defined as "the discontent of the civilized with civilization, or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it."[23] Anthropologist John C. Messenger defines primitivism more specifically as:

> The idealization of the past or future cultural estates of contemporary primitive and folk cultures. . . . [I]t provides psychological compensation for frustrations created by personal or social disorganization. . . . Central to the primitivistic position is the belief that civilization has dehumanized man and undermined his valued institutions; it has caused social bonds to disintegrate, fostered immorality and created mental illness on a vast scale. Primitive and folk peoples, according to this view, represent man as he once was and could or should be again were civilized society drastically reformed.[24]

The early decades of the twentieth century saw the kind of personal and social disorganization Messenger writes of. In a largely unconscious attempt to compensate for the frustrations caused by such change, primitivism gained wide currency among upper and middle class urbanized North Americans. This primitivism was often expressed in the form of an interest in folk and primitive cultures. Examples of this are numerous. A market for handmade crafts developed among urban, middle-class people facilitating handicrafts revivals in both Quebec and the American Appalachians. Henry Ford, who was ironically a major innovator of technological change, sponsored highly successful old-time

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[23]Arthur Oncken Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, 1935; rpt. (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1974), p. 7.

[24]John C. Messenger, Inis Beag: Isle of Ireland (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), pp. 4-5.

fiddle competitions to foster an interest in folk music.[25] Serious scholars such as Marius Barbeau turned their attentions to folk and primitive cultures. The Quebec festivals, indeed all the CPR-sponsored folk festivals, can also be seen as manifestations of this trend.

It has been noted that "contemporary embodiments of this primitivist ideal have usually been found among races not intimately known to, and existing at some considerable distance from" the people who embrace the concept of primitivism.[26] In Canada, the rural habitant of Quebec came to be regarded as the embodiment of this primitivist ideal, just as the Appalachian mountaineer was in contemporary America. The rural inhabitants of Quebec were removed by geographic distance, education and class even from urban middle class members of their own ethnic group. They were even farther removed from Anglo-Canadians by language. In the early decades of this century, habitant culture came to symbolize the more cohesive, humanistic and happy society that was supposed to have existed in pre-modern times in the minds of both anglophone and francophone Canadians who did not actively partake of this culture.

In the early 1900s, habitant culture was valued by educated francophones for the nationalist reasons outlined above, and more generally in Canada because of the rise in primitivist feelings. By the 1920s these attitudes were so pervasive that it is difficult to find any material on French-Canadian folklore, whether in French or English, that is not clouded with sentiment. Endowed with this new

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[25] See Paul F. Wells, "Mellie Dunham: Maine's Champion Fiddler," JEMFQ 12 (1975), 112-115 for a discussion of Ford's interest in fiddle competitions.

[26] Lovejoy and Boas, p. 8.

mystique, a vital interest in the examination of traditional rural culture rapidly emerged under the direction of Marius Barbeau.

To understand Barbeau's approach to folk culture fully, it is useful to trace the various influences that shaped his early years. As a young man in Quebec in the late 1800s, Barbeau could hardly fail to have been exposed to the national romantic works of Québécois writers from the 1860s. By the late 1800s these writers had become icons of Quebec nationalism and culture, and no education would have been complete without a knowledge of their works. While in England, Barbeau may also have been exposed to the national romantic school of thought through the English folksong and folk dance revival. Oxford became a centre for folk dance revival. Though this movement did not peak until after Barbeau returned to Canada, an organization called "The Oxford Society for the Revival of the Folk-Dance" was founded in 1908, the year after Barbeau arrived in Oxford.[27] No matter how Barbeau came into contact with the national romantic school of thought, his writings show that he was strongly influenced by it.

While at Oxford, Barbeau was educated in quite a different intellectual tradition. The early British anthropologists had maintained a stream of thought that was separate, in fact opposite to the national romantic school of thought. These scholars sought to maintain scientific objectivity about their work. They were developmentalists who believed that the irrational elements of a culture (which to their way of thinking included much folklore) were valuable for the information that was provided about past stages of man's development.

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[27]Roy Judge, "A Branch of May," Folk Music Journal, 2 (1971), p. 91.

However, the developmentalists believed that these irrational elements would and should be discarded as mankind advanced to more rational stages of culture. Revival of such material could only be seen as a step backward and was certainly not to be encouraged.[28]

Barbeau was exposed to English folklore in this developmentalist atmosphere while at Oxford. He later stated:

> We assisted in 1910 in a realistic representation of "Jack-in-the-Green" an old dance with costume and song which our esteemed professor, Mr. R.R. Marett had performed on his lawns before invited guests at Oxford, England.[29]

Jack-in-the-Green is an old English May Day custom in which a man dances inside a large wooden frame that is woven with greenery.[30] In contrast to similar demonstrations of folk customs being staged by folk revivalists at that time, Marett was not interested in Jack-in-the-Green because he wished to see this custom revived. Rather, he was intrigued by this custom because he considered it to be a survival from the times when Druids burned human sacrifices in wicker cages.[31]

It is apparent that the young Barbeau was educated in the two conflicting intellectual traditions of the national romantic school of thought and developmentalism. Obviously, Barbeau could not maintain the stances of both these schools of thought when he began to study

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[28]Ellen J. Stekert, "Tylor's Theory of Survivals and the National Romanticism: Their Influence on Early American Folksong Collectors," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 32 (1968), 213.

[29]Marius Barbeau and Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, Veillées du bon vieux temps (Montreal: G. Ducharme, Libraire-Editeur, 1920), p. 4, trans. by Y. Martineau and J. McNaughton.

[30]See Roy Judge, Jack-in-the-Green: A May Day Custom, The Folklore Society Misletoe Series (Cambridge: D.A. Brewer Ltd., 1979), for a full discussion of this custom.

[31]Judge, Jack-in-the-Green, p. 115.

folklore. I will demonstrate below that, in the study of French-Canadian folklore, Barbeau chose the intellectual approach that had come to him through that culture: that of the national romantic school of thought.

Around 1914, Barbeau began to direct his attentions to the collection and study of French-Canadian folklore. Barbeau always stated that he had been directed towards the study of French-Canadian material by anthropologist Franz Boas, whom he had met in 1914 at a joint meeting of the American Folklore Society and the American Anthropological Association.[32] That same year, Barbeau began to revitalize the Montreal Branch of the American Folklore Society, an organization which would provide him with valuable collaborators.

Barbeau had been hired by the National Museum as an anthropologist to study native Indian cultures. His work in francophone folk culture was a significant departure from what the museum expected of him, and there are indications that this work was not always received with enthusiasm by his superiors.[33] Under such circumstances, it would have been helpful to Barbeau to be able to refer to the encouragement of Boas, an influential American anthropologist, as the charter for his study of French-Canadian folklore. But Barbeau's motivations, once engaged, were clearly nationalistic and can be traced to the influences of the national romantic school of thought and the nationalistic politics of Henri Bourassa.

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[32]Lacourcière, p. 90.

[33]Richard J. Preston, "C. Marius Barbeau and the History of Canadian Anthropology," in The History of Canadian Anthropology, ed. Jim Freedman, Proc. of the Canadian Ethnology Society, no. 3 [Canada]: n.p., 1976), p. 130.

Barbeau was keenly concerned with promoting an interest in the folk culture of his people among Anglo- as well as Franco-Canadians. In this we can see a reflection of Bourassa's emphasis on the importance of a vital francophone culture to the whole of Canada. While both Barbeau and Bourassa firmly believed in the importance of French-Canadian culture, they always allowed that English-Canadian culture was of equal value and importance. In 1912 Bourassa stated:

> The Canadian Confederation . . . is the result of a contract between the two races, French and English, treating on an equal footing and recognizing equal rights and reciprocal obligations.[34]

Just six years later, in an address given to the American Folk-lore Society, Barbeau spoke of British, French and Spanish traditions as the "three 'primary sources' of intrusive folk tradition in North America," and stressed the importance of their study.[35] At the same time, he noted with genuine regret the inability of Anglo-Canadians to recognize and study their own folklore:

> Our greatest difficulty in organizing an Ontario Branch of the Folk-Lore Society comes from the refusal of most people to believe that there is any folklore in English Canada. . . . Lack of insight, of course, is the only ground for such a notion.[36]

There is also evidence that Barbeau adhered closely to the tenets of conservative francophone nationalism regarding European

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[34] Cook, p. 150.

[35] C. Marius Barbeau, "The Field of European Folk-Lore in America," address of the retiring President, American Folklore Society, 29 December 1918, published in Journal of American Folklore, 32 (1919), p. 185.

[36] Barbeau, "The Field of European Folk-Lore," p. 192.

immigration. The early decades of the twentieth century saw an unprecedented influx of European immigrants who were neither French nor British. Even the vast majority of these Europeans who settled in Quebec became anglophone, so it is understandable that the nationalists in that province might come to regard these people as a direct threat to the status of French-Canadians as a charter ethnic group, and even to the continuance of French-Canadian culture.

While Barbeau was not vocal in his expression of these feelings, there are indications that he shared them. Perhaps his most blatant expression of concern with European immigration came in the final passage of his book Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers, which was published in 1936. In this passage, Barbeau seemed to state that he thought it was too late for a revival of francophone culture:

> Quebec is fast drifting away from its original moorings and accepts its fate complacently. . . . Isolation no longer is a preservative, and vital traditions are becoming dead-letter.[37]

The final line of the book warned: "The 'melting pot' is now boiling on the St. Lawrence."[38] This statement can only be seen as a thinly veiled reference to the cultural threat posed to French-Canadian culture by European immigration.

Barbeau's approach to folk culture was not entirely in accord with the conservative nationalism of Henri Bourassa. The anti-progress element of this type of nationalism was rejected by Barbeau. This departure seems to have been due to a sophisticated understanding of the national romantic school of thought. In fact, Barbeau's writings

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[37]C. Marius Barbeau, Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers (Quebec: Librairie Garneau, 1936), p. 173.

[38]Barbeau, Quebec: Where, p. 173.

showed signs of a direct knowledge of Herder's works. This apparent influence was demonstrated in Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers when Barbeau stated his rationale for wishing to create a folk revival:

> In order to move with the times it is not necessary to sacrifice heredity and tradition, as these very elements are fundamental in national growth and progress abroad.[39]

This statement would seem to indicate an understanding of Herder's concept that a nation must build upon its folk traditions to move towards the Golden Age of national fulfillment. This is the progressive aspect of Herder's philosophy that was so easily lost in national romantic movements. In Quebec, nationalists commonly saw pre-conquest times as their Golden Age.

In 1919, Barbeau and a collaborator, Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, staged two concerts in Montreal under the auspices of the Société historique de Montréal to draw attention to the materials they had collected. Massicotte was an important figure in the folklore studies movement in Quebec in the early 1900s. Born in Montreal in 1867, he began collecting folklore in 1883 while still in his teens. As a young man, he worked as a journalist and an actor. In 1911 he was appointed archivist of the judicial district of Montreal. Massicotte met Barbeau in 1917, and, with Barbeau's encouragement, began to collect folklore in earnest. He eventually collected some 5,000 versions of songs and stories, which are housed at the National Museum of Man. He also published a number of articles on the folklore of Quebec. It was apparently Massicotte's idea to stage the 1919 concerts.

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[39]Barbeau, Quebec: Where, p. 172.

These two concerts, "Veillées du bon vieux temps," presented informants of Massicotte and Barbeau, who sang, danced, played instrumental music and recited folktales. Formally trained musicians also presented folk music in art arrangements. In many ways, these concerts can be seen as the forerunners of the Quebec festivals. The relation between these concerts and the festivals will be discussed in chapter three.

Barbeau wrote the preface to a commemorative pamphlet for the 1919 events which was published in 1920. This preface is valuable to our present concerns, because in it Barbeau clearly stated his commitment to the national romantic school of thought. Barbeau felt that art was stagnating in Quebec because artists scorned their own culture, preferring to imitate the art of France. Barbeau likened this situation to that of Germany in the time of Herder:

> . . . like in Germany at the time of the Grimms or more recently in France the candor of the texts or things of the people revolt those whose spirits languish in a bookish atmosphere or in the stuffy air of the salons of good families.[40]

It is clear that Barbeau saw his role in Canada to be similar to that of the Grimms in Germany. One of the stated purposes of these concerts was to inspire artists to turn their attentions to the folklore of their own people. He stated:

> Some of our scholars would win the laurel which escapes them if they could consider without prejudice the varied themes which are offered to them in their own country instead of reiterating universal platitudes. Was it not apropos to point out [in these concerts] to these exiled spirits the unexplored poetic or melodic riches of the people from which they come and to whom they would best return?[41]

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[40]Barbeau and Massicotte, Veillées du bon vieux temps, p. 2.

[41]Barbeau and Massicotte, Veillées du bon vieux temps, p. 2.

The national romantic school of thought continued to play an important role in shaping the cultural nationalism of Quebec. However, after World War I the dream of a bicultural Canada became increasingly distant, and the apex of Henri Bourassa's political power passed in the mid-twenties. The new leader of nationalists forces in Quebec from the mid-twenties to the mid-thirties was the historian Abbé Lionel Groulx. He wrote histories of French Canada that were intended to illustrate the unique qualities inherent in the French-Canadian people. His work stressed "the mystical separateness of French-Canadians, his nationalism was characterized by a strong religious and messianic flavour."[42] In contrast to Bourassa, Groulx was not interested in biculturalism, or in working within the existing institutions in Canada. Groulx, and the members of the L'Action française movement which he inspired were separatists, though their separatism was conservative rather than radical, based on a mystic notion of race, and was implied rather than expressed.

The Quebec festivals though contemporary with the nationalism of Groulx, seem little influenced by it, except perhaps if they can be seen as a reaction against such separatism. These festivals, with their strong emphasis on mutual understanding and bonne entente between the two major ethnic groups, were more in keeping with the nationalism of Henri Bourassa, which had flourished from the time of the Boer War into World War I.

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[42]Cook, p. 103.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST QUEBEC FESTIVAL, 20-22 MAY 1927

There were a number of successful presentations of folk culture in Montreal prior to the first Quebec festival. These events are noteworthy because they helped to pave the way for the Quebec festivals by establishing the existence of an audience for such presentations. As Gibbon lived in Montreal after 1913, he may have attended, or at least been aware of, these events. Barbeau's involvement in some of these presentations is well documented, for he organized them.

Apparently, the earliest of these events involved the presentation of handicrafts. Beginning in 1902 the Women's Art Association of Montreal, the precursor of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, sponsored annual exhibitions of handicrafts which featured demonstrations of crafts unique to French Canada. In 1907, the Canadian Handicrafts Guild sponsored a major exhibit of French-Canadian textiles which also featured crafts demonstrations. Edouard-Zotique Massicotte attended this exhibit and was deeply impressed by it.[1]

The Veillées du bon vieux temps in 1919 were the first presentation of the performance folk arts. The featured performers at these events were Barbeau's and Massicotte's informants. In these concerts actual bearers of traditions were put on stage before an audience of educated urbanites for the first time in Montreal. Indeed the Veillées du bon vieux temps may have been the first events in North America to

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[1]These events will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.

take this innovative step.

The organizers of the Veillées du bon vieux temps did have apprehensions about taking this step. To ensure that these performers could be seen at their best, Barbeau and Massicotte selected items from each one's repertoire considered most suitable to the circumstances.[2] Even so, the organizers were worried that some members of their audience might be offended by "the roughness, the naivete and even the crudeness of the robust art of the folk."[3] This apprehension caused Barbeau and Massicotte to have a "trained intermediary" tell folktakes rather than an actual informant. The substitution worked out so poorly that one of the informants backstage emphatically requested that he be allowed to tell a folktale on stage as well. This request was granted, and Barbeau and Massicotte decided that the actual bearers of traditional folktales were much better performers.

The first Veillée du bon vieux temps was held on 18 March 1919. This event proved to be such a success that the organizers planned another similar concert which was held on 24 April of the same year.

In 1921 a series of concerts also called Veillées du bon vieux temps was begun at the Monument national, a cultural centre established in Montreal by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste. These concerts were founded and produced by Conrad Gaultier, who was also a singer. The Veillées du bon vieux temps staged at the Monument national featured important early performers of Quebecois music such as Isidore Soucy, Donat Lafleur and La Bolduc. These concerts did a great deal to

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[2]Barbeau and Massicotte, p. 5.

[3]Barbeau and Massicotte, p. 2.

popularize the folk music of Quebec in urban Montreal and continued to be produced until 1941.

These handicraft exhibits and demonstrations and the Veillées du bon vieux temps can be seen as the forerunners of the Quebec festivals in that they established that such events could draw large numbers of interested people, and that talented informants with no formal training in their arts could successfully entertain an audience of educated urbanites. A large scale event such as the first Quebec festival might never have been attempted if these fundamental facts had not been established by these smaller preceding events.

The acquaintanceship of Barbeau and Gibbon can be traced back to 1916. Their earliest correspondence concerns the manuscript of Margaret Gascoine's booklet, Chansons of Old French Canada, which was published by the CPR sometime before 1920 and contained an introduction by Barbeau.[4] In the speech that Gibbon made in response to the banquet given for him at the time of his retirement in 1945, he recalled that this book helped to draw his attention to French-Canadian folklore.[5]

In 1923 Barbeau wrote Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies, a book which was apparently sponsored by the CPR. Gibbon was one of the CPR officials responsible for making comments on the content of this work prior to publication. He reviewed Barbeau's manuscript and suggested the omission of one whole chapter because of what he perceived to be criticism of missionaries. He stated in a letter to Barbeau:

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[4]Margaret Gascoine, Chansons of Old French Canada (Quebec: CPR [c. 1920]).

[5]John Murray Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," in Tribute to a Nation Builder: An Appreciation of Dr. John Murray Gibbon (Toronto: Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada, Ltd. [1945]).

> This chapter would give great offense to the Missions in the Kootenays, which as a matter of fact have been doing excellent work,[6]

and added that such controversial material was not appropriate for a work designed to have popular, as opposed to scholarly appeal.

This pattern of interaction was to be repeated and points out important character traits in both men. Barbeau was outspoken in his opinions, regardless of the social impact that they might have, whereas Gibbon believed in considering the feelings of people above all else. In maintaining these stances, each was being true to his professional training: Barbeau, the scholar, was primarily concerned with academic truths, while Gibbon, the public relations man was mainly interested in promoting good feelings among people and avoiding conflict.

In the mid-twenties correspondence between Barbeau and Gibbon continued, and was mainly related to their common interest in folklore studies. For example, Barbeau sent Gibbon copies of the Journal of American Folklore, and mentioned Gavin Gregg's Last Leaves, which had been recently published. Gibbon seems to have been chiefly interested in belief as an area of study at that time, for his letters mention his research on "the Werewolf Legend" (probably le loup-garou) and "people who are possessed."[7] It is not known what became of this research. Gibbon does not appear to have published it, and may simply have undertaken this work as a pastime, with no specific goals in mind.

Late in 1925 or early in 1926, a fire destroyed a wing of the Chateau Frontenac, including the "Chambre canadienne," a room which had represented the interior of an old habitant dwelling. For Gibbon, in

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[6]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 1 May 1923.

[7]Gibbon, Letters to C.M. Barbeau, 8 January 1925, 10 January 1925.

his own words: "Out of the ashes of that fire the phoenix of an interest in folksong may be said to have arisen."[8] Gibbon undertook responsibility for the reconstruction of this Chambre canadienne and wrote Barbeau requesting photos of the interiors of French-Canadian houses, so that this new reconstruction would be accurate. Gibbon's interest in folklore had probably made him aware of the value of accuracy in such reconstructions.

Barbeau responded at length to this request offering information on furniture, paintings, and women who would be able to supply handwoven material. He also offered his personal assistance in this work.[9] Gibbon forwarded this letter to Edward W. Beatty, the President and Chairman of the CPR who, according to Gibbon, was very interested in Barbeau's suggestions.[10] It seems likely therefore that Barbeau played some part in directing the reconstruction of this room in the Chateau.

When the reconstruction of this new wing was complete, Gibbon was asked to plan an event to publicize the fact, so he arranged an evening for newspaper reporters from major cities in the north eastern United States, as well as Montreal and Toronto. For entertainment Gibbon wanted French-Canadian folk music. To find a suitable performer he phoned Jacques Cartier, manager of Montreal's CKAC radio station and asked him to recommend "the best folk-singer he knew."[11] This request resulted in the initial meeting of Gibbon and Charles Marchand.

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[8]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," p. 22.

[9]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 20 February 1926.

[10]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 5 March 1926.

[11]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," p. 23.

Charles Marchand played an important role in the Quebec festivals, and in the rise of a general awareness of and interest in Quebec folk music in the early 1900s. He has been referred to as "the first important advocate of French-Canadian song."[12] Marchand was born in 1890 near Montreal. As a young man he went to Ottawa and became a draftsman in the federal civil service in 1910. He became interested in singing, and studied voice in Montreal. Marchand made his debut as a baritone in Ottawa around 1915. As a result of this first successful concert, he was offered other engagements in the Ottawa area.

In this period of his life, Marchand performed extensively throughout Quebec, in Ontario, in New York City, and in Franco-American centres in New England. He also began to record some of the forty 78 rpm. records that would be issued during his lifetime. It was at this point in his career that Marchand met Gibbon.

In 1919, Marchand attended the Veillées du bon vieux temps organized in Montreal by Barbeau and Massicotte. This proved to be something of a turning point in Marchand's life. At these concerts, Marchand was fascinated by the performance of Lorainne Wyman. Wyman, an American who had been raised in France, was one of the first collectors of folksongs who also performed the material she gathered. In 1916 she co-edited a collection of songs from Kentucky with Howard Brockway under the title Lonesome Tunes. While in Quebec she also collected on the Gaspé with Barbeau. Because of Wyman's performance at the Veillées de bon vieux temps, Marchand decided to concentrate on French-Canadian folk music. He gave a recital in May of 1920 at

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[12]Gilles Potvin, "Charles Marchand," EMC, p. 594.

the Monument national in Montreal which was "a brilliant success," gave up his career in Ottawa and settled in Montreal to become a full-time folk singer. In 1922 Marchand founded the vocal quartet "Le Carillion canadien," "which became the basis of a movement dedicated to promoting Canadian songs."[13]

In response to Gibbon's request to Jacques Cartier, Marchand arrived at Gibbon's office and was offered a singing engagement at the event to publicize the new wing of the Chateau Frontenac. As Gibbon later recounted:

> To my surprise he refused, saying that unless he had a sympathetic and understanding audience, he preferred not to sing. These newspaper men would not understand the meaning of the songs and they would probably be highbrow. He disliked singing even to a French-Canadian audience if this consisted mostly of city people--they were apt to look on these folksongs as "habitant" stuff--"peasant stuff"--and they did not like to be thought of as peasants.[14]

Gibbon suggested to Marchand that he could sing English language translations for this gathering, but Marchand replied that he had never found translations suitable for singing. This statement must have challenged Gibbon's imagination, because he decided to attempt translations that Marchand would find acceptable. Marchand was pleased with Gibbon's efforts and agreed to perform at the Chateau Frontenac. Gibbon reported that Marchand "undoubtedly made a great hit with these newspaper men."[15]

On the train returning from Quebec, Fred Jacobs of the Toronto Mail and Empire, one of the reporters who had been present at the

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[13]Gilles Potvin, "Charles Marchand," EMC, p. 593.

[14]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," p. 23.

[15]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," p. 23.

gathering, told Gibbon that he felt that people in Ontario would have a much better understanding of Quebec if they were able to hear these folksongs. Jacobs urged Gibbon to translate more songs and publish them.

This prompted Gibbon to begin working on a book, published in 1927 as Canadian Folk Songs Old and New. Gibbon asked Marchand to provide him with thirty of the most popular songs in his repertoire for translation. This book gives significant insight into the sources of Marchand's repertoire. The majority of these songs (twenty-one, and the melody of another) came from Ernest Gagnon's Chansons populaires du Canada. A few of these songs (three, and the tune of a fourth) had been collected by Marchand himself. One had been collected by Oscar O'Brien who also contributed an original composition. One song was written by Joseph Levac of Lac Sainte Marie in the Gatineau Valley. This man was apparently an informant of O'Brien's, as he was also the source of the song O'Brien collected. One song came from Barbeau's unpublished collection at the National Museum.

Oscar O'Brien and Geoffrey O'Hara provided piano harmonizations for the songs in this book. Both were classically trained Canadian musicians. O'Brien was a native of Montreal who probably came to Gibbon's attention through Charles Marchand, as O'Brien had accompanied Marchand on the piano since 1915 and the two worked together on a regular basis by the mid-twenties.[16] O'Hara is best remembered as a performer and composer of popular music.[17] Both O'Brien and O'Hara

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[16]Gilles Potvin, "Oscar O'Brien," EMC.

[17]Edward B. Moogk, "Geoffrey O'Hara," EMC.

contributed arrangements of the folksongs to the 1927 festival. O'Brien also composed music based on folksong themes. An excerpt from his sonata for cello and piano based on "Dans les prisons de Nantes" was performed at the 1927 festival.

Gibbon's purpose in producing Canadian Folk Songs Old and New was to make French-Canadian folksongs accessible to anglophone Canadians, with the object of promoting better understanding between the two major ethnic groups.[18] Because of his experience with Marchand, Gibbon felt that to make a song accessible, the translation must be singable as well as comprehensive. Gibbon never tried to present himself as a scholar, and in his introduction he summarized his essentially practical approach:

> The translator has always kept in view that gatherings of French and English people might wish to sing these songs together, each using their own language, and has therefore aimed at versions in which the French and English words would not orally clash in such community singing.[19]

In assuming this practical orientation, Gibbon recognized the folksong as an integrated artistic unit at a time when the majority of scholars were interested in folksongs only as sources of music or oral poetry.

While his approach to translation did result in quite singable versions of the songs, this emphasis on metre sometimes caused Gibbon to take liberties with the words.[20] For example, the popular ballad, "La Fille du roi d'Espagne" became "The Princess Salamanca."

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[18] John Murray Gibbon, Canadian Folk Songs Old and New (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1927), p. ix.

[19] Gibbon, Canadian Folk Songs Old and New, p. xiii.

[20] I tried singing a number of Gibbon's translations to see how they fit the tunes. Rhythmically they work quite well.

In the introduction, Gibbon gave notes on the origin and history of some of the songs. He noted, for example, that the tune of "Un Canadien errant," a song about a man in exile after the rebellion of 1837, came from the older song, "Si tu te mets anguille," which he correctly identified as the French form of an international ballad known in England as "The Two Magicians" (Child 44). Gibbon also quoted from an English version of this international ballad that had been collected by Cecil Sharp, demonstrating a knowledge of the English folksong revivalists. These scholarly notes are similar to, though more limited than, those given by Barbeau in the introduction to Folk Songs of French Canada, a book of folksongs with translations which Barbeau co-authored with anthropologist Edward Sapir, published in 1925. So Gibbon's notes were in keeping with mainstream folksong scholarship of that time. The "Old and New" of the title does not refer to the older French and newer English words, but rather to the older songs from France and the more recent native Canadian songs such as "Les Raftsmen."[21]

Canadian Folk Songs Old and New was quite popular. At the time of Gibbon's retirement in 1945, he noted that the book had gone through many reprints. This book was still in print at that time, as Gibbon reported that Henry Button, the Toronto representative for Dent, publisher of this book, had recently told him: "We can't kill the damned thing."[22]

The reconstruction of the wing at the Chateau Frontenac had done much to deepen Gibbon's involvement with the French-Canadian folklore.

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[21]Gibbon, Canadian Folk Songs Old and New, p. ix.

[22]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," p. 24.

As a result of this work, Gibbon had been introduced to Charles Marchand and the translation of French-Canadian folksong. Gibbon had also come into closer association with Barbeau, and through the acquisition of textiles for the Chambre canadienne, a better knowledge of some of the informants Barbeau had access to. With such exposure to French-Canadian folk culture fresh in his mind, it is not surprising that Gibbon, when asked to plan a spring attraction for the Chateau Frontenac, proposed the staging of a festival that would demonstrate aspects of francophone folk culture.

The initial discussions concerning this, the first CPR Quebec festival, took place while Gibbon visited Ottawa and are therefore not documented in the correspondence. However, Barbeau enthusiastically agreed to help organize this event.

From the inception of the first Quebec festival, Barbeau and Gibbon were motivated by the desire to achieve certain practical, political and artistic goals. Some of these aims motivated much of the life's work of both men. The most practical of these goals was to provide publicity for the Chateau Frontenac, to increase its business, and to increase passenger rail traffic in May, which was probably part of an off-season. It was on the basis of these practical goals that Gibbon was able to win the support of the CPR for the staging of the first festival. Without the support of this corporation, the event could not have been produced on such a grand scale. However, practical economic considerations were not uppermost in Gibbon's mind. This is apparent in the fact that he considerably overspent the appropriation that the CPR allowed him in both 1927 and 1928. This overspending may be one reason why there was no festival in 1929.

One of the less concrete goals for both Gibbon and Barbeau was the creation of a greater interest in folklore in Canada. Ironically, this goal was almost never clearly stated. The reason for this may be that both men saw the creation of an interest in folklore as a means to certain socio-political and artistic goals, rather than an end in itself. This concern with the applied uses of folklore is an indication of their commitment to the national romantic school of thought.

The avowed socio-political goal of Barbeau and Gibbon was to create a better understanding of francophone Canadians among anglophones, thereby promoting political and social harmony. Barbeau, as a francophone nationalist of the Bourassa school, believed that the festival would:

> . . . help a great deal . . . in removing misconceptions and prejudices between Canadians of French and British origins. It will bring people together, not to dwell upon political controversies, but to enjoy what appeals to all in common and is apt to create interest and sympathy.[23]

However, this concern with inter-ethnic harmony was clearly more important to Gibbon than Barbeau. Gibbon stated his socio-political goal with regards to French-English relations in Canada in the introduction to Canadian Folk Songs Old and New:

> It was with the object of creating a better understanding of the French-Canadian character among English-speaking peoples that the translator conceived the idea of rendering the French words into singable English verse.[24]

The organization of the Quebec festivals can be seen as an extension of the motivations which inspired Gibbon to write this book. The desire to promote harmony among people of different ethnic groups went

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[23]C-Marius Barbeau, "Canadian Folk-Song as a National Asset," Quebec, 3 (1928), p. 3.

[24]Gibbon, Canadian Folk Songs Old and New, p. ix.

beyond a concern with French-English relations. This can be seen as Gibbon's primary motivation for organizing the CPR-sponsored European ethnic festivals, and was also the rationale for many of his later writings, lectures, and radio broadcasts.[25]

Barbeau, in contrast, was primarily concerned with the artistic goal of promoting a national music for Canada, of compositions based on folk music themes and art arrangements of folk music. The desire to draw the attention of artists to folklore as a possible source of inspiration can be seen in Barbeau's work as early as 1919; this was one of the primary reasons for staging the Veillées du bon vieux temps. At that time, Barbeau had hoped that writers as well as musicians would be inspired by the folklore that was being collected. In the early 1920s, Barbeau began to establish contacts that would lead him to focus his efforts on music. One of the most important of these was Ernest MacMillan.

Ernest MacMillan was born in 1893 in Mimico, Ontario. In his youth he showed remarkable talent as a composer, organist and conductor. After a period of internment during World War I, MacMillan began his long career as a teacher of music when he took a position with the Canadian Academy of Music in 1920. This institution amalgamated with the Toronto (later Royal) Conservatory of Music shortly after, and MacMillan maintained his teaching position.[26]

In 1925, MacMillan wrote a long and thoughtful review in the left wing journal Canadian Forum of Folk Songs of French Canada,

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[25]Gibbon's later work will be discussed in detail in chapter seven.

[26]John Beckwith, "Sir Ernest [MacMillan], EMC.

the collection published by Barbeau and Sapir. In the opening line of this article he stated: "Healthy artistic life of a nation must root itself in popular tradition."[27] This review established that MacMillan was both familiar and sympathetic with the national romantic school of thought. Barbeau did not know MacMillan at that time, however as he later reported, upon reading this review:

> An understanding friend, I felt, had been gained in [MacMillan]. Soon after, I dropped in to see him at the Toronto Conservatory of Music. . . . He sat at the piano, and we began to hum some of the tunes in that book while he improvised an accompaniment on the keyboard, which struck me (sic) as being beautiful. I craved for more of this type of musical lining for folk-tunes. The melodies of the early colonists and the Indians have always appealed to me as prime materials for a musical expression in a language that is first of all our own![28]

From that time on, MacMillan became a major collaborator with Barbeau in the national music movement. He would also play a significant role in providing arrangements and compositions for the Quebec festivals.

Barbeau was also concerned with inspiring francophone musicians. At the Veillées du bon vieux temps, Barbeau had featured arrangements of folksongs by Ernest Gagnon, and by Montreal composer Achille Fortier. The latter had published Vingt Chansons populaires du Canada, a collection of arrangements of folksongs, in 1893. These arrangements are said to "provide piano parts that are moderately difficult and display harmonic resourcefulness."[29] However, Barbeau

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[27] "E. MacM." [Ernest MacMillan], "Folk Songs of French Canada," rev. of Folk Songs of French Canada by C-Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, Canadian Forum, 6 (1925), p. 79.

[28] C-Marius Barbeau, "Folk-Song," in Music in Canada, ed. Ernest MacMillan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), p. 33.

[29] Kallmann and Willis, "Folk-music-inspired Composition," EMC, p. 344.

seems to have been unaware of the tradition of folk music inspired compositions that also existed in Quebec. This is apparent in the commemorative pamphlet for these concerts as he stated:

> In order to point out the melodic themes of the Canadian countryside to our composers, we wanted to have played on instruments a few rhapsodies or songs based on folk tunes [aires du pays]. After having searched in vain, we chose banal variations for piano, composed a half a century ago by a travelling German! Where were the Canadian composers?[30]

Barbeau added that there was more of a selection of folksong arrangements, but implied that these could be improved. It was primarily this goal of encouraging an interest in folk music among Canadian composers that motivated Barbeau to help organize the first Quebec festival.

As a first step in organization for the 1927 Quebec festival, Gibbon sent a letter to Dr. W.H. Collings, head of the Victoria National Museum (which would later become the National Museum of Man), requesting the services of Barbeau as an organizer around the time of the festival. This letter outlines some of the official reasons for staging this event. In it Gibbon stated that the object of the festival was to "increase the interest in folksongs and handicrafts of Quebec." He also stated that he hoped the festival "would help along the market for some of the handicrafts of the province, particularly the textile handicrafts." Perhaps to persuade Dr. Collings, though in complete sincerity, Gibbon added that the festival would "also draw attention to the wonderful collection of folk melodies in the possession of your museum," and added that he hoped to bring music critics to the festival "and thus to create a wider interest in the matter."

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[30]Barbeau and Massicotte, Veillées du bon vieux temps, p. 4.

In addition to Barbeau's services, Gibbon asked for the loan of Museum exhibitions of textiles. He stated that the CPR was willing to pay for Barbeau's expenses and for work time lost as well.[31]

Dr. Collings replied, agreeing to allow Barbeau's participation. The Museum would provide Barbeau's services free of charge, and the CPR was to take responsibility of expenses. Collings seemed genuinely interested in the proposed festival, stating in the closing remarks of the letter: "In my opinion, the National Museum is well justified in lending assistance to an undertaking of such prospective artistic and ethnological interest."[32]

As the organization of the festival progressed, Gibbon wrote to Dr. Collings again, asking permission to advertise the festival as being under the auspices of the National Museum. The request made its way through the Museum bureaucracy, and in February Diamond Jenness, as chief of the Anthropology Division, allowed that this request should be granted due to the involvement of Barbeau and the loan of museum materials. The words "Under the Auspices of the National Museum of Canada" appeared in bold lettering on the cover of each daily programme for the 1927 festival.

The organization of the first Quebec festival was accomplished almost exclusively by Gibbon and Barbeau. They sought out composers and performers, and in most cases provided these people with suitable material from the National Museum collections, Barbeau transcribing the songs and Gibbon translating where necessary. They also planned

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[31]Gibbon, Letter to Dr. W.H. Collings, 20 January 1927.

[32]Dr. W.H. Collings, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 26 January 1927.

the programmes for the concerts, and took care of such details as transportation and accommodation for performers. While this work made great demands on the time and energy of both Gibbon and Barbeau, both could overlap this work with their professional duties. For example, almost all their correspondence was typewritten by secretaries.

By the end of January 1927, Gibbon and Barbeau were ready to begin the search for performers. Charles Marchand had by that time organized a second quartet, the "Bytown Troubadours," for Ottawa's centennial celebration, and their participation was assured. Barbeau began to select various informants and other non-professional Québécois. Gibbon noted in a letter to Barbeau that he planned to use "artists" to supplement the performances of the non-professional musicians. Barbeau suggested that he contact Juliette Gaultier.[33]

Gaultier was originally from Ottawa, though she lived in New York at that time. She had received a travelling scholarship from McGill University when in her teens, and had spent six years studying music in Europe. She sang as a soprano with the Boston Opera upon returning to North America, but left this company to devote herself to the study of folksong sometime in the early twenties. Gaultier had apparently learned Eskimo and several west coast Indian dialects so that she could sing Eskimo, Nootka, Carrier and Kootenay songs. She had been provided with material for her repertoire by Barbeau, Edward Sapir and Diamond Jenness in 1925. The fact that Gaultier was able to earn a living by performing folk and primitive music is an indication of the interest among educated urbanites in the cultures of rural and pre-industrial peoples at that time.

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[33]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 27 January 1927.

Early in February 1927, Gibbon visited New York to see Gaultier perform and meet with her. He later reported to Barbeau that she was "quite a hit in New York and is getting the offer of large fees."[34] Because of this, he was concerned that they would be unable to induce her to perform for less money at the Quebec festival. But Gaultier was genuinely interested in the idea and enthusiastically agreed to participate, regardless of the small remuneration. Gaultier seems to have been something of a nationalist, as she encouraged Gibbon to use only Canadian talent at the festival, suggesting Ernest MacMillan as a possible arranger of music.

Barbeau similarly suggested that an effort be made to involve teachers from the Toronto Conservatory of Music as composers and performers. He informed Gibbon that "Toronto musicians were taking a great interest in French-Canadian folksong," so, during the same period of time, efforts were made to recruit artists from Toronto.[35] Ernest MacMillan agreed to provide arrangements of folksongs and folk-song-inspired compositions as did Healey Willan and Leo Smith, also of the Toronto Conservatory. The Hart House String Quartet, which has been described as "Canada's most famous chamber emsemble of the first half of the 20th century,"[36] was also invited to play. This quartet consisted of Geza de Kresz, first violin; Boris Hambourg, cellist; Harry Adaskin, second violin; and Milton Blackstone, viola. The Hart House Quartet was fully subsidized by the Massey Foundation, an innovative arrangement for that time. In 1926 they gave a total of seventy-four

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[34]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 8 February 1927.

[35]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," p. 25.

[36]Helmut Kalmann, "Hart House String Quartet," EMC, p. 419.

concerts across Canada, and played in New York and Boston just prior to the first Quebec festival. This group participated in many of the CPR-sponsored folk festivals.

Two Toronto-based singers, Jeanne Dusseau and J. Campbell McInnes, were also hired for the festival. In spite of her name, Dusseau was a Scottish immigrant who had a limited knowledge of the French language. When Gibbon visited Toronto prior to the first festival, Gibbon noted in a letter to Barbeau that she had learned the song "Je sais bien quelque chose" as "Je suis bien quelque chose."[37]

McInnes was also a British immigrant. According to the 1927 general programme notes he had sung as principal baritone at the chief classical music festivals in England and had been principal soloist with the Philadelphia, Chicago and Cleveland orchestras. Before immigrating to North America, Campbell McInnes had also worked as an interpreter of folksongs for Cecil Sharp. When Gibbon visited Toronto he noticed that McInnes' singing style had been influenced by Sharp and because of this he sang in "ballad style and not the English concert style."[38] McInnes also had difficulties with French, perhaps more pronounced than Dusseau's, as Gibbon suggested to Barbeau that it might be best to have McInnes sing English versions of the songs only.[39]

McInnes directed a group of six young women in madrigal singing at Hart House, part of the University of Toronto, and he persuaded Gibbon to have these women perform at the Quebec festival as well. They appeared as "The Music Makers" in 1927 and "The Canadian Singers"

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[37]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 18 April 1927.

[38]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 18 April 1927.

[39]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 2 March 1927.

in 1928. Gibbon asked these singers to learn French madrigals of the sixteenth century and "some court airs of the early seventeenth century" which, he explained to Barbeau, would provide "an interesting historical link, as this is the kind of music that some of the early settlers must have known."[40] However, he was aware that such music was not closely related to the French-Canadian folk music being presented at the festival as he later noted: "we will have to put something in the programme to justify this group."[41]

In addition to such imported talent, a number of Québécois professional musicians and composers, mostly from Montreal, participated in the Quebec festivals. Victor Brault and his sister Cédia Brault sang together at the 1927 festival. Victor Brault was a professor of music at the Université de Montréal. Cédia Brault was a mezzosoprano who had sung with the Manhattan Opera Company and the Russian Opera Company. The 1927 general programme notes state that she had "just returned from a highly successful tour of Western Canada where her renderings of French Canadian Folksongs in French and English were enthusiastically received."[42] Rodolphe Plamondon, a Montreal tenor who had sung with the Paris Opera, was also a major performer at the Quebec festival.

Montreal composers Oscar O'Brien, Léo Pol Morin, Alfred Laliberté and Achille Fortier contributed arrangements of folksongs and also accompanied singers at the festival concerts. Victor Brault

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[40] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 22 April 1927.

[41] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 9 May 1927.

[42] Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Annotated General Program (Quebec: n.p., 1927), n.p.

and Alfred Laliberté also recruited students who performed in the concerts. Henri Gagnon, nephew of Ernest Gagnon and also organist at the Quebec Basilica, arranged Gregorian music and "folk canticles" which were performed at choral masses in the Basilica by "La Petite Maîtrise de Notre-Dame," a choir of forty children. This choir was directed by M. L'abbé de Smet, and Gagnon played the accompaniments. Pierre Gauthier, who was a church organist in Ottawa, provided arrangements of folksongs for the Bytown Troubadours, and choral arrangements of folksongs. Gauthier was a French immigrant who came to Canada in 1920.

Informants of Barbeau and Massicotte and other non- and semi-professional performers and crafts workers were an important feature at the Quebec festivals. About twenty such people appeared as singers, fiddlers, step dancers and crafts workers in 1927. Some of the women who were hired to demonstrate weaving, such as Mme. Jean-Baptiste Leblond of Sainte-Famille, Ile d'Orléans, also sang.

Two non-professional singers who were featured prominently were Phileas Bédard and Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny. Both had performed at the Veillées du bon vieux temps. Bédard was an elderly farmer from Saint-Remi de Napierville. In the 1927 general programme notes, Barbeau stated that Bédard was an excellent singer of work songs. According to pre-festival publicity in Le Soleil, de Repentigny had spent his youth working in lumber camps in Ontario and Michigan. Both Barbeau and Massicotte had collected from him and it was reported that his repertoire exceeded 300 songs.[43] François Saint-Laurent and Joseph

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[43] C-Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, Folk Songs of French Canada (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. xviii.

Ouellette, two fishermen from La Tourelle on the Gaspé coast, also sang at the 1927 festival.

Some of the performers seem to have had more of a semi-professional status than did informants of Massicotte and Barbeau. Johnnie Boivin of Champlain county was constantly referred to as a "champion fiddler" in the festival programmes. Le Soleil stated that he had taken part in several fiddle competitions (concours de violoneux) prior to the staging of the first Quebec festival, and that he was always most successful.[44] An incidental photograph in Les Pionniers du disques folklorique québécois, reproduced from the 5 April 1926 edition of La Presse showed Boivin in the company of four other Quebecois fiddlers on his way to the World Champion fiddle competition, held in Lewiston, Maine.[45] Barbeau apparently did a repertoire study of Boivin prior to the 1927 festival. His notes on Boivin's music were printed in the 1927 general programme. A dancer, Jacques Garneau, was also referred to in the 1927 general programme as a champion dancer, and the New York Times stated that he was "champion old-time dancer of the Montreal district, with a gold medal proudly pinned on his coat."[46]

Barbeau chose these people and made most of the arrangements concerning them himself. Because of this they were not discussed in the same detail in the correspondence between Gibbon and Barbeau as were the professional performers. It may be assumed that Barbeau, and

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[44] Le Soleil [Quebec], 21 mai 1927, p. 16.

[45] Gabriel Labbé, Les Pionniers du disque folklorique québecois 1920-1950 (Montréal: Les Editions de l'Aurore, 1977), p. 124.

[46] New York Times, 22 May 1927, Editorial Section, p. 1.

perhaps Massicotte, chose the items from the repertoires of these performers that they considered to be appropriate for this event, as this was the method successfully used at the Veillées du bon vieux temps.

The valuable critical comments which characterize the correspondence between Barbeau and Gibbon concerning the formally trained musicians is absent in their discussions of these "folk" performers. This may be due partly to the fact that Gibbon had little or nothing to do with the selection of these people. However, it may also indicate that the organizers did not expect these people to meet the same aesthetic criterion as the professional performers. This tendency to treat "folk" performers differently than professional performers can also be seen in the newspaper reviews. The professional performers were judged by critical artistic standards by reviewers, whereas the rural, non-professional performers were described in almost ethnographic detail rather than assessed.

Barbeau and Gibbon present a system of classification of performers in their correspondence and programmes. This system is never clearly articulated, nor does it seem to have been completely thought out, but it sheds considerable light on the ways in which performers were perceived. In the classification of performers as seen by the festival organizers, two basic categories emerge. These two categories can be characterized as "source" performers, those who learned their repertoires mainly out of oral tradition, and "non-source" performers, those who learned their repertoires from collected material. Further, examination of the literature concerning the 1927 festival reveals that the non-source performers can be divided into three categories: the

academic artists, the amateurs and the popularizers.

The general programme of 1927 divided the performers under two broad headings. The francophone performers who had learned their repertoire or skill out of oral tradition were listed under the title "Folk Singers and Crafts Workers." This category included Barbeau's informants, such as de Repentigny and Bédard, as well as semi-professional performers such as Boivin and Garneau. The value of these performers to the festivals, and to the national music movement that it was hoped these events would foster, was stated emphatically by Barbeau:

> In my opinion . . . the utility of the folksingers on those programmes is largely that of bringing variety and at the same time giving information as to the sources [of the music].[47]

The purpose of people who had learned their songs and music from oral tradition was, in Barbeau's mind, to provide the raw material from which the national music movement could be shaped. Seen in this light, it is easy to understand why semi-professional musicians with a strictly traditional repertoire might be grouped together with less experienced performers who had a similar repertoire. Such performers, taking the perspective of Barbeau and Gibbon, can be seen as "source" performers.

The other category, "Artists and Composers," included all other performers. The people who wrote and performed what Barbeau called "academic music" were included in this grouping.[48] This included composers such as Ernest MacMillan and Alfred Laliberté, professional singers such as Jeanne Dusseau and Rodolphe Plamondon and professional

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[47]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 7 May 1928.

[48]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 13 April 1928.

musicians such as the Hart House String Quartet. This was the group that most interested Barbeau in his work with the Quebec festivals, for he expected that they would take the raw material provided by the source performers and shape it into a national school of music for Canada.

The "Artists and Composers" category also contained a number of miscellaneous groups of performers who were not academic musicians: the Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique, which was a male choir; a group of local Quebec City children who danced rondes enfantines under the direction of Mme. Arthur Duquet; the Toronto based group of madrigal singers directed by Campbell McInnes; and the Bytown Troubadours. Perhaps the festival organizers recognized these groups to be anomalous in terms of their informal classification system, as the 1927 general programme notes placed them at the end of the "Artists and Composers" section, under bold faced titles, so that they almost formed a separate section, though by 1928 they were listed in identical fashion to the academic musicians. It is significant that these four groups were at one point listed more or less apart from the "Artists and Composers" category as they can be seen as special cases, quite different from the academic artists and composers.

The Bytown Troubadours were probably professional performers. This quartet released four records on the Victor label in 1928, and Charles Marchand was certainly well enough established by the late 1920s to find full-time employment for the group.[49] The Bytown Troubadours performed four-part harmony arrangements of traditional

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[49]See Labbé, pp. 164-166 for a list of these records.

songs, with piano accompaniment. They wore costumes that represented the traditional dress of French-Canadian lumber camp workers: home-spun checked pants, flannel checked shirt, ceinture fléchée and high leather boots. To the casual observer at the festivals, they must have seemed very much like the source performers, who were also franco-phone, shared a similar repertoire, and were dressed in traditional habitant manner.

However, the Bytown Troubadours were not themselves sources of traditional music in the way that Barbeau's informants were. They were also not academic musicians as they did not attempt to transform folk music into art music. The Bytown Troubadours were popularizers. They were attempting to make folk music a part of popular culture rather than high culture. As such they were unique among performers at the Quebec festivals, though they can be seen as part of a larger body of early Quebecois recording artists who aimed at a similar popular audience.

The Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique, the children dancers and the group of madrigal singers can be classified as amateurs. For the pur-pose of this work, the term amateur will be used to refer to people who perform as non-professionals, but who have received a certain amount of formal, specialized training. Barbeau recognized this category as a separate entity, and these groups of performers received the least of his attention and sympathy, though this did not become apparent until the organization of the 1928 festival.

It is apparent that the primary goals of the organizers affected their attitudes towards the performers. Barbeau saw the Quebec festivals as a means of advancing the cause of a national music

for Canada. In those terms, the source performers were of some importance and interest, though their major contribution had been made when their repertoires were collected. The academic musicians were of vital importance to this cause. The amateurs Barbeau saw as unimportant, or, if their performances did not meet the high artistic standards he was trying to maintain, even dangerous, as they might detract from the high level of professionalism that he felt was necessary to the advancement of the movement. Barbeau rarely mentioned the Bytown Troubadours in his letters to Gibbon, but he seems to have regarded popularizers as valuable for the attention that they drew to folk music, though they were not directly related to the national music movement.

In contrast, Gibbon was primarily interested in altering popular goals for humanistic reasons. Because of this, Gibbon was quite interested in the role of the popularizer of tradition, as his association with Marchand demonstrates. Gibbon also saw real value in the presence of amateurs such as the children dancers, because they helped to evoke a sympathetic response from the audience, even though their performances might be less than perfect.

The organization of pre-festival publicity was quite thorough and was carried on in many cities. On Monday, 21 March 1927, Charles Marchand was presented by Gibbon at a benefit recital in Toronto, sponsored by a local chapter of the women's service organization, the Imperial Order of the Daughers of the Empire (IODE). This concert was reviewed favourably in the Toronto Globe the following day. The reviewer called the concert "one of the most delightful entertainments of the season," and stated that Marchand, "when interpreting his songs,

fills every note with love of his own people."[50] These songs were apparently sung in their English translations, as Gibbon's Canadian Folk Songs Old and New was mentioned as the source of Marchand's material.

This concert was apparently well received by the audience:

> Twenty numbers comprised Mr. Marchand's generous offering to his audience last night, the beauty of each song being enhanced by the brilliant and sympathetic accompaniment of Mr. D'Avagon also of Montreal. Suitable costumes, worn by the singer, and many a realistic gesture, added to the appeal of the various songs, and round after round of applause testified to the appreciation of the audience.[51]

The concert ended with the audience joining in "Alouette" and "O Canada." While no mention of the forthcoming festival was made in the review, it seems reasonable to assume that some reference would have been made to this event in the course of the evening.

A more ambitious effort to direct the attentions of the public towards the forthcoming festival was made on 10 April in New York, when the CPR underwrote a concert of Juliette Gaultier's at the Town Hall. This was an elaborate undertaking. Gaultier was introduced by the famous arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson. She performed three groups of songs: Eskimo, Nootka Indian and French-Canadian, each with a different stage setting and costume. Stage settings for the first two groups were designed by Langdon Kihn, the American artist whose colourful portraits of native people had illustrated Barbeau's Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies. The Eskimo songs had a backdrop which represented the northern lights, and the Nootka songs "had a resplendent setting of totem-pole scenery." The Montreal Gazette reported:

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[50] The Globe [Toronto], 22 March 1927, p. 14.

[51] The Globe [Toronto], 22 March 1927, p. 14.

> In both these groups the singer, who was in appropriate costume, had the courage, to dispense with any other accompaniment than the beating of a drum, but so beautiful was her voice that she held her audience as if under a spell.[52]

The third group of songs was French-Canadian, and for these Gaultier was accompanied on a viole d'amore, a stringed instrument that pre-dates the violin. She sang this group of songs in habitant costume at a spinning wheel, as the Gazette reported:

> The charm of the chansons was heightened by the contrast with the more exotic Indian melodies, and the concert terminated with a truly great ovation.[53]

The Montreal Gazette reviewer also stated that the Town Hall was filled for this event, in spite of the many other musical events that were being staged on the same night, and that a number of noted opera singers, including the famous Canadian tenor Edward Johnson attended. This reviewer also quoted the New York Times, which described this concert as "one of the most interesting and original of the season," and the New York Sun which stated of Gaultier: "she sang the folk songs with a wonderful voice and subtle understanding." This concert was repeated with the same programme and stage settings in the Sunday matinee of the 1927 Quebec festival.

As part of the festival preparations special trains were arranged by the CPR to bring the audience of people who would stay in the Chateau Frontenac. The Toronto Globe reported on Thursday, 19 May 1927, that the first "Music Special" was bound for Quebec that day, with almost 200 passengers.[54] Henry Button, the Toronto representative

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[52] Montreal Gazette, 11 April 1927, n.p.

[53] Montreal Gazette, 11 April 1927, n.p.

[54] The Globe [Toronto], 19 May 1927, p. 15.

for Dent who was responsible for the distribution of Canadian Folk Songs Old and New, was reported to be in charge of this train, which probably means that he was responsible for social events. The Globe also noted that MacMillan, Dusseau, McInnes and the madrigal singers were on this train. In Montreal an "all expense tour" was offered to the festival for $39.50. This price included return train fare, all meals, accommodation at the Chateau and admission to all concerts. Apparently two such trains brought people from Toronto, while one came from Montreal. It may be assumed that similar trains came from New York and Boston.

Looking at the Quebec festivals from the most pragmatic point of view, it is possible to see these events as tourist attractions. These festivals were designed to appeal to an audience of people from outside of Quebec City, probably anglophones, who would travel on these special trains and stay in the Chateau Frontenac. These people are of importance to the Quebec festivals because without them these events would never have been organized. Because of this, these tourists deserve our attention.

Tourism was just beginning to develop in the early decades of this century, as modernization resulted in the affluence, leisure time and means of transportation which allowed for such travel. Tourism is easily dismissed as a trivial activity, and has only recently been subjected to serious scholarly examination. In his seminal study, The Tourist, Dean MacCannel gives a careful analysis of the phenomenon of tourism which provides many insights pertinent to the present work.

MacCannel sees the activity of tourism as an agent in the growth of modern culture. As tourists travel to new places they integrate new experiences into their lives, and the places they visit

modernize to adapt to them. These tourists are urban, educated, affluent people (MacCannel calls them "moderns"). This was even more true in the 1920s than now, as tourism was then mainly an activity of the elite. MacCannel sees tourism not simply as a product of modern society, but a metaphor for it. According to him, the tourist is the modern man. What motivates the tourist to travel is a sense of displacement from authenticity which can be seen as central to the state of modern consciousness. MacCannel notes:

> For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historic periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles.[55]

This concept of reality is what motivates the tourist to examine other cultures. It was manifest in the 1920s by the growth of tourism, and by the attachment of moderns to the primitivist ideal, as we have seen. This feeling of alienation from authenticity is of great importance to the discussion of this, and perhaps all, presentations of folk culture.

It is apparent that Gibbon and Barbeau organized the Quebec festivals so that they would appeal to an audience of moderns. The Quebec festivals were clearly more concerned with reaching an elite audience and developing an elite art form than most North American folk festivals which followed. This may be partly explained by the fact that they were staged at a time when the tourist was apt to belong to the upper echelons of society. Gibbon must have been keenly aware of the income and artistic sensibilities of tourists at that time. The presence of string quartets and opera singers may seem incongruous given our present concept of folk festivals, but such performers were well suited to the audience of that time.

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[55]Dean MacCannel, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), p. 3.

Barbeau and Gibbon were both strongly attached to the primitivist ideal themselves, and at the Quebec festivals they exaggerated aspects of folk culture that showed evidence of a more simple, uncomplicated lifestyle. Differences between source and non-source performers were stressed. The habitant origins of the source performers were emphasized by dressing these crafts workers and musicians in long dresses, bonnets, ceinture fléchée and homespun. There are indications that this was not the type of dress that such people would normally have chosen to wear before large numbers of people. The singers Joseph Rousselle and Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny both appeared at the Quebec festivals in habitant costumes, but photographs taken in the early 1920s while Massicotte was collecting from these men show both dressed in white shirts and suits (see Fig. 2).

The literature prepared by the festival organizers for the Quebec festivals presented a cheerful, effortless lifestyle that these people were supposed to live which was very much in keeping with the primitivist ideal. In reference to folksong it was stated:

> The French-Canadian always sings when he works and the work takes care of itself--voilà! When he paddles to the tune of "Envoyons d'l'avant, nos gens" he does, in truth, send her along, and the wheel flies in a blur of motion as Madame croons a song as she spins.[56]

This was certainly a distortion of contemporary life in rural Quebec, but it proved to be a very popular one among the audience of moderns the festival organizers sought to attract. Underlying the popularity of this type of misrepresentation of folk culture can be seen the sense of alienation of modern man from his own life which creates a need to participate, however briefly, in what is perceived

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[56] Canadian Folk Song and Handicrafts Festival (Quebec: n.p., 1927), p. 4.

Fig. 2. Edouard-Zotique Massicotte (seated) collecting from Vincent Ferrier de Repentigny c. 1920.
Credit: National Museums of Canada, J 5127.

to be the more meaningful lifestyle of a less modern culture. The function of the Quebec festivals as tourist attractions was to allow the audience to fulfill this need. As the newspaper reviews below indicate, this function seems to have been fulfilled most successfully.

The first Quebec festival was held at the Chateau Frontenac from Friday, 20 May to Sunday, 22 May 1927. The programme included five concerts: three in the evenings and matinees on Saturday and Sunday, plus afternoon crafts demonstrations, less formal concerts in a shelter which resembled a log cabin on Dufferin Terrace, and Sunday Mass at the Basilica. The concerts' programmes, which had been planned by Gibbon and Barbeau, were thoughtfully structured. The matinees were less formal than the evening concerts. The children dancers of Mme. Duquet, the Bytown Troubadours, Bédard and de Repentigny performed at the matinees. Huron Indians from Lorette, the site of Barbeau's first field work as an anthropologist, also appeared. These people danced and sang traditional songs of their ancestors. Some academic performers also performed at the matinees: Rodolophe Plamondon, Germaine Le Bel, a student of Alfred Laliberté's, and Juliette Gaultier.

The evening concerts followed a set format. The most academic music, madrigal singing, string quartet arrangements of folksongs, and troubadour songs for example, came first on the programmes. The source performers usually appeared in the middle of the evening, and seem to have been allotted about half the time of the academic performers. The concerts usually ended with an opera singer, accompanied on piano, performing academic arrangements of French-Canadian folksongs.

This festival was subject to extensive coverage and review, which I will deal with in a representative rather than comprehensive

manner. A number of newspapers have been chosen for examination. They are: Le Soleil, a Quebec City newspaper; Le Devoir, Henri Bourassa's newspaper in Montreal; Le Droit, the francophone newspaper in Ottawa; the Toronto Globe and the New York Times. Le Droit and Le Devoir did not send reporters to the Quebec festivals until 1928, but wrote articles on the 1927 event in spite of this. In addition to this newspaper coverage, Ernest MacMillan wrote a brief review for the Toronto Conservatory Quarterly Review which will also be discussed below. These articles are valuable for the wealth of descriptive detail they provide, for their critical analysis of the music and performances, and for comments of the perceived artistic, social and political implications of this event.

The New York Times ran two short articles in the 1927 Quebec festival. These articles provide valuable description, but unlike the Canadian coverage in both anglophone and francophone newspapers, the New York Times did not take this festival seriously on an artistic level, and was not concerned with this event as a cultural icon. The unnamed reviewer in the New York Times described the log cabin type stage on the Dufferin Terrace where "fiddlers, speakers and singers [held] forth before large crowds of Canadians and Americans"[57] (see Fig. 3). This article also describes the crafts demonstrators in the adjoining cafe. The women who wove and spun at this demonstration were informants of Barbeau and came from Charlevoix county and Ile d'Orléans, two areas in which Barbeau had collected extensively. In addition, the New York Times reviewer also described Huron Indians

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[57] New York Times, 22 May 1927, Editorial Section, p. 1.

Fig. 3. The Bytown Troubadours performing on the Dufferin Terrace outside the Chateau Frontenac at the 1927 Quebec festival. Right to left: Charles Marchand, baritone; Emile Boucher, tenor; Fortunat Champagne, bass; Mirville Belleau, bass. Boucher was editor of the Ottawa francophone daily Le Droit. Champagne was the choir master of the Ottawa Basilica.
Credit: Gabriel Labbé, Les Pionniers du disques folklorique québécois 1920-1950. Montreal: Les Editions de l'Aurore, 1977, p. 129.

of Lorette making snow shoes and an old man in the Jacques Cartier room who made miniature steamships. The crafts demonstrations also included a Gaspé fisherman who made seine nets.

The Toronto Globe ran two articles by music critic Lawrence Mason, who had been sent to Quebec especially for this event. Mason was American born and studied English at Harvard and Yale. He received his doctorate from the latter in 1916, so he was a student at Harvard shortly after the time that Francis James Child had been active there. During the years that Mason spent in the English Department at Harvard, it was the focal point for ballad scholarship in North America. Mason taught English at Yale for seventeen years before becoming the music and drama critic for the Globe in 1924. After immigrating to Canada, Mason developed a strong interest in encouraging the growth of the arts in Canada.[58]

Mason clearly expressed the primitivist attitude towards the Quebec festivals, stating:

> In a world which threatens to become increasingly drab, standardized, wholesale, machine-made, every atom of individual flavour, of human quality, of ancestral contacts, of simple home traditions, becomes increasingly precious.[59]

He repeated this sentiment later in the article, when he stated that the festival served "to show the frenzied modern world how much it has lost in its insatiable lust for material 'progress'."[60]

The reviews of the Canadian critics reflect some regional and cultural biases. Lawrence Mason placed a disproportionately high

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[58]Don Sedgwick, "Lawrence Mason," EMC.

[59]Lawrence Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

[60]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

emphasis on the contribution made by the Toronto artists:

> The strictly art side was attractively mingled with the native folk element in the programs. Briefly, it might be said that Toronto furnished the art side, and Quebec the folk side, and Toronto's contribution was a splendid one.[61]

Implicit in this statement are the very sentiments of cultural superiority of Anglo-Canadians that Barbeau and Gibbon sought to combat. Mason's statement is a misrepresentation, as the number of Québécois artists who came from Montreal to participate in this festival was at least equal to the number from Toronto. This statement is also a reflection of the unfortunate tendency of anglophones at that point in history to regard Quebec primarily as a source of raw materials, whether cheap labour, natural resources or folk culture, that could be utilized by anglophones to produce more refined products.

Cultural differences between anglophone and francophone Canadians are reflected in theories concerning the origins of folk music in these reviews. Lawrence Mason stated that the original sources of French-Canadian folksongs were troubadour songs of France, "about which we have heard in Toronto from Marius Barbeau . . . and others."[62] (In fact Barbeau did not believe that troubadour songs were a source of folksong in French Canada.) Mason took an evolutionary approach to folksong, stating that these troubadour songs had "definitely broken down into folk characteristics."[63] Finally, he felt that, through the medium of the Quebec festival:

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[61]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

[62]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

[63]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

> . . . this folk material has been reclaimed once more for art of the formal, cultivated type in the beautiful paraphrases of sketches for string quartet by Leo Smith, Ernest MacMillan and Oscar O'Brien based on some of these popular chansons.[64]

So Mason saw folk music as having originated from secular sources and, while subject to devolution, he felt it basically developed in a progressive manner.

A contrasting view of folk music was put forth in Le Devoir by Eugène La Pierre. La Pierre was the organist at Saint-Jacques in Montreal. He had studied at the Institut grégorien of Paris and the Schola cantorum, and was especially interested in the study of Gregorian chants.[65] La Pierre felt that folk music was undoubtedly related to early Church music. He deplored the use of modern chords in the accompaniment of Church music, and felt that emphasis on folk music with its modal qualities would help restore sacred music to its former state of purity. La Pierre saw a strong bond between folk music and Church music. He felt that attention to folk music would return people to an age of faith, and that greater emphasis on folksongs would have a moralizing effect on the people of Quebec. In fact, he saw this work in terms of a mission, stating: "Les Barbeaus et les Marchands accomplissent un sacerdoce!"[66]

La Pierre, in the spirit of Bourassa's nationalism saw this increased interest in folksongs to be strongly linked with the Church, and also felt that this was essentially a conservative movement which, if properly accomplished would return the people of Quebec to the

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[64]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

[65]Cécile Huot, "Eugène La Pierre," EMC.

[66]Eugène LaPierre, Le Devoir [Montreal], 24 mai 1927, p. 2.

more desirable past. He felt that the success of the festival was an indication that people were in fact eager to return to past times (les peuples semblent avides de revenir en arrière).[67] So La Pierre saw the origins of folk music as sacred rather than secular, and felt that the value of an increased interest in such music was that it would help to recapture a golden age of faith.

Considering the political discord that existed between the two major ethnic groups in Canada in the early decades of this century, Mason and the francophone critics concurred in a surprising number of areas. All expressed the primitivist stance in some form. All were also very positive in their critical evaluation of the performances. For example, none of the reviewers made unfavourable comments about the performance of the Hurons of Lorette, though Barbeau and Gibbon were in complete agreement that these people should not be included in future festivals. On the whole, the source performers were taken much less seriously by these critics than were the academic musicians, though Mason gave a detailed description which made reference to the popular appeal of these performers:

> . . . the singers employ much vivid mimicry and amusing by-play in their dramatic interpretations and sing with infectious spirit and gusto. Farm songs, lumberjack songs, canoeing songs, love songs, each class has its special technique; more over, each interpreter has his own tradition, and the public is very quick to appreciate every minute difference. Phileas Bédard is the most popular folksinger, but there are other experts such as Francois St. Laurent and Joseph Ouelette [two of Barbeau's informants from the Gaspé] who have ardent followings. They are all a delight to the visitors.[68]

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[67] La Pierre, Le Devoir [Montreal], 24 mai 1927, p. 2.

[68] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 25 May 1927, p. 4.

Most of the critical attention centred on the academic performers however. Jeanne Dusseau, Rodolophe Plamondon and Juliette Gaultier were all mentioned frequently and favourably. The music of Alfred Laliberté and Oscar O'Brien was mentioned most often by the francophone press as good examples of what could be accomplished in arrangements of folksongs. The Bytown Troubadours gave, by all reports, some of the most popular performances at the festival. The writers in both Le Droit and Le Devoir referred to them as the life of the event (le boute-en-train du festival).

The concept of a national school of music based on Canadian folksongs was mentioned by many of the reviewers, though it was subject to differing approaches. Lawrence Mason mentioned this concept in passing. He saw the music in evolutionary terms, describing the performance of the Hurons of Lorette as music "at the lowest stage of artistic development, almost improvised for the occasion." Gaultier's musical interpretation of native music he saw as a "higher stage" of development, and he noted:

> The final stage here will be attained when some Canadian Dvorak comes along and uses these beautiful, sensitive melodies as themes for noble sonatas and symphonies.[69]

The unnamed writer in Le Droit discussed the national music movement in detail. He stated that for the music of a country to be truly national, it must have folksong (la chanson populaire) as its source, because in folksong was to be found the best characteristics of the soul of a people. Like Gibbon and Barbeau, he saw the development of a national school of music as a conscious process: the music

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[69]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 23 May 1927, p. 4.

should be collected from a "pure source" and then elevated to art music. He stated that a folksong, when made into a sonata, became an indestructible monument to the soul of a race. This reviewer also stated that he felt the Quebec festival could, if continued, give rise to a national music for Canada, and would also help to unify the two major ethnic groups.[70] Before the end of the 1927 festival, the organizers announced the E.W. Beatty Competition for Compositions Based on Canadian Folk Melodies, which offered $3,000 in prize money. The aim of this competition was to encourage the growth of a national music in Canada.

It might be expected that the Quebec festival would be perceived as anglophone interference in francophone culture, given the political events of previous decades. But examination of Le Soleil, Le Droit and Le Devoir reveal no evidence of such feelings, at least with respect to the festivals.

La Pierre in Le Devoir stated that it was laudable to see an English (anglophone) company become instrumental in the continuance of francophone traditions, and that the CPR could not be thanked or congratulated enough.[71] In terms of the non-separatist orientation of Bourassa's nationalism an enterprise such as the Quebec festival was probably seen as a valuable indication of the willingness of anglophones to accept the importance of the two chartered ethnic groups in this country.

The unnamed writer in Ottawa's Le Droit, perhaps Emile Boucher, tenor with the Bytown Troubadours and editor of that paper, saw the

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[70] Le Droit [Ottawa], 25 mai 1927, p. 7.

[71] La Pierre, Le Devoir [Montreal], 24 mai 1927, p. 2.

festival as a remarkable manifestation of bonne entente. In this article Gibbon was referred to as the soul of the festival and was spoken of in terms that must have pleased him:

> We know Mr. Gibbon by the sincerity of his sentiments towards the French race in Canada which he loves as his own, and we do not exaggerate when we say to him that through the festival he has done great work in opening new channels of good feelings in all of Canada among those who ardently wish for national unity and perfect harmony among the heterogeneous elements that comprise the nation.[72]

Le Soleil, the Quebec City newspaper which was at that time owned and operated by the provincial liberal party, provided extensive coverage for the festival, which may help to explain the great interest shown by local people in this event. A quote from this paper eloquently illustrates the acceptance that the festival found in the francophone press, as well as the extremely romantic approach of conservative nationalist elements towards traditional culture:

> We are grateful to Canadian Pacific for having organized at Quebec, the centre and hearth of the French race in America, LE FESTIVAL DE LA CHANSON ET DES METTIERS DU TERROIR. It is all the ancient perfume of our soil that we have saved from the forgetfulness of which it [the soil] is full, memories of a song which cradled the childhood of each of us, or of the melancholy murmur of an old spinning wheel which spun the wool, strong and soft from which the clothes of our fathers were made.[73]

Ernest MacMillan's article in the Conservatory Quarterly Review, a publication of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, is an extremely valuable document. Unlike the newspaper reviews of the Quebec festival, this article was written by an actual participant

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[72] Le Droit [Ottawa], 25 mai 1927, p. 7. trans. M.H. Trudel, J. McNaughton.

[73] Le Soleil [Quebec], 21 mai 1927, p. 19, trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

in the event rather than an external observer. MacMillan's article is extremely frank and gives us the most vivid and human impressions of this event.

MacMillan began the article by stating honestly:

> If the truth must be told, I fully expected to be a bit bored. Much as I like good folk-songs, it seemed to me that three solid days of listening to practically nothing else (almost all of them from the same nation, too), would leave me limp. But I was most agreeably disappointed. By Sunday evening I was, like Oliver Twist, quite ready for more.[74]

MacMillan continued with a vivid description of the festival:

> . . . there was remarkable variety in [folksong] presentation. Indoors and out, one was constantly rubbing up against Charles Marchand and his "Bytown Troubadours"--who were, I am told, all experienced musicians. I hate male-quartets as a rule, but I take off my hat to this one: they were obviously enjoying themselves so much, and the spectacle of four husky lumber-jacks singing in the dining-room of the Château Frontenac was decidedly refreshing. And even the more professional functions were not <u>too</u> professional. For one thing, the curtain would never draw properly, and one saw such an interesting variety of feet between numbers--Dr. Barbeau's immaculate patent leathers, Père Bédard's farmer's clogs, and whatnot. I hope the C.P.R. won't consider it necessary to get a new curtain next year.[75]

MacMillan made favourable comments about the performances of the madrigal singers, Campbell McInnes, Jeanne Dusseau, Juliette Gaultier, Cédia Brault and Germaine le Bel. He also praised the folk song arrangements of Alfred Laliberté, and Laliberté's performance of these accompaniments. MacMillan also commented on the source performers:

> But I must not omit to mention what was perhaps the most important feature of all--the folk-singers themselves. I wish everyone who reads this article could hear [Phileas]

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[74] E.M.C. [Ernest MacMillan], "The Folk-Song Festival at Quebec--Some Impressions," <u>Conservatory Quarterly Review</u>, 9 (1927), 130.

[75] MacMillan, "The Folk-Song Festival at Quebec," 130.

> Bédard. He has one of the most raucous voices, and quite the best sense of rhythm that I have ever encountered in a singer, And that twinkle in his eye would be worth thousands on the variety stage. . . . Victor de Repentigny (sic) and others were in their way good too. The fisherman from the Gaspé--who appeared in his professional oilskins--I forget his name--did his best with a very bad cold--a real cold, not the kind that some singers plead in excuse when they miss a high note. And we enjoyed the work-songs sung by Madame Leblond at her spinning-wheel: she evidently was not wasting time, for she worked in grim earnest. But now and then her face would relax into a smile, though she looked a little ashamed of it.[76]

MacMillan ended the article by congratulating Gibbon and Barbeau, and by urging his readers to attend the festival next year.

The first Quebec festival was an enormous success in terms of attendance. It is difficult to estimate the number of people who witnessed this event. The reviewer for Le Droit stated at one point that the festival had more than 1,000 spectators, and at another time stated that more than 2,000 visitors had come from outside of the province of Quebec for this event. All of the reviewers stated that literally hundreds of people were turned away from the concerts each evening. The only concert which the organizers considered to be poorly attended was the Sunday Mass at the Basilica, which Gibbon later reported had attracted only about 400 spectators.[77]

Although the organizers had set out to attract an audience of anglophones from outside of Quebec, a good number of local francophone people were drawn to the festival as well. Lawrence Mason of the Globe stated:

> And the crowd of sightseers is half the fun, and much of the show, for all of Quebec has turned out in full force to see itself as others see it. This is a festival of the people,

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[76] MacMillan, "The Folk Song Festival at Quebec," p. 130.

[77] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 5 March 1928.

> for the people and by the people, however "high-brow" artists may turn it to professional account in the creation of modern art-works. Swarthier complexions than are common in Ontario, swarms of bright-eyed little children, different styles of dress, pattering dialectics (sic) of many varieties, all go to make up a broadly national festival in fact.[78]

It is interesting that Mason, as an anglophone outsider, saw these people as part of the show. Aside from what might have been a sense of nationalistic pride, these urban Québécois were probably drawn to the festival for the same reasons as their anglophone counterparts: a modernistic sense of alienation that caused them to idealize the lifestyle of the rural inhabitants of Quebec, and a need to seek what was considered to be authentic experience outside of their own lives.

Mason's failure to recognize the basic similarity between anglophone and francophone members of the audience is significant in terms of the sense of national unity that the organizers were trying to promote. He perceived the francophone spectators as part of the tourist attraction, rather than fellow tourists. This perception caused him to feel distanced from, rather than united with, people who may in fact have shared his world view and was exactly the opposite of what the festival organizers had hoped to achieve.

In The Tourist, MacCannel explains that this lack of insight is due to the structure of the touristic experience rather than insensitivity on the part of the tourist. The structure of the touristic experience as demonstrated by the Quebec festivals will be discussed in detail in the conclusion of the present work. However,

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[78]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 21 May 1927, p. 6.

it is important to note that Mason, who was obviously an intelligent and sensitive critic, could be misled in this way.

The great success of the first festival assured its continuation as an annual event, and the organizers were confident that the Quebec festival could become an institution which would accomplish their socio-political and artistic goals. There is a significant gap in the correspondence between Barbeau and Gibbon from 30 May 1927 to October of the same year. Perhaps because of this, there are few letters in which they express their satisfaction with this first festival. However, in an article, "Canadian Folk-Songs as a National Asset," Barbeau summarized the confidence that he had in the festival:

> The Folk-Song and Handicrafts Festival, as a result of public favor and support, is to be an annual event. It bids fair, if well directed, to become a factor in the artistic life of Canada.[79]

Barbeau also noted that the Quebec festival should contribute significantly to the growth of a national music for Canada, "if the Folk-Song Festivals are not allowed to degenerate into mere commercial and political enterprises." While this article was apparently not published until 1928, it was probably written earlier, as Barbeau would become totally disillusioned with the Quebec festival after the 1928 event.

It is obvious that Barbeau and Gibbon were pleased with the 1927 event and optimistic for the future. In the correspondence that begins in October 1927, Gibbon and Barbeau both seem to have been more interested in planning for the future than indulging in self-congratulation. It was in this energetic and cheerful state of mind

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[79]Barbeau, "Canadian Folk-Songs as a National Asset," p. 3.

that the organizers began to plan the 1928 festival, and to deal with the considerable interest in folk music that had been generated by the 1927 event.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND QUEBEC FESTIVAL, 24-28 MAY 1928

Gibbon was already writing Barbeau with tentative plans for the second Quebec festival by October 1927. Gibbon and Barbeau expected greater things of the 1928 event, both in terms of the festival itself as an artistic production, and its effect on the folk music revival they were trying to promote. They rapidly discovered that the second festival demanded more of their time and energy. Barbeau and Gibbon were forced not only to deal with the organization of this expanded festival, but also found themselves focal points for the increased interest in folklore that had been generated among the upper and middle class urbanites that the festival organizers had sought to attract. This reflects the success of the 1927 festival.

Gibbon mentioned in his letters to Barbeau that he was invited to give talks on folklore at two private clubs in November 1927: the St. James Literary Society in Montreal, and an unnamed club in Halifax. The National Museum Annual Report for 1927 indicates that Barbeau delivered six lectures on aspects of French-Canadian folksong, the first Quebec festival or the growth of the national music movement between April 1927 and March 1928.[1]

In late 1927, Gibbon and Barbeau were approached by the Association of Canadian Clubs for advice on a cross country speaking

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[1] Annual Report for 1927 (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, bulletin no. 59, 1929), p. 10.

tour which the association wished to organize on the subject of French-Canadian folksongs. The Canadian Club movement began in Hamilton, Ontario in 1892, with the avowed aims of fostering "Canadian patriotism and to stimulate intelligent citizenship."[2] The Association of Canadian Clubs was established in 1909. In 1926, this association opened a permanent office in Ottawa which arranged speaking tours such as the one Gibbon and Barbeau were consulted about, and published a quarterly magazine, The Canadian Nation. Clubs in this association were located in all parts of Canada and seem to have been mainly social. Between 1926 and 1928, the number of these clubs increased from 53 to 120.[3]

Gibbon and Barbeau had conflicting opinions as to who should deliver this speaking tour and what repertoire of songs should be performed. This conflict is significant because it discloses some fundamental differences in the goals of these two men. Gibbon was primarily interested in popularizing French-Canadian folksongs. He suggested that the lecture tour be given by Mrs. John Garvin, journalist and author of Legends of the St. Lawrence, who was apparently an accomplished public speaker, though an indifferent singer. Gibbon also believed that the repertoire performed at these lectures should consist of the most popular songs. He stated:

> If the object of this tour is to make the rest of Canada familiar with what has been sung in the Province of Quebec [the organizer] would certainly be well advised in seeing that the program consisted mainly of the songs that are generally familiar in this Province,[4]

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[2]J. Castell Hopkins, ed. The Canadian Annual Review, 1927-28 (Toronto: The Canadian Review Co. Ltd., 1929), p. 672.

[3]Hopkins, p. 672.

[4]Gibbon, letter to C.M. Barbeau, 22 December 1927.

and he suggested that the songs collected by Ernest Gagnon would be most appropriate.

Barbeau, on the other hand, felt that it was more important to have a good musician than a good speaker for this tour. In this he was not simply trying to promote an interest in French-Canadian folksong, but in the national music movement as well. In reply to Gibbon's letter he stated:

> I am very much in earnest when I say that we should try and maintain a pretty high musical and artistic standard--such as any of our good musicians both in Toronto and Montreal might recommend--Otherwise, the movement so interestingly started will degenerate and become disappointing before it has gone very far, and you would lose the support and collaboration of elements that are essential to your success.[5]

In the end, the tour was given by Jeanne Dusseau, the soprano who had sung at the first Quebec festival, and her repertoire included material from Laliberté's published collection and arrangements by Healey Willan. Barbeau's opinions prevailed in this matter, but the conflict that emerged concerning whether popular folksongs or those which met high aesthetic standards should be featured seems to have remained unresolved. Gibbon's final statement on this matter reaffirmed his initial stance:

> The fact that a song has been sung a great many times does not make it any worse. It may merely be that the hearer has become too sophisticated. There are people who object to Shakespeare because they say he is too full of quotations.[6]

On 8 November 1927, Gibbon gave one of the talks he mentioned in correspondence with Barbeau. This talk was on the subject

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[5]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 28 December 1927.

[6]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 3 January 1927.

of French-Canadian folksongs, and was given to the St. James Literary Society of Montreal. A review of this lecture appeared in the Montreal Gazette the following day. This review included considerable detail from Gibbon's lecture which gives valuable insight into his theoretical approach to folksongs. Gibbon was assisted by singer Charles Marchand and accompanist Louis Bédard. These men were dressed in costume, probably that of the Bytown Troubadours. Some of Gibbon's translations were used, but most of the songs were sung in the original French. The Gazette described this talk as a "combined historical and musical recital." This seems to have been the most common form of public lecture concerning folksong at that time. Gibbon generally had Marchand illustrate folksongs at his lectures, and Barbeau used Phileas Bédard, one of his informants and a popular performer at the Quebec festivals, to sing at many of his folksong lectures.

The reviewer stated that Gibbon believed that the tunes of folksongs had individual authors "and that they did not spring into being merely as the outpourings of a people filled with music; their structure vindicates conscious composition." Gibbon divided the songs into six groups:

> . . . based upon origins: the songs of the voyageurs, the handicraft songs, the dances, the songs of childhood, the ballad, and songs of the countryside. The first highways of the province were waterways, Mr. Gibbon points out, and it was natural that the songs should shape themselves to the rhythm of the paddle or the oar.[7]

It should be noted that these were not thematic classifications, but an attempt to explain how the songs had actually originated. Although Gibbon apparently never elaborated his theory in print, his approach to

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[7]Montreal Gazette, 9 November 1927, p. 8.

handicraft and folksong at the first Quebec festival demonstrated that he believed that songs were actually composed at the looms and spinning wheels, and that the tunes were inspired by the rhythms of the work. Similarly he felt that the rhythms of the paddle helped to inspire the voyageurs to create paddling songs. To demonstrate this idea in the lecture:

> Mr. Marchand sang several boat songs to illustrate the peculiar rhythm that, without any other suggestion, even without an understanding of the words, brought immediately to mind the swinging paddle or the regular swing of the oar.[8]

The idea that the rhythm of such work actually inspired the composition of songs seems an unlikely one in retrospect, but in terms of approaches to folksong scholarship at that time, Gibbon's ideas were not unusually far fetched. Unlike most serious North American scholars of that time however, Gibbon was primarily concerned with the tunes and their development rather than the texts. This may be due to the fact that the Quebec festivals primarily focused on the music of the folksongs. However, it may also reflect the influence of Cecil Sharp and the English folksong revival on Gibbon. In the introduction to Canadian Folk Songs Old and New and in correspondence with Barbeau, Gibbon had demonstrated that he was familiar with Sharp's work.

Because the English folksong revivalists were primarily concerned with the development of a national school of music for England, they focused on the music rather than the poetry of folksongs. Sharp in his English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions, which appeared in 1907, had stated that he believed folksongs were composed by individuals

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[8] Montreal Gazette, 9 November 1927, p. 8.

rather than groups. Gibbon's emphasis on the music of folksongs may indicate that he had been influenced by these English revivalists.

Barbeau was also concerned with the question of origins of folksongs. As a young man he had gone into the field expecting to find spontaneous, communal composition. However, his experiences in song collecting caused him to conclude that there was no such communal process. Like Gibbon, he decided that folksongs must have individual composers, though Barbeau felt that these composers were probably men of some education in mediaeval France.

The success of the 1927 Quebec festival prompted the CPR to plan similar events at other CP hotels. In June 1928, the first European ethnic festival, the New Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, was staged in Winnipeg. The Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival was staged for the second year in Banff, Alberta and in Victoria an Old English Yuletide Festival was staged in December.

The CPR hired Harold Eustache Key to act as musical director for all of these promotional festivals. Key, the former director of the Montreal Mendelssohn Choir, had been active in the 1927 festival, arranging folksongs for choral use. During the first festival, Gibbon noted in a letter to Barbeau that Key was both influential among musicians in Montreal and respected by Ernest MacMillan and Healey Willan.[9] A year later, when the CPR hired Key, Gibbon stated:

> . . . it will be his job to handle the musicians. He has a great deal of experience in this connection and has the happy combination of being both tactful and autocratic. This is most necessary where one has to deal with people who by nature are inclined to be a trifle vain and quarrelsome.[10]

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[9]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 26 February 1927.

[10]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 16 February 1928.

But Key spent a good deal of time in the months prior to the second Quebec festival making arrangements for the New Canadian Festival in Winnipeg. So, in spite of the addition of Key as a major organizer, much of the responsibility for organization in Quebec still fell to Gibbon.

The organization of the 1928 festival was marked by strife and discord. This was partly due to the expanded size of the event, which caused Gibbon and Barbeau to tax their energies and strain the budget to the fullest, placing both organizers under considerable stress. The 1928 festival also involved more people, and personality conflicts seemed to develop more frequently. Finally, Barbeau and Gibbon discovered areas of disagreement while organizing the 1928 festival which had always existed, but only emerged at that time. As the organization of this festival progressed, it became increasingly apparent that Barbeau was essentially trying to promote a movement among fine artists and the upper classes, while Gibbon favoured a more popular approach: Barbeau's goals were mainly artistic, while Gibbon's were more humanistic.

While planning the 1928 Quebec festival, Gibbon and Barbeau looked critically at the 1927 event to determine what past mistakes could be avoided at the next festival. Both agreed that the performances of the Hurons of Lorette had not met with the artistic standards they hoped to maintain and so these people were dropped from the programme. This was the first step in a movement to present only French-Canadian culture at the second Quebec festival, a move which may have helped to provide a more central focus for the event. Barbeau and Gibbon also debated whether to continue to present the children who

danced ronds under the direction of Mme. Arthur Duquet. Barbeau felt that the performance of these children had not met the artistic standards of the festival, and objected to Duquet's choice of European songs and dances as he wished to see Canadian material used. Gibbon believed that the appearance of these children at the first festival had pleased the local people and these performances were worth including in future festivals because of this. Here we see the split between Gibbon, who was primarily interested in popularizing the folksong movement, and Barbeau, who wished to maintain high artistic standards. In this case the two organizers were able to reach a compromise. Duquet's children performed again at the 1928 festival, but they danced to French-Canadian tunes which had been provided by Barbeau and arranged by George Brewer, Oscar O'Brien and Alexandre D'Aragon, all classically trained composers.

Gibbon and Barbeau also debated whether to continue to involve the Chanters de Saint-Dominique, a local choir. Barbeau objected to this choir on the grounds that they were clearly amateurs, though he admitted that they had good voices. Gibbon was not at all receptive to Barbeau's suggestion that this choir be dropped however, and they sang at the 1928 festival.

In their analysis of the first festival, Barbeau and Gibbon recognized some difficulties with professional musicians. The interaction of professional performers at the Quebec festivals seems to have been characterized by intense competitiveness. This may have been due to the limited work available in the field of classical interpretation of folk music at that time, or because this innovative area attracted artists who were anxious to prove themselves. Barbeau

and Gibbon tended to attribute this competitiveness to the innate nature of artistic people, as Gibbon's reference to Harold Key illustrates above. Perhaps because Barbeau and Gibbon saw this behaviour as the product of something they could not alter, they never developed a strategy for coping with this counter-productive competitiveness among their professional performers, and it continued to create problems.

Barbeau and Gibbon also discussed difficulties they had encountered in dealing with the source performers though these were quite different in nature. Barbeau noted:

> The folksingers after having asked for some ale and other refreshments during the [first] Festival and after having been granted permission, rather ran away from our intentions and until the end of the Festival almost everybody was ordering beer in their dining room and the item ran into $5 or $6 at every meal. This was quite unnecessary and was allowed to pass for lack of sufficient control. This could be prevented this year.[11]

To this end, Gibbon asked Barbeau to invite Edouard-Zotique Massicotte to be the guest of the 1928 festival, and that Barbeau request his assistance in dealing with the source performers during the event. This was probably an effective measure in preventing any problems with the source performers, as correspondence between Gibbon and Barbeau mentions no further trouble of this kind.

In January 1928, Gibbon and Marchand travelled to Boston University to participate in a concert of French-Canadian folksong which was sponsored by the Department of Fine Arts. Gibbon gave a lecture on French-Canadian folklore at this concert and Marchand sang. The Choral Art Society of Boston University also performed French-Canadian

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[11]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 1 May 1928.

folksongs in both French and English with translations by Gibbon. The thank-you note later written to Gibbon by Dr. H. Augustine Smith, the organizer of this concert, indicated that Gibbon may have provided much of the music for this event. The songs performed were arranged by Oscar O'Brien and Geoffrey O'Hara (probably from Canadian Folk Songs Old and New), Achille Fortier, Pierre Gautier, Louis Victor Saar and Harold Eustache Key, all of whom had been involved in the 1927 festival. Two additional choral arrangements were provided by H.A. Fricker, director of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir.

The Choral Arts Society included in its programme "The Wreck of the Julie Plante" an arrangement by Geoffrey O'Hara based on the dialect poem by William Henry Drummond. Gibbon later stated: "We tried to avoid the singing of the 'Wreck of the Julie Plante' but the Choir had already prepared it and their bass was anxious to show his voice in the solo portion."[12] It seems likely that Gibbon and Marchand objected to this type of dialect poem on the grounds that it perpetuated the stereotype of French-Canadians as ignorant peasants. Such an objection seems self-evident by present-day standards, but, for that period of time, Gibbon was displaying uncommon sensitivity. The dialect poems of William Henry Drummond were highly popular in Anglo Canada. Even the budding left wing journal, Canadian Forum published a series of dialect stories in 1923 which were taken from the collection of Marius Barbeau and translated from French into dialect by P.A.W. Wallace. That such a progressive publication could print these stories and apparently evoke no unfavourable comment from its readership is an indication of the degree of social acceptance of dialect

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[12]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 21 January 1928.

literature and the image of francophone Canadians implied by such work at that time.

Early in February 1928, Gibbon wrote Dr. W.H. Collings, director of the National Museum, to formally request Barbeau's assistance and ask that the 1928 festival again be placed under the auspices of that institution. The confident manner in which Gibbon approached this second event was apparent in this letter:

> It is now generally recognized that the presentation of these folksongs is a matter of national interest, and it is only fitting that a Department of the Government should be identified with this Festival. . . . If you yourself could manage to get down to Quebec next May, I think you would be impressed by the importance of the work being done.[13]

In this letter Gibbon also mentioned that Edward Beatty had authorized him to rent the Auditorium Theatre at Quebec, one of the largest theatres in Canada at that time.[14] Gibbon felt that this change was necessary as the Chateau Frontenac had proved too small to accommodate audiences in 1927. Both the Chateau's ballroom and the Auditorium Theatre were utilized at the 1928 festival, the former being reserved for the large evening concerts on Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings.

The desire to accommodate a larger audience was not the only reason for the use of a bigger theatre however. Barbeau and Gibbon expanded the 1928 programme mainly by introducing a number of theatrical productions which required a larger stage for stage settings, lighting and a larger number of performers. The Chateau Frontenac stage could not meet such requirements. With the exception of "Le Jeu

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[13]Gibbon, Letter to Dr. W.H. Collings, 8 February 1928.

[14]Hector Charlesworth, "Order of Good Cheer Revived," Saturday Night, 9 June 1928, p. 5.

de Robin et Marion" which was adapted from a thirteenth century comic opera, these productions were hastily written, and all were under-rehearsed. These nip and tuck theatrics did little to enhance the 1928 festival. They drained both the budget and the energies of the organizers. The 1928 festival proved to be a disappointment in terms of artistic standards in the eyes of both the organizers and more critical members of the press. As this was largely due to the addition of the four theatrical productions, these four events deserve special consideration.

Two of these productions, "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" and "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion" were operas. The latter was said to be "a thirteenth century comic opera" and it is uncertain how the organizers became aware of it. "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" was an original ballad opera, created especially for the 1928 festival. Ballad operas incorporated the tunes of traditional music into popular theatrical productions. This art form flourished briefly in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the most famous ballad opera, John Gay's "Beggar's Opera" was written. During the English folksong revival the idea of the ballad opera was revived. It was Gibbon's inspiration to stage such a ballad opera at the Quebec festivals. When he visited Halifax in November of 1927 to give a talk on French-Canadian folksong, he was taken to the site of Champlain's settlement at Port Royal. This visit inspired him with the idea of having a group of Acadian songs to represent l'ordre de bon temps, which developed into a full fledged ballad opera.[15]

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[15]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 19 November 1927.

"L'Ordre de Bon Temps," the resulting ballad opera, was based on the "society of good cheer" which had been founded at Champlain's first settlement in 1606 to maintain the spirits of the colonists during a particularly difficult winter, and was documented in the journals of Champlain and his contemporary, Marc Lescarbot. Gibbon's interest in this event may have arisen from the activities of the Toronto based Champlain Society, which had published an English translation of Lescarbot's journals by W.L. Grant in three volumes between 1907 and 1914, and was, between 1922 and 1936, in the process of publishing the six volumes of The Works of Samuel de Champlain, translated by H.P. Biggar.

In January 1928, Louvigny de Montigny was approached to write a French language libretto for this ballad opera, and he agreed to do so. De Montigny had joined the federal civil service as a translator for the senate in 1910, and was appointed chief translator in 1915, a post which he held until his death in 1955. De Montigny was also an author and in 1921 had played a major role in the formation of the Canadian Authors' Association, which brought him into contact with Gibbon. To aid him in the writing of the libretto, de Montigny was provided with the journals of Champlain and Lescarbot. At the same time, Barbeau chose appropriate songs from his collection for this ballad opera. He reported to Gibbon: "There are several beautiful songs of the sea with pungent political bearing that may fit in well with the . . . group of Champlain."[16]

While in Toronto in mid-February, Barbeau approached composer Healey Willan, through Ernest MacMillan, to discuss the writing of

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[16]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 24 January 1928.

arrangements for the music of this production. Willan had written arrangements for the 1927 festival. Born in England, Willan received his musical education in that country and did not immigrate to Canada until 1913, when he accepted the position of head of the theory department at the Toronto Conservatory of Music. Willan was recognized as a major composer in Canada during his career, and, as a teacher at the Toronto Conservatory, influenced almost an entire generation of Canadian composers.[17]

Barbeau approached Willan with a degree of caution, as Gibbon and Willan had apparently quarreled in the past over some matter that was never fully discussed in the correspondence. This disagreement seems to have centred on Gibbon's expectation that arrangers of music would be willing to work without payment and the two men continued in conflict on this subject.

Barbeau described his first discussions with Willan concerning "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" to Gibbon in detail:

> He grew enthusiastic at the idea of the "Ordre de Bon Temps." His word was that this might lead sometime to the composition of something like the Beggar's Opera. He was quite willing to arrange the whole series as a unit and select the best songs in an artistic sequence. . . .
>
> In order not to get entangled into a misunderstanding towards the end, I explained briefly what were your circumstances in the way of fees, expenses and so forth, and he could quite understand that there would be no fee for him. He didn't seem to pay much attention to the matter, but went to the piano and resumed his review of some of the songs.[18]

In reference to the past argument between Gibbon and Willan, Barbeau commented:

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[17] Desautels, p. 102.

[18] Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 14 February 1928.

> [Campbell] McInnes and I agreed that the misunderstanding between you and Mr. Willan may not be as persistent and really fundamental as it might seem. We quite believe that, Mr. Willan setting aside the matter as a by gone, you would yourself be quite willing to forget.[19]

Gibbon seemed agreeable to this, and stated that he felt Willan would be the ideal arranger for "L'Ordre de Bon Temps." In spite of this attempt to ignore past differences the conflicts between Gibbon and Willan did not abate. Early in March Gibbon visited Willan in Toronto to discuss the ballad opera. He later reported to Barbeau that Willan had insisted on being paid in advance for his work, and Gibbon offered him an undisclosed fee "which included the proviso that he should not mention that he was getting anything" to others involved in the festival.[20] Gibbon was extremely angry at the outcome of this discussion and stated in the same letter: "He is exceedingly self-opinionated, we shall have to take his selection if we want him to do anything."[21]

It was uncharacteristic of Gibbon to display such bad temper, but it was becoming apparent at that time that the 1928 event was going to be far more costly than the 1927 festival. Gibbon noted in the same letter that the cost of concert tickets might soar to $3.00, a three hundred percent increase from the previous year. The financial problems of the festival at this point were such that Gibbon felt they posed a threat to the continuance of these events. As he stated to Barbeau: "If we exceed our appropriation to anything like

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[19]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 14 February 1928.

[20]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 5 March 1928.

[21]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Bardeau, 5 March 1928.

the extent that we did last year, this will mean the end of our festivals."[22] As the time of the festival drew nearer, these financial worries continued. Early in May Gibbon stated that:

> The cost of the Festival is so heavy, that we need all the revenue we can [get]. . . . Everyone who is not actively concerned in the Festival will have to purchase tickets, and I am setting a precedent by making Mrs. Gibbon pay for hers.[23]

By the end of March, de Montigny had finished his libretto for "L'Ordre de Bon Temps," and Gibbon noted that it was "certainly very good, although I am rather afraid it may take too long, unless it is cut down a little."[24] At that time, baritone Campbell McInnes had agreed to sing the lead role of Champlain, and as Gibbon noted: "The less French Campbell McInnes has to speak the happier he will be."[25] In fact, McInnes' apprehension about speaking French caused him to back out of the production, leading to the last-minute substitution of Ulysse Paquin in the role. Ironically, when McInnes did sing in French at the 1928 festival, the critic in Le Soleil praised his pronunciation.[26]

Before Willan's arrangements for "L'Ordre" were complete Gibbon expressed his annoyance at the composer to Barbeau again, apparently because Willan had arranged for the ballad opera to be published and sold at the festival.[27] This is an indication of how short-tempered Gibbon had become under the pressure of organizing the 1928 festival,

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[22]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 5 March 1928.

[23]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 5 May 1928.

[24]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 23 March 1928.

[25]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 23 March 1928.

[26]"Lionel," Le Soleil, 26 mai 1928, p. 19.

[27]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 4 April 1928.

as other publications related to Canadian folk music were sold at both the 1927 and 1928 events with Gibbon's approval. However, when Willan played the finished arrangements for "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" for Gibbon at the end of April, the publicity agent seemed to have recovered his characteristic good nature, as he reported to Barbeau: "Each of [Willan's] arrangements is a little gem, and I should not wonder if this group were the hit of the Festival."[28] Relationships between the two men seem to have been good at that time, as Gibbon also reported that he asked Willan to read through and give opinions on the music that several other composers had provided for the festival.

It is apparent that Gibbon respected Healey Willan as a composer in spite of these conflicts. Gibbon requested Willan's opinions of the work of other composers and reported these views to Barbeau. Gibbon also admired Willan's arrangements greatly. This is borne out by the fact that Willan continued to play an important part in the CPR-sponsored festivals. After the first performance of "L'Ordre de Bon Temps," Gibbon translated the libretto into English so that this ballad opera could be used again. In 1929 the resulting "Order of Good Cheer" was staged at the Sea Music Festival in Vancouver, where Healey Willan supervised the rehearsals and conducted the performance. This production was staged again at Victoria at the Sea Music Festival in 1930, and at the 1930 Quebec festival in the original French. Willan also arranged music for the CPR-sponsored Banff Highland Games and Scottish Music Festivals.

It is uncertain where the idea to stage "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion" came from. The programmes of the 1928 festival describe this

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[28]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 23 April 1928.

production as a thirteenth-century comic opera, though opera did not develop until several centuries later. Early in January 1928 Gibbon reported to Barbeau that the manuscript of "Robin et Marion," which had originally been written for the court of Count Robert of Naples by Adam de la Hale, was being sent from France. That same month, Gibbon visited New York and Philadelphia in connection with this production. In Philadelphia he met with Jean Beck, an expert on mediaeval music at the University of Pennsylvania, who agreed to score this work. In New York, Gibbon met with the young French-Canadian musician Wilfred Pelletier, who was then assistant conductor of the Metropolitan Opera. Pelletier agreed to produce "Robin et Marion." He also wrote an overture for this production, and conducted the orchestra when it was performed in Quebec. Gibbon also arranged to hire tenor Ralph Errole and bass Leon Rothier of the Metropolitan Opera for the 1928 Quebec festival and to have the stage settings and costumes for "Robin et Marion" designed by Signor Agini of that company as well.

At the time of his retirement, Gibbon stated his motives for staging a thirteenth-century ballad opera and involving the Metropolitan Opera in the 1928 festival:

> I never forgot Charles Marchand's warning that the chief obstacle to the renaissance of interest in French-Canadian folksong was the feeling that this was mere "habitant" stuff. The French-Canadian is a great believer in tradition, so I thought it would be good policy to show that the tradition of some at least of these folksongs takes us back to the troubadours of the Middle Ages.[29]

However, it rapidly became apparent that the expense of this production added greatly to the financial problems of the 1928 festival. In

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[29]Gibbon, "Mr. Gibbon Replied," pp. 25-26.

February, Gibbon wrote Barbeau suggesting that the two Gaspésian singers, François Saint-Laurent and Joseph Ouellette, be dropped from the 1928 programme because their transportation had to be arranged through the CNR, and due to the high cost of the involvement of the Metropolitan Opera, such expenses had to be cut down.[30]

In spite of the problems caused by the involvement of members of the Metropolitan Opera and the staging of these elaborate productions, the organizers apparently never considered reverting to a more simple type of festival, as had been staged in 1927. In March 1928, Gibbon again visited New York and Philadelphia in connection with "Robin et Marion." At that time, he received the libretto, which Jean Beck had reportedly reduced by about 200 lines to cut down on stage and rehearsal time. This libretto was then given to the noted Montreal poet, Paul Morin, who modernized the French for the Quebec production.

Gibbon and Barbeau planned two additional productions: one based on Joseph-Charles Taché's Forestiers et Voyageurs, which had been published in 1863 as part of the national romantic writers' movement in Quebec, the other, "Madame de Repentigny et sa Manufacture," was based very loosely on events having to do with the early manufacture of textiles in Quebec. The words for both productions were written by de Montigny, and it was his idea to use Taché's book as a basis for the former production. Oscar O'Brien arranged the songs for "Forestiers et Voyageurs," and it was directed by Charles Marchand. The script for this production was finished in late March. Ulysse Paquin and the Bytown Troubadours played major roles in "Forestiers," and singers from the Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique, the male choir which

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[30]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 28 February 1928.

had appeared in the 1927 festival, took part as well. In early May, Barbeau reported that both he and de Montigny were working with the cast of this production at rehearsals in Ottawa.[31]

No mention is made of an arranger of the music for "Madame de Repentigny et Sa Manufacture," and previously arranged material seems to have been used. This production was vaguely related to historical events of the early 1700s. At that time, as noted in chapter six, economic depression forced the inhabitants of New France to rely on professional weavers in the colony for their textiles, rather than imported goods from France. At that time, some interest arose in encouraging the home manufacture of textiles. Madame Le Gardeau de Repentigny, a prominent member of Quebec society, founded a workshop at her home during these years to investigate home textile manufacture. But the colony possessed few weavers at the time, and Mme. de Repentigny had to ransom New Englanders from the Indians to acquire people who could produce textiles.[32]

The dramatization of these events at the 1928 Quebec festival can be seen, at best, as a free interpretation of history. Festival literature referred to this production as "a musical dramatization of the beginning of the homespun industry in Quebec," and the textile workers in this play were habitants, who received instruction from the benevolent Mme. de Repentigny herself.[33] In fact, the production of textiles by non-professional weavers was not established in Quebec

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[31]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 4 May 1928.

[32]Harold B. Burnham and Dorothy Burnham, Keep Me Warm One Night: Early Handweaving in Eastern Canada (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972), p. 8.

[33]Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival (Quebec: CPR, 1928), p. 14.

until the mid-1800s. A general belief in the antiquity of the home textile industry in Quebec arose in the early decades of the twentieth century. Certainly a production such as "Madame de Repentigny" helped to contribute to the development of this belief.

"Madame de Repentigny" is also noteworthy because it was the first performance in which source and non-source performer appeared together on stage at the Quebec festivals. This was a step that caused Barbeau and Gibbon some trepidation, though for different reasons. Gibbon stated:

> I never have liked the idea of professional singers appearing with folk-singers in a group, except in the case of the de Repentigny group, where it is justified. The trained voices of the professional singers mark them out too much.[34]

The "justification" of this exception in Gibbon's mind seems to have been the plot which called for a cast of habitant characters, represented by the source performers, and affluent members of society, played by the professional singers.

Originally the organizers had considered using source performers alone in this production, but Barbeau felt that "it wouldn't be advisable to keep the folk-singers on the stage long enough [for a dramatization] as they would become boring and monotonous."[35] Barbeau's chief concern in this matter seems to have been that the contribution of the source performers not lower the artistic standards of the festival. While planning the 1928 programme, Barbeau stated that the main purpose of such source performers was "to relieve the monotony of 'perfection' in academic music."[36]

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[34]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 11 April 1928.

[35]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 24 January 1928.

[36]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 13 April 1928.

In these comments, Barbeau betrayed certain aesthetic biases. Like most folksong collectors of the time, he felt that some items of these singers' repertoires had great historical and musical value and, if properly arranged and presented, could have considerable aesthetic appeal. However, he remained uncertain that an audience of educated urbanites would find the unpolished performance of these songs attractive.

Gibbon's reservations were for different reasons. While Barbeau was mainly worried about boring the audience and failing to meet artistic standards, Gibbon was primarly concerned that the source performers might suffer by comparison with professionals. This concern can be seen as a manifestation of the remarkable sensitivity which Gibbon showed when dealing with people of other classes and cultures. However, this sensitivity had the negative effect of making him somewhat over-protective of the source performers.

Gibbon's sensitivity and protectiveness were clearly manifest on two occasions during the organization of the 1928 festival. In one case, he complained to Barbeau about the performance of Camille Bernard, which he felt stereotyped the source performers. Bernard was a Quebec born soprano who had studied the teaching of voice in Paris, where she had also trained under Yvette Guilbert, a famous diseuse. Bernard is chiefly remembered as a teacher of music and diction, and for her work with children with speech problems.[37] When Barbeau became aware of Bernard he reported to Gibbon: "She will be a valuable collaborator. Her range is definite and somewhat limited, but it is all her own. We have no other like her for comic songs and chansons de

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[37] Isabelle Papineau-Couture, "Camille Bernard," EMC.

genre."[38] At the 1928 Quebec festival she "interpreted" songs of France in costume with theatrical gestures. After seeing her perform Gibbon stated:

> Camille Bernard's version of "Le marchand de velour" which is a little masterpiece is alright as a professional singer's rendering of a habitant song in a habitant manner, but is slightly in the nature of a caricature and might offend the folk singers if actually done in one of their groups by one of themselves.[39]

It is ironic that Gibbon, though an anglophone, should appear to have been consistently more sensitive to such stereotyping than Barbeau, who was a member of the same ethnic group (though not the same class) as the source performers. It may be that Barbeau, in pursuit of definite scholarly and artistic goals, was not able to cultivate the essentially subjective and humanistic approach which allowed Gibbon to perceive the subtle nuances of inter-ethnic and inter-class relations so clearly. It is not known how Barbeau replied to Gibbon's criticisms of Bernard, but she did perform the song in question at the 1928 festival. Gibbon's desire to shelter the source performers from what he, like Barbeau, obviously regarded as the superior talents of the professional singers was made most apparent in the conflict between the festival organizers and Juliette Gaultier. A conflict in approaches to folksong had been apparent during the organization of the 1927 festival. At that time, Barbeau had expressed disappointment that Gaultier planned to sing French-Canadian folksongs without accompaniment. Barbeau stated:

> An accompaniment, when it is well done, suggests an artistic development and an emotional core which in these circumstances is far from being useless. To sing a song without accompaniment

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[38] Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 21 March 1928.

[39] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 11 April 1928.

> is simply to seek to reproduce the song as it is found among the inhabitants or on the land.[40]

In spite of this protest, Gaultier did perform unaccompanied at the 1927 festival.

In March 1928, Gaultier wrote Barbeau requesting that she be allowed to appear with the source performers, as one of them, at the second festival. She stated:

> . . . let me as a great privilege work with your delightful peasants, and like a peasant which I am at heart and leave all sophistication alone. I have been successfully giving my programmes without any added extravagances, you know I am not in favor of elaborate harmonization for my songs.[41]

It is difficult to know what motivated Gaultier in her request. To Barbeau and Gibbon, it was so bizarre that they could only see this as unreasonable capriciousness on the singer's part. They were intent on making simple music sophisticated, and Juliette Gaultier, whom they had seen as an ally in this movement, suddenly appeared to be moving in the exact opposite direction. But Gaultier was so persistent in her request and so sincere that it seems unlikely this was an unreasoned whim. In fact, Gaultier seems to have become so absorbed in the primitivist attitude that she came to devalue her own formal artistic training and over-identify with the source performers.

When Barbeau found that Gaultier was adamant in her request, he asked Gibbon to deal with the matter. Gaultier's stance not only offended the organizers' sense of artistic propriety, it also posed, in Gibbon's mind, a threat to the source performers. Because of this he delivered a stern reproach to her:

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[40]Barbeau, Letter to Juliette Gaultier, 24 March 1927, trans. Laurel Doucette.

[41]Juliette Gaultier, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 5 March 1928 (her emphasis).

> . . . I do not think it would be fair to folk singers like Leblonds etc. to have a professional singer such as yourself taking part in their program. We have little enough time to give them on the program, and a professional singer with a trained voice would make them feel outclassed, and therefore they might very well be nervous and disappoint their audience. . . . Of course it would be very nice of you to dress up and be one of them, but human nature cannot be changed, and you have to think of other people as well.[42]

Barbeau and Gibbon agreed that Gaultier should conform to their view of her role as a performer, or be dropped from the 1928 programme. Gaultier did as they wished. She appeared twice in the second festival, both times accompanied. These performances will be discussed in detail with the reviews of the 1928 festival, but it should be noted here that Gaultier's appearances were less than felicitous.

It is impossible to know what the source performers might have thought of Gaultier's desire to be one of them. In the documentation of these festivals they are voiceless people. We have only an indirect, and, I sense, distorted view of them. It seems possible though, as adults and accomplished artists in their own right, they might have been able to see Gaultier's gesture as the compliment, however misguided, that she intended it to be.

Arthur Lismer and the Quebec Festivals

The elaborate productions of the 1928 festival demanded scenery. In addition to all the organizational work involved in preparing scripts and performances, Barbeau and Gibbon also concerned themselves with the design of stage settings. The documentation concerning these stage settings gives considerable insight into the organization of the 1928 festival. The setting for "Robin et Marion"

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[42]Gibbon, Letter to J. Gaultier, 21 March 1928.

was designed at the Metropolitan Opera, but all other stage settings for the 1928 Quebec festival were designed by Canadian artist Arthur Lismer.

Arthur Lismer was born in Sheffield, England in 1885. He studied art in England and Antwerp and did not immigrate to Canada until 1911, when he was in his early thirties. Lismer settled in Toronto where he became a member of the emerging Group of Seven painters. From 1919 to 1927 he was a vice principal at Ontario College of Art. He then became the director of the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario). Barbeau's association with Lismer can be traced back at least to 1925. In August of that year, Gibbon provided transportation for Lismer and fellow artist A.Y. Jackson so that they could visit Ile d'Orléans with Barbeau. Some of the sketches resulting from this trip appeared in Canadian Forum between 1925 and 1928.[43] It seems likely that Barbeau also took the two artists farther down the St. Lawrence, as a sketch of Ile-aux-Coudres by Lismer was later published in Canadian Forum. Jackson and Lismer may have been the "Painters and artists from abroad" mentioned in the 1927 programme notes who had developed colour schemes for the textiles produced by the Cimon family of Baie St-Paul.

Sketches and paintings by Jackson and Lismer also appeared at the 1927 and 1928 festivals as part of the exhibits of art works

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[43]Arthur Lismer, "Habitant Interior," CF 6(1925), 81; "Windmill and Barn, Isle aux Coudres, CF 7(1926), 199; "French Canadian Church, Evening," CF 8(1928), 503; and "In a Habitant House," CF 8(1928), 645.

depicting Quebec.[44] Jackson was a native Montrealer, so his work may not have resulted exclusively from this trip with Barbeau, but Lismer's sketches of Quebec seem more likely to have.

In April 1927, Lismer wrote Barbeau expressing his desire to see the first Quebec festival:

> I have been thinking about this French Canadian Festival in May and that I would like to see it. Do you think there would be much opportunity of getting some interesting material in the way of drawings? and if so do you think it is possible to persuade Mr. Murray Gibbon to [give] me transportation? and perhaps I could produce something for him that might be useful.[45]

Lismer apparently did attend the 1927 festival and sketched extensively. His pictures of craftsworkers Mme. Lachance, Mme. Leblond and Mme. and M. Plante and of singer Phileas Bédard, decorated the covers of the 1928 daily programmes. Some of these sketches also appeared in Barbeau's later publications.

The success of the 1927 event, and the expanded programme for 1928, drew Lismer into a much larger role and with him Eric Brown of the National Art Gallery. In January 1928, Barbeau reported that Brown had volunteered to take charge of the lighting and stage setting for the coming festival. At that time, the National Art Gallery shared the Victoria Building in Ottawa with the National Museum, so Brown and Barbeau were in close proximity daily. While in Toronto in February, Barbeau also approached Lismer and later reported to Gibbon:

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[44]These art works were; A.Y. Jackson: 1927 festival: "A Quebec Village," "Village on the St. Lawrence," "Ste. Agnes, Quebec," "St. Fidele," "La Malbaie"; 1928 festival: "Quebec," "Winter, Quebec," "A Quebec Village," and "Pic Island."

Arthur Lismer: 1927 festival: "A Quebec Village," "Habitant Farm, Ile d'Orleans," "Quebec Uplands," "Drawings," "Sketches"; 1928 festival: "Quebec Landscape and "Group of Sketches."

[45]Arthur Lismer, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 24 April 1927.

> Lismer would be most delighted to do what he can in connection with Brown . . . the whole idea appeals to him very much and he was planning in his mind how things could be combined and shifted for the sake of economy.[46]

The chief responsiblity for designing and building stage settings seems to have fallen to Lismer, who worked out of the Toronto Art Gallery. Brown was listed in the 1928 programme as a collaborator, but his role is unclear.

The stage settings for "L'Ordre de Bon Temps," "Madame de Repentigny" and "Forestiers et Voyageurs," as well as stage settings for performances given by Jeanne Dusseau, the Bytown Troubadours and the children dancers of Mme. Duquet were all designed and made by Lismer, who seems to have worked for no more than the cost of materials, and transportation. Of him Barbeau stated:

> Lismer is a man of experience and imagination, a good artist who would enter into any such scheme as we might find interesting and would help through his technical ability and talent,[47]

and this assessment seems to have been an accurate one.

Lismer agreed to design simple scenery which would not further strain the considerably extended budget of the 1928 festival, and that could also be adapted for further use at the New Canadian Folksong, Folk Dance and Handicraft Festival, which was planned for Winnipeg in June. When Gibbon visited Toronto in April 1928, he met with Lismer to discuss scenery and reported to Barbeau that the proposed designs were "simple and beautiful."[48] About a week later, Lismer wrote Barbeau, explaining his plans in detail. Few photographs of the actual stages of

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[46]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 14 February 1928.

[47]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 14 March 1928.

[48]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 15 April 1928.

the Quebec festival survive and it is chiefly through this letter that the scenery can be reconstructed.

At that time, Lismer reported that he had nearly completed one of the largest settings, the backdrop for Duquet's children. He stated of this: "It is a pictorial idea of an old French Mediaeval tapestry."[49] A picture which appeared many years later in Barbeau's Rossignol Y Chant, shows Duquet's children in costume on stage. Behind them is a canvas backdrop which depicts a bank of trees which look very much like birch in the foreground. Through them is an arched bridge over a river, and, in the distance, a castle perched on a very high, wooded hill, framed by windswept clouds. Except for the bridge and castle, the subject matter and composition of this backdrop is strikingly Canadian. It is the sort of representation of a French mediaeval tapestry that could only have been done by one of the Group of Seven (see Fig. 4).

Lismer's main stage setting was adaptable to a number of performances. The habitant interior which served as a backdrop for the Bytown Troubadours was altered to become the stage setting for "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" and changed again for "Madame de Repentigny." A ceiling which sloped up towards the audience was added for the latter two productions, and different furniture and wall decorations were used. The less elaborate sets were simple backdrops:

> The Voyageur group set offers little difficulty and I was able to show Mr. Gibbon this setting in position in miniature--and it is simple and involves little extra expense. It is painted on the back of one of the other sets and will be played in evening light--with the reflected glow of the campfire.[50]

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[49]Lismer, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 15 April 1928.

[50]Lismer to C.M. Barbeau, 15 April 1928.

Fig. 4. Local Quebec City children who danced at the Quebec festival under the direction of Mme. Arthur Duquet. This photograph was probably taken in the Chateau Frontenac ballroom at the 1928 Quebec festival. If so, the setting is by Arthur Lismer.
Credit: National Museum of Canada, J 5106.

The letter contained a sketch which showed a scene of beached canoes and a campfire in the foreground, pine trees in the background. When "Forestiers et Voyageurs" was produced at the 1928 festival, it was reported in Le Devoir that this stage setting provoked spontaneous applause from the audience as the curtain lifted.[51]

Lismer also worked out the details of scene shifts. In the same letter he reported to Barbeau:

> This is the easiest way of handling the various scene shifts--according to our side of the problem--The general plan is to have all those items that are enacted on back stage alternated with an item which I am assuming will take place in everyday costume or evening dress, with piano or orchestra before [in front of] the second curtain, so that we can proceed with the change of scenery and necessary changes in lighting.[52]

As an example he stated that the 24 May opening night concert could be arranged so that the scene would shift from the Bytown Troubadours' performance in the habitant interior setting to the forestage, where the Hart House Quartet would perform, then back to the scenery which, during that performance had been transformed for "Madame de Repentigny." This advice was taken and the first half of the 24 May evening concert proceeded according to Lismer's schedule.

Lismer was interested in making these stage settings as accurate as possible. He wrote Barbeau for information on the coats of arms of various characters in "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" to ensure that these designs would be historically correct. At the time of his 24 April letter, Lismer was uncertain about the details of this stage setting and asked Barbeau for more information:

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[51]Romain-Octave Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8.

[52]Lismer, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 15 April 1928.

> Perhaps you can secure an authentic description of the interior of the habitation in which [L'Ordre de Bon Temps] was supposed to take place--the references I have consulted do not give much idea of it.[53]

Lismer was certainly a valuable collaborator in the 1927 and 1928 festivals. But in addition to his literal presence he was, as a member of the Group of Seven, a symbolic presence as well. The Group of Seven led a movement in painting which emerged in the 1920s as the first successful attempt to create an art that was both distinctly Canadian in content and form, and recognized internationally as work of great merit. Motivated by a desire to capture the spirit of Canada, these painters felt that "truly meaningful expression was accomplished only when one dealt with subjects that the viewer shared with the artist."[54] So they set out to portray the land, and in doing so developed "a distinctive visual language"[55] which was expressed in the first art to come out of Canada that was not simply imitative of European styles.

Such a development gave great hope to a nationalist such as Barbeau. In his article "Canadian Folk Songs as a National Asset" he made this quite clear:

> From an artistic and literary standpoint our country has not yet truly come into its own. Our national soul has not yet grown beyond infancy. . . . Canada is, for the art world, what it was geographically in the days of Voltaire--a few acres of ice and snow. . . . Only in one field have we so far created a favourable impression abroad, I mean in that of painting. The Wembly and the Paris Exhibitions, and various

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[53]Lismer, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 15 April 1928.

[54]Denis Reid, A Concise History of Painting in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 136-137. Reid's emphasis.

[55]Reid, p. 135.

> minor exhibitions abroad, have established the truth that Canadian painting has at last moved on, has achieved distinction and individuality, that our younger painters both in Toronto and Montreal--particularly the Group of Seven--are already contributing a new chapter in the history of art, a chapter that belongs to Canada alone. What of music?[56]

Perhaps if Barbeau had understood the reasons for the success of this national movement in Canadian painting, he might have been in a better position to encourage the growth of a national music. Artists like those in the Group of Seven succeeded because they attempted to portray the landscape as it appeared to them: harsh, chaotic and primal, rather than as it might look through the taming filter of European sensibilities. In doing so, they created an art that was Canadian rather than colonial in outlook. This art was successful as a national movement because it evoked a sense of recognition in Canadians that European derived art could not. While the style of the Group of Seven may seem staid by today's standards, it was revolutionary for its time. When Group of Seven member J.E.H. MacDonald exhibited his landscape "The Tangled Garden" for the first time in Toronto in 1916, he was "publicly accused of having thrown 'his paint pots in the face of the public'",[57] and critic Hector Charlesworth, "who from that time became a persistent and often vicious enemy of the Group, found the painting a crude affront."[58]

In his brief essay, "Canadian and Colonial Painting," critic Northrop Frye gives us a model for understanding the national painting movement in Canada and the controversy that surrounded it. Frye's work

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[56]Barbeau, "Canadian Folk Songs as a National Asset," p. 3.

[57]Reid, p. 144.

[58]Reid, p. 144.

is useful in understanding the contemporary, less successful attempt to promote a national music movement in Canada. In this essay, Frye notes a relevant problem to the Canadian imagination which lies in the land itself:

> . . . a large tract of vacant land may well affect the people living near it as too much cake does a small boy: an unknown but quite possibly horrible Something stares at them in the dark: hide under the bedclothes as long as they will, sooner or later they must stare back.[59]

What distinguishes Canadian art from the colonial art, in Frye's opinion, is the ability to face that unknown Something without taking refuge under the bedclothes. To make his point he contrasts the work of two Canadian painters: Tom Thomson, the immediate forerunner and cultural icon of the Group of Seven, and Horatio Walker, a Canadian whose European-style depictions of Quebecois rural inhabitants were immensely popular. These two men were roughly contemporary; although Walker was more than twenty years older than Thomson, his lifespan encompassed the much briefer life of the younger artist. Frye explains:

> When the Canadian sphinx brought her riddle of unvisualized land to Thomson, it did not occur to him to hide under the bedclothes, though she did not promise him money, fame, happiness or even self-confidence, and when she was through with him she scattered his bones in the wilderness. Horatio Walker, one of those wise and prudent men from whom the greater knowledges are concealed, felt differently. It was safety and bedclothes for him. He looked around wildly for some spot in Canada that had been thoroughly lived in, that had no ugly riddles and plenty of picturesque clichés. He found it in the Ile d'Orléans.
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> And for all Canadians and Americans under the bedclothes who wanted, not new problems of forms and outline, but the predigested picturesque, who preferred dreamy association-responses to detached efforts of organized vision . . . Horatio Walker was just the thing.[60]

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[59]Northrop Frye, "Canadian and Colonial Painting," in The Bush Garden: Essay on the Canadian Imagination (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1971), p. 199.

[60]Frye, pp. 201-202.

It is striking that Walker found his subject matter on Ile d'Orléans, one of Barbeau's chief field areas.

Barbeau and Gibbon, like the nationalist painters of their time, were faced with the problem of presenting an unknown to an audience. The painters were concerned with the dilemma of presenting a landscape to its people in a way that would make that landscape significant and knowable. Barbeau and Gibbon were similarly trying to present French Canada to urbanized educated anglophones in a way that would promote a sense of national unity.

Barbeau especially hoped that these festivals would be able to inspire an art that was, like the work of contemporary painters, both distinctly Canadian and of recognizable merit. Both organizers hoped that their efforts would contribute to national unity and the emerging sense of Canadian identity. However, Barbeau and Gibbon chose as their mode of presentation the folk festival, a tourist attraction. As MacCannel notes, the tourist attraction does not allow deep understanding.

In choosing to concentrate on the quaint, picturesque and decidedly European aspects of Quebec's culture, the organizers of the Quebec festivals took an essentially colonial approach to their subject matter. In short, they were trying to accomplish the goals of Tom Thomson with the aesthetic sensibilities of Horatio Walker. And, while the Quebec festivals might have stimulated a patronizing fondness for some aspects of Quebec's culture among some Anglo-Canadians, these events did not evoke the sense of recognition so vital to the development of a national art, or a national identity. It is significant that Hector Charlesworth, critic of the Group of Seven and staunch defender

of colonial sensibilities, was present at the 1928 Quebec festival and loved it.

The national movement in painting succeeded because the artists involved presented their material in ways that evoked a shock of recognition which brought Canadians face to face with our landscape. This made it possible to integrate a frightening unknown into the growing sense of Canadian identity. In many ways French Canada was (and remains) an equally disquieting unknown to Anglo-Canadians. The Quebec festivals did not accomplish the nationalist goal of making this cultural unknown into a knowable entity. Perhaps this was because the organizers chose to present their material using a superficial medium and a colonial approach. Unlike the nationalist painters, Barbeau and Gibbon were unwilling to shock their audience. Perhaps because of this, the Quebec festivals offered little which would help Anglo-Canadians understand French Canada, and integrate it into their sense of national identity.

The E.W. Beatty Competition

The outcome of the E.W. Beatty Competition for Compositions based on Canadian Folk Melodies provided a focus for many of the evening concerts at the 1928 festival. This competition, which had been announced at the closing of the 1927 festival, offered $3,000 in prize money: $1,000 each for orchestral suite, and cantata, $500 for string quartet, $250 each for arrangements for male voices and mixed voices. The adjudicators were all major musicians, chosen to give artistic credibility to the competition: Sir Hugh Allen, principal of the London Conservatory of Music, Ralph Vaughan Williams, who was in the forefront of England's national music movement, Eric De Lamarter,

Associate Director of the Chicago Symphony, and Achille Fortier, teacher and composer of Montreal. These judges were chosen so that European as well as North American musicians were involved in choosing the winning pieces, and Fortier was the only Canadian.

Achille Fortier was born in 1864, so that by the time of the Quebec festivals he was no longer young. He had been the first Canadian to undertake full-time study at the Paris Conservatoire in 1885. After completing his studies, he returned to Montreal in 1890 where he taught voice and composition and also worked as a translator for the federal government. In 1893, his Vingt Chansons populaires du Canada was published, indicating a long interest in the folk music of Quebec. Folksongs arranged by Fortier had been performed at the 1919 Veillées du bon vieux temps and the 1927 Quebec festival.

The Beatty Competition was intended to encourage the growth of a national music for Canada and in reviews of the 1927 festival, the francophone newspapers, Le Devoir, Le Soleil and Le Droit had all praised the CPR for its efforts in this direction. However, the Beatty Competition became the cause of much discord and, rather than encouraging feelings of national unity, it seems to have deepened a sense of cultural isolation among the young composers of Quebec. This unfortunate outcome arose from the fact that the Beatty Competition was open to competitors from any country. The young musicians of Quebec, who had almost without exception been educated in France, felt that they could not compete successfully with Europeans, and refused to try.

The first sign of these sentiments came in February 1928. At that time, Barbeau reported to Gibbon that he had approached Georges-Emile Tanguay, then organist at L'Eglise Immaculée-Conception in Quebec

City, to see if Tanguay might arrange some music for the 1928 event. But Tanguay declined and Barbeau reported later that "he and a few others had been disappointed at your admitting foreign composers in the prize competitions; for that reason they didn't feel like exerting themselves for the festival."[61] A few weeks later, Gibbon reported a similar feeling among "some of the Montreal younger musicians." "They feel," he stated, "that we give preference to outsiders."[62] Both Barbeau and Gibbon stated in these letters that they felt these musicians were being unreasonable.

Because other musicians who had been active in the 1927 festival continued to contribute arrangements for the forthcoming event, this response from the younger Quebec musicians did not pose a problem to the festival itself. For the Beatty Competition however, this attitude created serious concerns. As the competition progressed, the resentment of the young French-Canadian composers manifested itself as a full boycott. There can be no question that the competition suffered as a result of this action. Early in 1928, Gibbon reported: "Achille Fortier went over the compositions . . . and tells me that we have excellent compositions for orchestra, string quartet and male voices. The mixed voice arrangments are rather disappointing, and the Cantatas are all quite poor."[63] These latter two categories would continue to pose problems. The cantata award will be discussed in detail below, but the $250 prize for mixed voices was finally divided into two smaller prizes of $150 and $100 each, presumably because the

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[61]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 20 February 1928.

[62]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 17 March 1928.

[63]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 12 January 1928.

adjudicators did not feel that any one entry deserved the full award.

Much of the information concerning the behind-the-scenes events of the Beatty Competition is found in Frédéric Pelletier's regular column "La Vie Musicale" in Le Devoir of Montreal. Pelletier was a former pupil of contest adjudicator Achille Fortier, and music editor for Le Devoir from 1911 to 1944. He came from a distinguished family of Montreal musicians.[64]

In his column on 12 May 1928, Pelletier described the situation of an unnamed French-Canadian composer, whom Pelletier believed was the only francophone to have entered the competition. In fact, awards would be given to two francophones: Pierre Gautier and Claude Champagne. But Gautier's music was arranged in a popular, rather than classical vein; his prize winning arrangements for male voices were performed at the 1928 festival by the Bytown Troubadours. Also, because he resided in Ottawa and had not immigrated from France until 1920 at the age of forty-seven he lived outside of Pelletier's sphere of influence. Champagne was a native of Montreal who had, as a young man, studied piano and theory with Romain-Octave Pelletier I, father of Le Devoir's music editor. Although Champagne was studying music in Paris at the time of the Beatty Competition, he was more firmly a part of the musical life of Quebec than was Gautier, and Pelletier's description in Le Devoir leaves little doubt that it was Champagne who was being described.

Pelletier stated that Champagne had only decided to enter the competition a few days before the closing date, and for this reason

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[64]Gilles Potvin, "Frédéric [Pelletier]," EMC.

"was not able to provide the ending [to the piece] of which I know he is capable."[65] Pelletier assumed that Champagne's entry would be unsuccessful and felt that this was only to be expected as the other contestants had had more time to polish their entries. Pelletier also discussed the boycott of the Beatty Competition by French-Canadian composers. He noted that these musicians had chosen to boycott because they felt that the competition would attract large numbers of competitors from abroad, especially from France, and that the young French-Canadian composers did not feel that they would be able to compete with such people. He stated that if these French-Canadian composers had realized that the majority of competitors would be English-Canadians, the boycott would not have occurred. Pelletier concluded this item by stating that those who had boycotted the Beatty Competition because of feelings of inferiority had only themselves to blame.

The boycott of the Beatty Competition by French-Canadian composers is an example of the feelings of cultural inferiority suffered at this time by both anglophone and francophone Canadians in relation to their respective parent cultures. The French-Canadian composers, having been educated in France, were acutely aware of the quality of music being produced in that country and did not wish to place themselves in competition with French composers. The Anglo-Canadian composers, who were often either British immigrants or Canadians educated in North America, were probably less aware of the competition that might have come from France. In fact, it seems unlikely that it would have occurred to the anglophone composers to expect European French

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[65] Frédéric Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 12 mai 1928, p. 6, trans. Gary Butler.

competitors in the Beatty Competition. This competition did not apparently draw many entrants from outside of Canada; only one minor prize was awarded to a non-Canadian. This was one of three unplanned "honorary mention" awards of $100, which was given to Wyatt Pargeter of Bournemouth, England for her string quartet.

The piece Claude Champagne entered in the Beatty Competition did not quite meet the artistic standards set by the adjudicators, probably for the reasons given by Frédéric Pelletier in Le Devoir. Because of this, the $1,000 prize for cantata was divided into two smaller awards. Champagne received the first prize of $750 and the second prize was not awarded. This is somewhat ironic because Champagne was one of the few composers in Canada who seemed to take the national school of music to heart, and who would continue to make "discriminating and intelligent use of French-Canadian folk-song" in his compositions.[66]

The prize winning cantata is not mentioned by name in any literature concerning the Quebec festivals, but it seems likely to have been Champagne's Suite Canadienne for choir and orchestra. This piece incorporated folk music themes and was completed in 1928. If Suite Canadienne was the cantata in question here, it was probably re-worked by Champagne, as it was later warmly received when presented by the Concerts Pasdeloup orchestra in Paris. This work, which was later published by Durant, was one of the first Canadian compositions of its kind to be debuted in Paris.[67]

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[66]Jean-Marie Beaudet, "Composition," in Music in Canada, ed. Ernest MacMillan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 59.

[67]Desaultels, p. 107.

Other winners of the E.W. Beatty Competition for Compositions Based on Canadian Folk Melodies were announced to the press just prior to the beginning of the 1928 festival. Arthur Cleland Lloyd, a native of Vancouver who was just twenty years old, was awarded the $1,000 prize for orchestral suite. Lloyd had studied in Chicago with Percy Granger, one of the leaders of England's national music movement, and with Harold Bauer in New York. The $500 prize for suite for string quartet was awarded to George Bowles, who was born in Quebec but had resided in Winnipeg for more than thirty years prior to 1928. Bowles was organist at St. Luke's Church in that city, and a teacher of music theory. The $250 prize for arrangement for male voices was awarded to Ernest MacMillan. The $250 prize for arrangement for mixed voices was divided into two lesser awards: $150 went to Alfred E. Whitehead, who was then organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal and a teacher at the McGill Conservatorium, and $100 was awarded to a colleague, Irvin Cooper, who lectured in music theory at McGill.

In addition there were three honorary mention prizes of $100 each: another award was given to George Bowles for his orchestral suite, the aforementioned Miss Wyatt Pageter was awarded for her string quartet, and Pierre Gaultier was awarded for a "group of four chansons arranged for male voices, which did not conform strictly to the terms of the Competition but was recommended for some award."[68]

The Beatty Competition was never repeated. It was an expensive undertaking for its time, and clearly failed in its artistic goal of encouraging high quality compositions based on Canadian folk music and

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[68] Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival [1928], p. 26.

cultural goal of helping the growth of a national music for Canada. In 1929, Barbeau admitted that the results of the Beatty Competition did not justify its renewal.[69] The fact that the Beatty Competition failed so conclusively in its goals can certainly be attributed in part to the unfortunate boycott by French-Canadian composers who might have contributed to it significantly. These composers had received excellent musical education in France and were more likely to be familiar with the folk music of Quebec than their anglophone counterparts. It is difficult to say whether the kinds of goals set by the promoters of the Quebec festivals could actually be achieved in a competitive format, but it seems certain that the Beatty Competition would have come closer to its aims had this boycott not occurred.

Other Features of the 1928 Quebec Festival

Another innovation at the 1928 Quebec festival was the huge costume ball which was held on the evening of Monday, 28 May, and served as the grand finale for five days of activity. Gibbon had conceived the staging of this event as a means of gaining badly needed revenue when the enormous cost of the 1928 festival became apparent.[70] Barbeau suggested that the costume ball be based on Quebec Mardi Gras customs, but Gibbon felt that this would not be appropriate as Mme. Tashereau, wife of the premier of Quebec, had agreed to act as hostess of this event. Gibbon reported that Mme. Tashereau wanted a historical costume ball, and he felt that an event based on the Mardi Gras customs of the ordinary people might encourage rowdiness, which he wished to

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[69] Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 7 May 1929.

[70] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 20 March 1928.

avoid at all costs.[71] The plans for the costume ball proceeded according to Gibbon's wishes.

Gibbon's concern with rowdy behaviour is significant. In a discussion of festivals and similar events, folklorist Roger Abrahams has stated:

> These are times when "anything goes"--at least in principle--times when people give themselves the licence to play, to drink and eat and shout and dance too much. Or they willingly enter into inchoate worlds where they may be taken-in, or do some taking-in of their own; they may fool others or be made the fool.[72]

The fact that Gibbon wished to avoid this type of behaviour indicates that he was aware of this aspect of the nature of a festival. It may be that experiences at the 1927 event had given him this knowledge. Barbeau had noted the tendency of the source performers to over-indulge at the first event.[73] While discussing the problems associated with the professional performers, Gibbon had stated: "Most of them were drunkards in 1927, or did not come."[74] It is also significant that Gibbon felt a costume ball based on Mardi Gras customs might compound the possibility of untoward behaviour. In this he seems to have felt that the combination of the environment of this new folk festival with the cultural trappings and remembered experience of a more established festival would only compound the danger of people recognizing this as a time for licentious behaviour.

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[71] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 23 March 1928.

[72] Abrahams, p. 303.

[73] See the quote from Barbeau's letter of 1 May 1928 on page 107 of this chapter.

[74] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 6 January 1928.

Perhaps to avoid the rowdiness that Gibbon feared, it was decided that the costume ball should be attended by invitation only, though invitations were issued automatically to those who subscribed to all the festival concerts. The cost of this event was also prohibitive: in spite of invitations there was a $5 admission fee, though this did include dinner. Costumes, which could be rented at the Chateau Frontenac through Holt Renfrew, also began at $5, making the attendance of this ball an expensive undertaking for the time.

The issuing of costumes for this ball was supervised by Drew McKenna, and each guest was required to register his or her costume in advance to avoid duplication. McKenna ran a theatrical costume supply house in Toronto, and the costumes belonged to his company. He was listed in the 1928 programmes as a "well known authority on folk costume." While he may have been an authority on historical costume, there is little evidence to indicate that McKenna was an expert on folk costume, nor would he need to be to supervise the ball staged at the Quebec festival in 1928.

This is an example of the tendency to confuse folk culture with anything historical which muddled the presentation of folklore at the Quebec festivals. This confusion of folk culture with history came mainly from Gibbon; Barbeau had a much firmer concept of folk culture as the lore of contemporary people because of his field experiences. Gibbon on the other hand, showed a marked tendency to regard the high culture of past times as folk culture. This is demonstrated by the fact that he regarded "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion" as traditional. This confusion of history and folk culture was not uncommon in the early decades of this century. Such confusions seems to have stemmed from

an attachment to the primitivist ideal and the national romantic school of thought. Primitivism caused those interested in folklore to identify the simpler, more unified lifestyle of other peoples (in this case rural French-Canadians) as something that was more common in the past. The national romantic school of thought encouraged the attitude that folklore was an expression of the Golden Age of past times, causing further confusion of folklore with history.

In addition to innovative features such as the costume ball and theatrical productions, the 1928 festival maintained many of the characteristics of the 1927 event. Classical arrangements of traditional music other than the prize winning entries in the Beatty Competition were performed. Source performers appeared not only in the production of "Madame de Repentigny," but also in evening and afternoon concerts as they had in the first festival. Handicraft displays continued as well.

Most of the source performers at the 1928 festival had been present at the first festival as well, but there were some changes in personnel. Jacques Garneau, the champion dancer who had appeared at the 1927 festival with his gold medal pinned to his chest, died during the winter. He was replaced in 1928 by eighty-seven year old Pierre Guérin, who was reportedly born in Chateauguay County, though he lived near Ottawa at the time of the festival.[75] Fiddler Johnnie Bovin was replaced without explanation by Elisée Ouellet and his four sons: Cyrice, Elie, Jean and Alphonse, from Témiscouata County on the lower St. Lawrence. The 1928 general programme stated: "They know a vast

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[75] Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival: General Programme [1928], p. 3.

number of cotillions, jigs, reels and country dances--of French, Scottish and Irish extraction.[76] The Ouellets played their tunes in unison and accompanied themselves by clogging.

The two Gaspésien fishermen, François Saint-Laurent and Joseph Ouellette, were dropped from the 1928 programme for the practical and financial reasons outlined by Gibbon. These men were replaced by singers Joseph Rousselle and François Lavallée. Rousselle was born in Kamouraska County. Like Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny, Rousselle was a former lumberjack who had retired to Montreal and first appeared on stage in 1919 at the Veillées du bon vieux temps. In the 1928 general programme notes Barbeau stated:

> He recites folktakes and lumbercamp yarns in highly dramatic style. He knows a large number of ballads, complaintes [laments] and narrative songs such as are current in eastern Quebec and northern France. But his work and dance songs are best adapted to his voice and temperment.[77]

François Lavallée was a farmer from Berthier County. Barbeau reported of him: "his best songs are those intended for the rhythm of manual work."[78]

The 1928 festival saw an increased emphasis placed on the craft of wood carving. The first festival had featured some wood carvings among the more general exhibit of crafts, artifacts and paintings. These wood carvings were the work of an unknown craftsman of Ste-Marie, Beauce county, and Louis Jobin, a master carver of Ste-Anne

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[76] Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival: General Programme [1928], p. 3.

[77] Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival: General Programme [1928], p. 3.

[78] Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival General Programme [1928], p. 3.

de Beaupré. The 1927 general programme contained notes on Jobin written by Barbeau. Barbeau stated that Jobin represented a tradition of sculpture and architecture which could be traced back to the school founded at Cap Tourmente in 1669 by Bishop Laval.

For the second festival, Barbeau decided to draw more attention to the craft of wood carving. In March 1928 he noted in a letter to Gibbon:

> I would like to have two of the Quebec carvers at the Chateau and to lay more emphasis this year on the de Laval School of Sculpture. These two carvers would take the place of the Huron group [who appeared] last year in the rotunda and we could equip something like a nice little studio for carving there. Patry and Angers, the sculptors, have their shop on Aiguillon St. in Quebec.[79]

In the section of the 1928 general programme devoted to wood carvers, Barbeau again mentioned the de Laval school of sculpture and stated that he felt these craftmen to be direct descendants of this school. He also stated that the study of this type of carving and its historical antecedents had begun a few years before by the National Museum and the Department of Architecture at McGill. Barbeau named four carvers in these notes who were to demonstrate their craft at the festival: Henri Angers, Georges Trudelle, Alfred Carbonneau and Victor Vézina. An unnamed reviewer for the New York Times provided a detailed description of the carvers at work, but names only Alfred Carbonneau and one of the men Barbeau had mentioned in March, Edmond Patry, so it is difficult to know for certain which of these five men actually did demonstrate at the 1928 festival. The group picture taken at this event only shows two carvers (see Fig. 5).

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[79] Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 30 March 1928.

Fig. 5. This group picture was taken in the Chateau Frontenac at the 1928 Quebec festival. Beginning at the bottom left-hand corner: Two daughters of Mme. Jean-Baptiste Leblond, Mme. Leblond, two more daughters, and youngest seated on hooked mat, dancers Victoria Paquin and Pierre Guérin, Elisée Ouellet and his four sons (all with violins), Mme. Napoléon Lachance seated at spinning wheel. Two unidentified wood carvers with aprons and chisels. To the left: three women of uncertain identity, perhaps Mme. F.X. Cimon and daughters. Marius Barbeau centre (with necktie). Directly above him, M. Alphonse Plante. Two women with aprons and woman to the left of the uppermost one is unknown. Woman in bonnet to the left of Barbeau is Mme. Alphonse Plante; beside her to the left, Mme. Napoléon Lord, above Mme. Lord, Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny. To the left of Mme. Lord, Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, above Massicotte, Joseph Rouselle, to the left of Massicotte, François Lavallée and unknown woman. The woman with the ceinture fléchée is probably Mme. Odilon Vigneault and the young woman to the left, her daughter.

The 1928 festival also saw the introduction of a new group of amateurs. These were a group of Quebecois young people who went by the name "Country-side Merry-makers" in the general programme. These young people were organized by Mrs. Mildred Atkinson, an American by birth, who lived in St-Romuald where her husband was involved in the lumber industry. Her performers sang, danced and played music in a setting that attempted to be as natural as possible. This group seems to have performed frequently, and the money they made went to a charity called "Goutte de Lait" (drop of milk).[80]

Barbeau discussed Atkinson's group with her in January 1928. In his report to Gibbon, he exhibited his usual antipathy toward amateurs: "What she says of her group is about this--They are neither real professional artists nor actual folk singers and dancers."[81] There was quite a bit of negotiation between Atkinson and the festival organizers over the fee that this group would receive, and it seems unlikely that Gibbon would have agreed to hire these performers, but Mme. Tashereau interceded on Atkinson's behalf. This group appeared in the Sunday matinee in a presentation called "La Guignolée." The guignolée is an old French custom of collecting food and clothing for the needy in each parish and was usually performed by young people at New Year's.

Barbeau and Gibbon were responsible for finding composers to provide arrangements of folksongs and compositions based on folk music in addition to the prize winning pieces from the Beatty Competition.

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[80]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 15 February 1928.

[81]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 30 January 1928.

With a total of eight concerts planned for the 1928 festival, the results of the competition could only fill a fraction of the programme. The organizers relied on many composers who had contributed to the first festival. Healey Willan, Ernest MacMillan, Leo Smith, Alfred Laliberté, Oscar O'Brien, Achille Fortier and Henri Gagnon all contributed to the 1928 festival, as they had in 1927. The search for new arrangers and composers was hampered in 1928 by the unfortunate feelings created by the Beatty Competition. Barbeau discovered this in February 1928 when Georgés-Emile Tanguay refused to arrange music for the forthcoming festival. In spite of the Beatty Competition boycott, the second Quebec festival attracted at least four new composers: George Brewer, Alexandre D'Aragon, Léo-Pol Morin and Hector Gratton.

George Brewer was born in London, Ontario, in 1889, but spent most of his adult life in Montreal where he was an organist and an examiner for the Dominion College of Music. It is not known how he came into contact with Gibbon and Barbeau. Brewer was very interested in folk music and, unlike so many other musicians involved in the Quebec festivals, his interest extended beyond the 1920s. Between 1913 and 1935 he travelled widely, "his interest in the native musics of various countries taking him as far as Eastern Europe and North Africa."[82] In 1928, Brewer provided arrangements for the round dances performed by Madame Duquet's children. These songs included the ubiquitous "Marlbrough s'en va-t-en guerre" and the English song "Mulberry Bush" which was performed as a gesture of good will.

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[82]Stephen Willis, "George Brewer," EMC.

These arrangments were completed by mid-March, much earlier than most arrangements for this festival. However, when Barbeau examined Brewer's work he found it most objectionable. In a letter to Gibbon he stated: "These settings are thoroughly commonplace, shockingly so; there is no musical construction."[83] He also complained that the melody stayed on the top line, and the harmony was "without a plan of development." In short, Barbeau felt that Brewer's arrangements could not be used at the 1928 festival, though he regretted this. He ended the letter: "I am stating this confidentially to you, as I am deeply sorry about it all, Mr. Brewer being evidently enthusiastic and a very fine gentleman."[84]

It would have been an embarrassment to refuse Brewer's arrangements after he had done this work without payment. Perhaps because of this, Gibbon was unwilling to accept Barbeau's critique of these songs. Instead, Gibbon took this music to Harold Key, who found them quite acceptable. As Gibbon later reported to Barbeau, Key was probably impartial in this assessment as Key and Brewer were "not very friendly."[85] Gibbon then replied to Barbeau, reminding him that both Ernest MacMillan and Henri Gagnon thought highly of Brewer's work. Gibbon also reported Key's assessment of the music in question, and, perhaps with Key's coaching, suggested that Brewer may have kept the melody on the top line of each piece and made the arrangements deliberately simple because they were for children. Finally, Gibbon expressed his annoyance at Barbeau's critical standards caustically:

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[83]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 17 March 1928.

[84]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 17 March 1928.

[85]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 19 March 1928.

"You must remember that the other musicians in Canada find it difficult to live up to Ottawa standards. They are merely composers, not critics."[86]

This does appear to be one occasion in which Barbeau was being overly critical. Mme. Duquet approved of the music when it was given to her and critics passed no unfavourable comments when it was performed. However, like all the disagreements between Gibbon and Barbeau in 1928, it contributed to a weakening of their working relationship.

Alexandre D'Aragon also arranged music for Duquet's children. D'Aragon had studied music at the New England Conservatory in Boston and was the organist at St-Etienne in Montreal in 1928. When Gibbon asked Healey Willan's opinion of music prepared for the 1928 festival, D'Aragon's arrangements were included. Gibbon later reported that Willan "thought D'Aragon's arrangements had 'missed fire', (sic) and would be confusing to any except experienced singers."[87] This music may indeed have been too difficult for the children, as at the Saturday matinee when D'Aragon's arrangements were performed, the New York Times reviewer noted that the children sang "now with a surprising resonant volume, now with a pathetic plantive note."[88] This is as close to overt criticism as the New York Times reviewer ever came.

Léo-Pol Morin, another new composer at the 1928 festival, was a former student of Henri Gagnon's. He had also studied piano,

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[86]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 19 March 1928.

[87]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 23 April 1928.

[88]New York Times, 27 May 1928, p. 25.

harmony, counterpoint and fugue in Paris from 1912 to 1914, and again after World War I from 1919 to 1925. In 1927 he had collaborated with Victor Brault on the staging of a Debussy festival which was held in the CP's Windsor Hotel in Montreal. He came to the attention of Barbeau through Cédia Brault. In March 1928 Barbeau reported: "He is a sound musician of the advanced type. Madame Brault . . . tells me that he can write both very modern music or in the early classical style. We might recommend him to be rather conservative when it comes to the arrangement of this group."[89]

The piece Morin arranged was "Nocturnes and Aubades," for piano and two voices. This was performed at the 1928 festival by Cédia and Victor Brault, with Morin himself at the piano. The songs were taken from the collections of Barbeau and Massicotte. Prior to the festival, Barbeau received Morin's arrangement with excitement. He stated:

> I am very enthusiastic about the work of Léo-Pol Morin on the group. His settings are perfectly delightful and he has elaborated with great care and musicianship, preparing different settings for every line of the song.[90]

The fourth new composer, Hector Gratton, provided a piece of music which won considerable critical acclaim at the 1928 festival. Gratton was born in Hull, Quebec in 1900. As a young man he was a student of a number of the composers involved in the Quebec festivals; Alfred Laliberté had taught Gratton piano, and Oscar O'Brien and Alfred Whitehead taught him theory. Through O'Brien, Gratton met Charles Marchand, and the singer employed this young musician as a

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[89]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 1 March 1928.

[90]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 24 April 1928.

pianist and arranger from 1927 until 1930, the year of Marchand's death.[91] Gratton did not actively contribute to the Quebec festivals until 1928, but because of his close association with O'Brien and Marchand, he would certainly have been aware of, and perhaps even present at, the first festival.

Perhaps because of his youth and his involvement with the popular presentation of folk music, Gratton was apparently not taken seriously by Gibbon and Barbeau prior to the second festival. Little mention of him appears in the correspondence, and his piece, "Danse canadienne" was slotted into the Friday matinee, rather than a more prestigious evening concert. In spite of this, Gratton's work proved to be a great success with the critics. Mason, writing in the Toronto Globe stated:

> [The] programme closed with a sprightly and entertaining "Danse Canadienne" (sic) for violin and piano in 'folk style', brilliantly played by Harry Adaskin and Alfred Laliberté. . . . The piece opens and closes with astonishing ultra modern fireworks in colour, rhythm and harmony, with a slow and poetic contrasting middle section. The fun is fast and furious at the beginning, and ends with a daringly flippant little final gesture. It is an airy little morsel, capitally sustained throughout.[92]

Mason later reported that "Danse canadienne" had been repeated in an unscheduled performance later in the festival at the request of the music critics present.

Even before the start of the 1928 festival, it was apparent to the organizers that they had over extended themselves. As the festival approached, Gibbon ended a letter to Barbeau stating: "I hope your

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[91] Gilles Potvin, "Hector Gratton," EMC.

[92] Lawrence Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

hair is not turning grey. Mine is."[93] At the beginning of May several of the theatrical productions had not yet gone into rehearsal. After reporting to Gibbon some of the difficulties that were being experienced in Ottawa with the rehearsal of "Forestiers et Voyageurs," Barbeau stated: "When we stop to think of 'L'Ordre de Bon-temps' and 'Robin et Marion' that have to be put on their feet almost at the last moment, we have notions of a forthcoming disaster."[94] However, it was too late at that point to consider making extensive changes in the programme.

The 1928 Quebec Festival

The 1928 Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival ran from the evening of Thursday, 24 May to Monday, 28 May. A total of eight concerts were held: four evening concerts in the Auditorium Theatre, three matinees in the ballroom of the Chateau Frontenac, and a concert of sacred music at Quebec's basilica. The festival ended with the historic costume ball.

The sun did not shine on the second Quebec festival. Hector Charlesworth, reviewing this event for Saturday Night, stated: The elements proved unkind. The lovely and ancient city was for most of the time overwhelmed by as bleak and nasty a storm as ever chilled the bones of man."[95] Because of the weather, the handicrafts demonstrations and informal concerts which had been mounted on the lovely terrace outside the Chateau Frontenac in 1927 were confined indoors,

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[93] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 27 April 1928.

[94] Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 4 May 1928.

[95] Charlesworth, p. 5.

as were hundreds of visitors. While this may have produced a slightly claustrophobic effect, it apparently did not create an unpleasant atmosphere. Charlesworth stated:

> . . . the visitors had come to enjoy themselves and the citizens had determined that they should do so. Thus, though the elements did their worst to dampen the atmosphere they could not dampen the spirits of the throng. There were happy faces everywhere, and the vast reaches of the new Chateau Frontenac rang with good will and laughter for five full days.[96]

It is difficult to state with certainty how many people attended the 1928 festival. Lawrence Mason of the Toronto Globe stated that attendance was "greater in number and even more distinguished in character" than that of the 1927 festival.[97] The Auditorium Theatre seated 2,000 and was consistently reported to be filled for the evening concerts. The CPR later reported that 1,100 people had attended the costume ball, which was held on Monday night after many of the visitors would probably have left.[98] Assuming that the audiences of the evening concerts were not identical in make-up each night, and that many local people may simply have come to see the free handicrafts exhibits and demonstrations and the informal concerts which took place during the day, it seems safe to state that as many as 4,000 people may have attended this festival.

This festival was attended and reviewed by a number of critics. A reviewer from Quebec's Le Soleil who signed himself "Lionel" reviewed the event for that local paper. Two francophone newspapers which had noted the 1927 event with approval sent correspondents

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[96] Charlesworth, p. 5.

[97] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 25 May 1928, p. 2.

[98] Supplement to the Canadian Pacific Bulletin (n.p.: CPR), no. 229, 1 February 1928, p. 1.

to review the second festival: Le Droit of Ottawa was represented by an unnamed reporter, and Le Devoir of Montreal sent Romain-Octave Pelletier, the younger brother of critic Frédéric Pelletier, Romain-Octave, who was only twenty-four at that time, had been contributing articles on music to Le Devoir for six years.[99]

As in 1927, the New York Times sent an unnamed correspondent to cover the festival. Lawrence Mason of the Globe was again present to review the Quebec festival for that Toronto newspaper and Hector Charlesworth was also present from Toronto to gather information on the festival for an article in Saturday Night, which has been described as "English Canada's most influential weekly in the first half of the 20th century." Charlesworth was a music critic for the Toronto Mail and Empire from 1904 to 1910. From 1926 to 1932 he was the editor of Saturday Night.[100] Charlesworth was also one of the most strident critics of the national art movement in painting begun by the Group of Seven, so it is interesting that we have a record of his reactions to the Quebec festivals, which attempted to establish a parallel national music movement.

Generally speaking it seems that the critics who were closest to home, Lionel of Le Soleil and the younger Pelletier of Le Devoir, were most critical in their assessment of this event. The unnamed critic in Le Droit presented a mixed outlook. The first article he or she wrote for Le Droit on the festival was just as critical as those written by the other francophone correspondents, but after that initial piece this reporter made few serious attempts to assess the artistic

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[99]Gilles Potvin, "Romain-Octave II [Pelletier]," EMC.

[100]Margaret Holden, "Hector Charlesworth," EMC.

merit of the performances. One suspects that this reporter may have been told to be less critical by a superior at Le Droit after the first article was published.

The anglophone critics were less likely to make unfavourable comments and tended to ignore bad performances in their reviews. This is an indication that they regarded the Quebec festival more as a tourist attraction than a serious artistic event. Lawrence Mason was anxious, as usual, to promote Canadian artists and somewhat taken by the atmosphere of the event, but he was the most critical of the three anglophone writers. There are other indications that Mason took the Quebec festival seriously as an artistic event, notably the editorial "New Music for Canada" which appeared in the Globe on the Saturday of the festival.[101]

Charlesworth and the New York Times reviewer seemed to completely subjugate their critical faculties to the spell of the "atmosphere" of the event. As a result, their reviews were more descriptive than critical and even performances that were unanimously declared to be poor by the francophone critics were praised for their picturesqueness by these two writers. Charlesworth admitted his critical stance outright: "The greatest thing about the Folksong Festival is its 'atmosphere' potent as the picturesqueness of its incidental surroundings.[102] He added: "The music that was heard was not always as skillful and sophisticated as that to which concert goers are accustomed in other cities, but it had unfailing atmosphere and naivete."[10

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[101]"New Music for Canada," Editorial, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 4.

[102]Charlesworth, p. 5.

[103]Charlesworth, p. 13.

The festival did not officially open until the Thursday evening concert. However, some informal concerts and, probably, crafts demonstrations and exhibits, were presented in the Chateau Frontenac on Thursday afternoon. The New York Times reviewer noted: "When the Governor-General arrived he did not go direct to his quarters. Instead, while four bell boys waited with his luggage, he stopped to hear the habitants mingle in harmony."[104] From the reviewer's description, these "habitants" were probably the Bytown Troubadours, who were responsible for many informal, perhaps even spontaneous concerts in the course of the five days. The same reviewer later noted:

> The Bytown Quartet (sic), the members of which carry with them little benches that might be milking stools if built a little closer to the ground, sang any place and at any time. They even broke into harmony with the habitant songs between courses at luncheon.[105]

The evening concert began late because of the heavy rain. A highlight of the Thursday night concert was the presentation of the awards in the Beatty Competition. Edward Beatty himself was "unavoidably absent" and was replaced by CP Vice President A.D. MacTier, who assisted Governor-General Willingdon in the distribution of the awards. Le Soleil critic Lionel reported that the auditorium was filled to capacity. When MacTier entered with the Governor-General and requested a show of appreciation, the crowd responded with great enthusiasm for the "représentant de notre glorieux souverain" as Lionel dramatically called him.[106] This show of appreciation was probably requested in

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[104] New York Times, 25 May 1928, p. 30.

[105] New York Times, 26 May 1928, p. 15.

[106] "Lionel," Le Soleil [Quebec], 25 mai 1928, n.p.

view of the fact that the day, 24 May, was, and is, celebrated in most of Canada in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday. Ironically, in Quebec 24 May is not la fête de la reine, but la fête de Dollard des Ormeaux, in honour of an early settler who was killed in a battle with the Iroquois and is celebrated as a national hero.

The first concert consisted of the performance of several prize winning pieces, the presentation of awards, and the performance of "Madame de Repentigny et sa manufacture" and "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion." Due to problems with the length of concerts created by encores at the 1927 festival, each programme stated "owing to limitations of time there will be NO ENCORES." This concert was opened by the Bytown Troubadours, singing folksongs arranged by Pierre Gautier, including his prize winning harmonizations for "Le Bal Chez Boulé" and "M'en vas a la fontaine." As usual, the performance of the Bytown Troubadours was highly competent and well received.

The second item in this concert was the performance of George Bowles' prize winning string quartet performed by the Hart House Quartet, who were beyond question among the most competent musicians at the Quebec festivals. This piece provoked little comment from the anglophone critic, but drew praise from the francophone press. The correspondent from Le Droit felt that the folksong motifs used in this work were well chosen and stated: ". . . the piece is solid and sombre, the development touching, the execution brilliant, truly delightful music."[107] Romain-Octave Pelletier went so far as to declare this piece "la pièce de résistance" of the festival. He stated:

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[107] Le Droit [Ottawa], 25 mai 1928, p. 1, trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

> This is a work which does not stray from the beaten path, but which demonstrates a competence and a remarkable sentiment, lacking only a little lightness [un peu de souffle]. . . . It is in a word a pretty piece which will enrich the art of Canadian music.[108]

Bowles' piece was followed by "Madame de Repentigny et sa manufacture." All the critics who dealt with this work agreed that outstanding performances were given by soprano Jeanne Dusseau and source performer Phileas Bédard. However, as a play "Madame de Repentigny" apparently lacked dramatic development. R.O. Pelletier felt that this production was nothing more than "a pretext to expose the audience to the pretty voice of Madame Jeanne Dusseau,"[109] and Lionel seems to have agreed when he stated that the other trained singers, "Mlles. Davis and Aubery satisfactorily filled their rather superfluous roles which could not furnish them the least occasion to show their talents."[110]

After "Madame de Repentigny" came the performance of three of Ernest MacMillan's prize-winning arrangements for male voices. These were performed by the local male choir, the Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique, the group which Barbeau and Gibbon had debated including in the programme of the second festival when they began making plans for this event. Perhaps it is significant that most critics failed to comment on this performance. The critic in Le Droit stated that it was less than satisfactory:

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[108] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8. trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

[109] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai, 1928, p. 8, trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

[110] "Lionel," Le Soleil [Quebec], 25 mai 1928, p. 10.

> Did the singers not have time to prepare or was the performance of these charming compositions of Mr. MacMillan beyond their capacity? In any case the execution left much to be desired in terms of interpretation, rhythm and exactness.[111]

It seems that in this case at least, Barbeau's concern that amateurs would fail to meet the artistic standards of the festival proved to be justified.

The presentation of the awards for the Beatty Competition is noteworthy only because CP Vice-President A.D. MacTier "remarked very felicitously that all the prize winners were Canadians, except one, and he was an Englishman, 'which is next best'."[112] That Englishman was actually an English woman, and one can only wonder if the francophones present in the audience agreed with MacTier's assessment of who was "next best" to a Canadian.

The final item on Thursday evening's programme was "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion" which was also repeated on Saturday evening. The critical comments made about the initial performance of this opera demonstrate the difference in attitudes of anglophone and francophone critics. The New York Times critic seems to see this performance as the highlight of the evening:

> . . . two thousand people came to laugh and applaud the primitive love triangle plot of "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion." . . . The setting of the bucolic triumph of Robin, a peasant, over the high-born chevalier, for the hand of Marion was delightfully naive. One tree bore the sign, "Un Arbre" and a second tree another sign, "Un Autre Arbre."[113]

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[111] Le Droit [Ottawa], 25 mai 1928, p. 1.

[112] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 25 May 1928, p. 2.

[113] New York Times, 25 May 1928, p. 30.

Lawrence Mason stated that "a cast of the highest calibre sang and acted."[114] Of the anglophone critics, only Hector Charlesworth gave any indication that this performance might have been less than perfect. He noted that the opera featured "brief airs very quaint and primitive, and a modern orchestral setting. This was conducted by Wilfred Pelletier, and for modern ears the orchestra was the best part of it."[115]

Of the francophone critics however, only Lionel of Le Soleil did not condemn this piece. He called it "an interesting picture of life in the Middle Ages," and stated that he would be happy to see the reprise.[116] In contrast, the reviewer for Le Droit dismissed "Robin et Marion" curtly:

> M. Ralph Errolle, a pleasant tenor, was the life [le boute-en train] of this piece which offers little of interest aside from being a respectable antiquity, though out-dated.[117]

Romain-Octave Pelletier was most harsh in his criticisms. He regretted having to state his opinions for the sake of director Wilfred Pelletier (no relation), whom he referred to as "one of our countrymen who does us proud," but stated:

> . . . we must admit, aside from the conductor and two or three of the performers, Le Jeu de Robin et Marion disappointed many people. The piece itself which dates from the XIIIth century has but an archeological value with the occasional pretty melody and nothing more. The libretto is childish and drags and the performance did not succeed in giving it life; we were anxious for it to end.[118]

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[114] Mason, The Globe, 25 May 1928, p. 2.

[115] Charlesworth, p. 13.

[116] "Lionel," Le Soleil [Quebec], 25 mai 1928, p. 10.

[117] Le Droit [Ottawa], 25 mai 1928, p. 1.

[118] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 1.

Many of the problems with "Robin and Marion" apparently stemmed from lack of rehearsal time. R.O. Pelletier was later able to report:

> Between the performance of Saturday and that of Thursday there is an abyss, it is difficult to believe that this is the same piece; no lags, roles that were more familiar to the actors, a better orchestra, in short, everything was improved.[119]

R.O. Pelletier attributed this improvement to the efforts of director Wilfred Pelletier.

It is interesting that what was reported to be a good, or at least tolerable performance by the anglophone critics and Lionel of Le Soleil could be so heartily condemned by the critic for Le Droit and Romain-Octave Pelletier. It is difficult to say why the reviewer for Le Soleil was so uncritical, but in the case of the anglophone critics, the problem seems to have been that they, as outsiders, were absorbed in the superficial atmosphere of the event. Because the Quebec festivals were designed as tourist attractions, these anglophone critics were more aware of superficial charm than questions of artistic excellence. In contrast, the francophone critics who reacted unfavourably were more at home with the culture being presented, and could therefore look beyond the superficial attraction of atmosphere to perceive the performances as they would any serious artistic event.

The conflict of opinions about the initial performance of "Robin et Marion" may also point out a fundamental misunderstanding of francophone Canadians by anglophones at that time. Gibbon noted at the time of his retirement that he had included "Robin et Marion" in the 1928 programme with the hope that its connection with France and the Middle Ages would endear it and (by association) folksong to

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[119] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8.

middle class French-Canadians. It is not surprising that Gibbon might have developed such an approach. Canadians of British origin exhibited a deep attachment to their parent culture at that point in history.

This presentation seems to have the desired effect of Lionel of Le Soleil, but his statement concerning "notre glorieux souverain" earmarks him as a rather conservative fellow. Both Le Droit and Le Devoir were nationalist newspapers. Romain-Octave Pelletier was inclined to call folksongs "chansons canadiennes" as often as "chansons populaires." These critics saw "Robin et Marion" simply as "a respectable antiquity, though outdated,"[120] having "archeological value . . . nothing more."[121] It is clear that in choosing to present "Robin et Marion" Gibbon, like many anglophone Canadians of his time, had greatly overestimated the attachment of French-Canadians to their European past.

The opening night concert was apparently not an unqualified success, but the next concert, Friday's matinee, seems to have been somewhat better, as all the performers at this event were given favourable reviews. This concert featured Camille Bernard, who sang European French folksongs in shepherd and soldier costumes, Pierre Pelletier, a Montreal baritone and cousin of Wilfred Pelletier, Toronto baritone, J. Campbell McInnes, and a group of source performers. Hector Gratton's highly acclaimed "Danse canadienne" was also performed for the first time at this concert. A local performer, Madame de la Tèrriere-Garneau, was to have appeared, but she became ill and was replaced by Jeanne Dusseau, who sang songs from her Canadian Clubs tour repertoire.

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[120] Le Droit [Ottawa], 25 mai 1928, p. 1.

[121] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 1.

Afternoons in the Chateau Frontenac featured crafts demonstrations and displays, displays of art work, and informal concerts as well as the formal matinees for which an admission was charged. According to the New York Times reviewer, these afternoons attracted almost as many viewers as the evening concerts, though not all of these people would have been able to see the matinees as the Chateau Frontenac ballroom did not seat as many as the Auditorium Theatre.

The reviewer for the New York Times was the only critic who paid attention to and recorded the response of the audience to events at the Quebec festival. According to this writer, the most popular performance at the Friday matinee was that of the "folk group" composed of Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny, Joseph Rouselle and J.A. Lavalle. Lawrence Mason of the Globe called this "a delightful interlude by strictly native habitant or rural performers, which was as amusing and refreshing as ever."[122] The reviewer for the New York Times however seems to have had mixed feelings about this performance:

> These habitants, with their Norman caps and red stockings, got so interested in their songs that they threatened to usurp the afternoon. . . . Many of the folk melodies have an unconscionable number of verses; and the habitant is apt to forget that he is on a platform and go on and on.[123]

It seems unlikely that these performers would have forgotten they were on stage before hundreds of people as this reviewer suggested. The idea of making a song shorter was probably totally foreign to these singers. The fact that the audience appreciated this performance, even though this writer might not have reflects the fact that audience and

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[122]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[123]New York Times, 26 May 1928, p. 115.

critic may have had very different aesthetics.

The New York Times critic felt that J. Campbell McInnes' rendition of "L'Angelus," a European French song, was the next most popular performance at this concert. Lawrence Mason also commented favourably on this, stating that McInnes sang "with the superb nobility and consummate style of which he is so great a master."[124] Lionel noted with approval that this was the first time McInnes had attempted to sing in French, and that his pronunciation was almost perfect.[125] Camille Bernard, according to Mason, "sang with inimitable gestures, facial expression, vocal inflection and vivid impersonation,"[126] and the New York Times reviewer concurred, stating that she performed with "laughable mimetic cleverness."[127] Lionel echoed Barbeau's assessment when he declared "there is nothing extraordinary about her voice, but she is an incomparable mimetic diseuse."[128]

This concert ended with the critically acclaimed "Danse canadienne." If the organizers had been apprehensive after the opening night concert, they were probably more relaxed after the Friday matinee.

The Friday evening concert was however a repeat of the previous evening in terms of quality. Even Lawrence Mason of the Globe was forced to admit that "the first two numbers [of this event] were not

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[124] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[125] "Lionel," Le Soleil [Quebec], 26 May 1928, p. 31.

[126] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[127] New York Times, 26 May 1928, p. 15.

[128] "Lionel," Le Soleil, 26 mai 1928, p. 19, trans. J. McNaughton.

wholly satisfactory," though he graciously attributed this to "the unmercifully high standard established this afternoon."[129] The items Mason was referring to were the performance of Arthur Lloyd's prize-winning orchestral suite which was played by the orchestra of the Royal 22nd Regiment, conducted by Harold Key, and Léo-Pol Morin's "Nocturnes et Aubades." The latter seems to have suffered mainly from inaudibility. Lloyd's piece was dealt with in detail by Romain-Octave Pelletier, who perhaps identified with the youthfulness of the composer. Pelletier felt that Lloyd's work had worth, in spite of its weaknesses:

> The prize-winning piece by Lloyd, a very young man, has genuine value, without having the finish that a more experienced musician would have given it. There are weaknesses next to remarkable passages, but after having heard the execution of his piece the author will be able to correct many details, and will have composed an orchestra suite of which he will be proud and rightly so. This work of youthfulness is a happy debut for a musician whose talent demands nothing but to improve itself.[130]

The Friday evening concert also featured a number of source performers: The Ouellet family provided music for dancers Pierre Guérin and Victoria Paquet, and singers Joseph Rouselle and François Lavallée sang dance songs. A picture which appeared in a pamphlet for the 1930 festival was probably taken at this event. It shows Guérin and Pacquet dancing on stage, flanked by the Ouellets who were seated. The background was hung with handmade textiles, including one very elaborate and colourful boutonné coverlet. Lawrence Mason felt that this performance introduced "exuberant comedy . . . in a rustic

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[129] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[130] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 26 mai 1928, p. 1, trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

gathering of fiddlers, dancers and specialists in dance and song."[131] The New York Times critic stated that this was the most popular event of the evening:

> The audience was duly appreciative of the evocation of Gallic swagger in 1606 [a reference to "L'Ordre de Bon Temps"], but the folkdancing of Pierre Guerin, a habitant, . . . brought forth the most unqualified enthusiasm. Pére Guerin shuffled and swayed to the music made by the Ouilet (sic) family . . . Joseph Rouselle mimicked his way through a barber dance in which he was shaved to the music.[132]

Jeanne Dusseau's rendition of Alfred Laliberté's arrangements of "Rossignol" folksongs (some of the many French-Canadian folksongs which feature the nightingale) were performed at the Friday evening concert. Dusseau was accompanied by Laliberté on the piano, Milton Blackstone on viola and Luigi Garzia on flute. Lawrence Mason stated that "the delicate flowerlike quality of this performance made it one of the gems of the festival."[133] The critical acclaim of this performance was so great that it was to be repeated the next day, due to what Mason referred to as the "urgent request of the assembled music critics."[134] But problems of scheduling prevented this encore. Dusseau's performance of these songs was also praised in Le Devoir and Le Soleil.

The final event of the Friday evening concert was "L'Ordre de Bon Temps." Like "Madame de Repentigny," this piece apparently suffered from lack of plot development. Even Lawrence Mason, who was quite mild in his criticisms of this work, stated: "The piece is of

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[131] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[132] New York Times, 26 May 1928, p. 15.

[133] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[134] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

ceremonial pagentry, for it has not plot nor action enough to be called an opera or drama."[135] The New York Times critic, who was duly impressed with "L'Ordre," noted in passing that "the role-call of roasts and wines alone took ten minutes of the program."[136] Lionel of Le Soleil found this rather difficult to digest. He stated: "the entrance of innumerable dishes destined for the table of the Order . . . made the act drag out while creating a feast of monotony."[137] The usually voluble R.O. Pelletier dismissed this work as "very long and carelessly executed."[138]

To be fair, "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" was given some kudos by the critics. Lawrence Mason stated:

> The costumes and setting were very gay, but Dr. Willan's music was the chief attraction. His unfailing flair for historic values, for period and atmosphere, made this work stand out as the best treatment of ancient material yet presented at the festival.[139]

Lionel expressed more or less the same opinion. He felt that the leading roles were rendered with vigour, and that the apparent lack of cohesion and confidence could be attributed to the fact that there had been only four or five rehearsals. He concluded:

> . . . the libretto is good enough and the folksongs are well distributed within it. The harmonizations of Dr. Healey Willan are interesting. As for the decor, the costumes,

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[135] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

[136] New York Times, 26 mai 1928, p. 15.

[137] "Lionel," Le Soleil [Quebec], 26 mai 1928, p. 31.

[138] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 26 mai 1928, p. 1.

[139] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 26 May 1928, p. 2.

and the food, nothing was spared to make the visual component appealing to the audience.[140]

These concerts set the tone for the 1928 festival, which continued to present performances of wildly uneven quality over the next three days. The concert of sacred music at Quebec's basilica appears to have been carried off without outstanding event and was reviewed warmly in Le Devoir. The remaining concerts had both extreme high and low points.

The Saturday matinee included the performance by the Hart House Quartet of the string quartet by Wyatt Pargeter, the English woman who won honourable mention in the Beatty Competition. Romain-Octave Pelletier compared this work favourably with that of George Bowles: "Both present the same judicious usage of folksongs, the same care to produce a work that will please both musicians and laymen."[141]

This matinee also featured the first of two unfortunate performances of Juliette Gaultier. In the Saturday matinee she sang mediaeval pastourelles, accompanied by Jean Beck on a "cithole."[142] She appeared again in a Saturday evening concert where she sang French-Canadian folksongs, to viola accompaniments played by Milton Blackstone. In contrast to her vivacious performances of the previous year, Gaultier's appearances at the 1928 festival were, by all reports, substandard. Of the afternoon performance, the reviewer for Le Droit

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[140]"Lionel," Le Soleil [Quebec], 26 mai 1928, p. 31.

[141]R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8, trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

[142]Cithole usually refers to a stringed instrument something like a psaltry.

stated: "Gifted with a very pretty voice, she had unhappily chosen monotonous old songs which she rendered in a lack-luster manner [d'une façon terne]."[143] Reviewing the same concert, Romain-Octave Pelletier stated that Gaultier's performance "did not provoke overwhelming enthusiasm, which can be explained by the weakness of the accompaniments and the lack of conviction of the singer. No one would insist on hearing it again."[144]

Reviewing Gaultier's performance at the Saturday evening concert, R.O. Pelletier stated:

> Madame (sic) Juliette Gaultier did not succeed in dissipating the impression that she had created during the afternoon even though the viola accompaniments of M. Blackstone . . . were a marked improvement over the previous performance. Perhaps her talent, for she has some, would be more at ease if she sang by heart [par coeur].[145]

It is unfortunate that Gaultier gave such poor performances at the 1928 festival. It is apparent that, in conforming to the demands of Gibbon and Barbeau, she lost the enthusiasm which had marked her performance in 1927.

The high point of the Saturday evening concert was apparently the performance of Ernest MacMillan's "Bergerettes," which were performed by the "Canadian Singers," Campbell McInnes' female choir, accompanied by a small orchestra of flute, oboe, violin, cello and harp. MacMillan conducted this work, and it drew critical acclaim for him from francophone and anglophone critics alike. "Forestiers et

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[143] Le Droit [Ottawa], 26 mai 1928, p. 1.

[144] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8.

[145] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8. trans. Y. Martineau, J. McNaughton.

Voyageurs" was performed at this concert and was received warmly, but without great excitement. Camille Bernard also appeared and

> obtained one of the greatest successes of the evening with the songs of the habitants interpreted in her inimitable manner. In spite of the rule which stated there would be no encores, she was forced to repeat "Le Marchand de Velours," so great was the insistence of the audience.[146]

This was the very song that Gibbon had feared would offend the source performers. Obviously, his sensitivity was not shared by the festival audience.

The Sunday concerts seem to have passed without outstandingly good or poor performances. The festival ended on the evening of Monday, 28 May, with the historic costume ball. Details of this event were recorded in the Supplement to the Canadian Pacific Bulletin and the New York Times. Canadian Pacific reported that the ball was held in the two halls of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec, rather than at the Chateau Frontenac as had originally been planned, and that it was attended by 1,100 people.[147] Though 400 years of historical characters and costumes were covered by this ball, eighteenth century French historical characters were predominant. Among the important personages at this event were: Lord and Lady Willingdon, the festival's patrons, who appeared as Charles I of England and his Queen; Premier Tashereau, who was dressed as d'Aguesseau, Chancellor of Louis XIV of France; and Mme. Tachereau, the hostess of this event, who was dressed as Marie Antoinette.

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[146] R.O. Pelletier, Le Devoir [Montreal], 28 mai 1928, p. 8.

[147] Supplement to the Canadian Pacific Bulletin, no. 229, p. 1.

The New York Times correspondent reported:

> Side by side with the mackinaw shirt of the lumberjack could be seen Spanish costumes, suits of Charles Dickens' time, skirts familiar in the days of Queen Victoria and panoply worn at the court of Louis XIV. . . . Visitors from New York danced with farmers from the backwoods, people from Montreal and Toronto weaved to and fro with habitants from the banks of the Ottawa River, top hats of 1820 bobbed along side Indian war feathers, and crinolines brushed against aprons.[148]

The habitants mentioned in the New York Times were source performers and the Bytown Troubadours. Gibbon seems to have been successful in his bid to avoid rowdy behaviour, as no mention of it is made in any reports.

On the whole, though the 1928 festival can not be called a brilliant critical success, it received largely sympathetic reviews and, by all reports, those who attended it seem to have enjoyed themselves. The theatrical productions were a major disappointment. These operas lacked plot development, were obviously hastily assembled and, as a result, poorly presented. By the end of the festival it was clear that the organizers had not raised the artistic standards of the festival in the staging of these productions.

The most successful performers at the 1928 festival appear to have been those who were so brilliantly competent that they could learn material in a very short time, and those who were prepared well in advance. The Bytown Troubadours, the Hart House Quartet and pianist-composer Alfred Laliberté all gave performances that were consistently high quality. Camille Bernard, Jeanne Dusseau and Campbell McInnes seem to have been successful in their performances because they were very well rehearsed, in addition to being competent

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[148] New York Times, 29 May 1928, p. 16.

performers. The source performers, who were among the most popular people to appear at the 1928 festival, were all accomplished performers who drew upon repertoires and skills they had developed over the course of their lives.

If the second Quebec festival was a mixed success critically speaking, there are indications that it was more of a disaster for those involved in organization. Just after the festival, Arthur Lismer wrote Barbeau stating:

> I hope you are able to get some rest from your strenuous labours of the past few months--and I hope Gibbon is cured of a few of the professional parasites he had hanging around him at Quebec. If it [the festival] is done again he should have one director who knows what production means from all angles--personally I found the New York end of this affair to be childishly stupid over many things. They could not be simple and forget themselves for the sake of the whole.--I suppose that is too much to expect but they did succeed in cluttering the production with much professional egoism.[149]

A few days later Barbeau replied:

> We returned here only Sunday night as we were either ill or so tired that we could hardly move away from Quebec. I think you deserve the highest congratulations for your Quebec performance as a master painter and a master of stage craft. You certainly count among the very few that gave the best account of themselves there at the festival. . . .[150]

It was largely due to this internal disorganization and unpleasantness that Barbeau would decide to withdraw from the responsibilities of organizing the Quebec Festivals.

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[149] Lismer, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 1 June 1928,

[150] Barbeau, Letter to Arthur Lismer, 4 June 1928.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD QUEBEC FESTIVAL, 16-18 OCTOBER 1930

The difficulties encountered at the 1928 festival did not dampen Gibbon's enthusiasm for folk music or folk festivals. Shortly after the 1928 event, he allowed himself a brief vacation and later reported to Barbeau:

> I had a first-rate rest myself in the woods about one hundred and fifty miles from Montreal, with Charles Marchand and the Mayor Mont Laurier, who is an excellent singer and very enthusiastic about our movement.[1]

During the next year, much of Gibbon's time was spent organizing other festivals for the CPR. In June 1928, the New Canadian Folk-Song and Handicraft Festival was held in Winnipeg. This was the first of three festivals staged on the prairies by the CPR to promote a positive attitude toward recent European immigrants.[2] From 31 August to 3 September, the Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival was held at the Banff Springs Hotel in Banff, Alberta. In December 1928, the first of two annual Old English Yuletide Festivals was held at Victoria, British Columbia, and shortly after, in January 1929, a Sea Music Festival was held at Vancouver. In March 1929, the second European ethnic festival, the Great West Canadian Folksong, Folkdance and Handicraft Festival, was held in Regina at the invitation of James Gardiner, the Premier of Saskatchewan. Gardiner had apparently been

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[1] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 8 June 1928.

[2] The others were the two Great West Canadian Folksong, Folkdance and Handicraft Festivals, held in Regina in March 1929, and Calgary in March 1930.

quite impressed with the Winnipeg festival and invited the CPR to stage a similar event in his province.

After recovering from the 1928 Quebec festival, Barbeau spent the summer in the Nass River area of British Columbia, where he continued anthropological fieldwork of previous years, collecting music from native peoples with an Edison wax cylinder recorder. In July, he was joined by Ernest MacMillan, who transcribed the music Barbeau had collected (see Fig. 6). At the end of the summer, Barbeau returned to the National Museum in Ottawa.

There is a gap in the correspondence between Barbeau and Gibbon from after the 1928 festival until early in 1929. When the correspondence resumed, Gibbon wrote mainly about the festivals he had organized in the interim. He stated that "The Order of Good Cheer," Gibbon's translation of "L'Ordre de Bon Temps," had been revised and was performed at Vancouver. Healey Willan had "personally supervised the rehearsals and conducted the performance at Vancouver, which on that account went much better than the performance at Quebec."[3]

There were no plans to hold a third festival at Quebec in 1929. This was probably due to the exhaustion and bad feelings which had resulted from the over-extension of budget and energies at the 1928 event. Gibbon did plan to have a third festival at Quebec in May 1930, however. He began to make preparations for this event a year in advance. Gibbon must have written Barbeau around that time requesting his collaboration. Although this letter has not survived, Barbeau replied in May 1929 stating:

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[3]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 6 February 1928.

Fig. 6. Ernest MacMillan (standing), helping West Coast Indian informant Frank Bolton into a ceremonial costume. This photo was taken in the summer of 1928 by Marius Barbeau while Barbeau and MacMillan were collecting in the Nass River area of British Columbia.
Credit: National Museums of Canada, 69614.

> I wish personally to please and oblige you--our relations have always been cordial and stimulating, and you are generous. Besides, it remains a great temptation to me to assist in the development of Canadian music and art with such efficient help as you can give. But I have come to understand that festivals such as our last in Quebec are not apt to achieve our aims as first outlined nor to meet with sufficient approval at large. . . . I have as a result ceased to think constructively of the Quebec festivals and regret to have no suggestion to offer you.[4]

Barbeau also stated his reasons for feeling this way:

> If I tried to find the cause for this deep revulsion of feeling towards the idea of a further Quebec festival, I might trace it back to what seemed the considerable waste of effort and material resources to little or no purpose at our last event.[5]

Barbeau went on to state that he felt Gibbon had not placed enough trust in his judgement during the organization of the 1928 festival. He then gave a critique of that festival which provides valuable insight. Barbeau stated that he felt that Laliberté's Rossignol songs, the Bergerettes by Ernest MacMillan and unspecified ronds (possibly Oscar O'Brien's) had been the most successful features of the 1928 event. He also felt that the Beatty Competition had not been successful enough to justify its renewal. Overall, Barbeau believed that the second festival would have been more successful if it had been more dignified and simple, like the 1927 festival. He stated that although he wanted no part in the organization of another Quebec festival, he would be willing to provide transcriptions of folksongs from his collection for the 1930 festival.

Gibbon replied with sympathy:

> I know that you felt the strain of the last Festival and had, to some extent, lost your enthusiasm on that account.[6]

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[4]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 7 May 1929.

[5]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 7 May 1929.

[6]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 8 May 1929.

Gibbon went on to state that, due to the expense of the many other festivals also being organized by the CPR at that time, the 1930 Quebec festival would be less elaborate than the 1928 festival had been, along the lines of the first Quebec festival. Gibbon thanked Barbeau for offering to provide transcripts of songs from his collections. Finally, Gibbon tried to put to rest any animosity that might have lingered from the difficult days of the 1928 festival:

> I just wish to dispel any feeling that you seem to have felt that there was any lack of cordiality and confidence regards yourself last year than there was the year before. The program that we took in hand was really too big for us, particularly as we were both doing the work, so to speak, in our spare time.[7]

The 1928 festival had obviously taught Barbeau and Gibbon a great deal about their limits as festival organizers and also gave them a much clearer idea of how they wished to present folk culture. Unfortunately, this knowledge had been acquired in a way that proved so traumatic to Barbeau that he was unwilling to attempt any practical application of it. As far as can be determined, Marius Barbeau was never involved in the organization of another festival. In 1942, Barbeau was invited to help organize a series of concerts called "Veillées de la Tradition française," held in honour of Montreal's tri-centennial. Barbeau initially wrote Gibbon with great enthusiasm about this event, but soon after stated he had:

> . . . withdrawn . . . collaboration from the proposed concerts in Montreal. Upon receiving further information yesterday, I realized that there was good deal of wrangling going on among the local organizers and artists. So I have decided to remain in the peaceful atmosphere of my own work, which gives me more satisfaction.[8]

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[7]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 8 May 1929.

[8]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 16 April 1942.

Gibbon seems to have always been more tolerant of the human problems involved in festival organization than Barbeau. During the previous year, he had also gained a great deal of experience in the management of such events. He stated in a letter to Barbeau:

> . . . our last Festival at Regina went like clockwork, although it was much more intricate to prepare even than the Quebec Festival of 1928, as we had to do with eighteen racial groups comprising nearly four hundred performers.[9]

Gibbon's more positive and broader experience with festival organization allowed him to plan the Quebec festival for 1930 without Barbeau's collaboration. Also, by that time, a network of contacts with performers was firmly established because of the two previous festivals. This network consisted in part of many of Barbeau's informants. It is unlikely that these source performers would have come to Gibbon's attention without Barbeau's original aid, but now that these people were known, they could be called upon to perform as they had in past years.

As Barbeau ceased to collaborate in the organization of the Quebec festivals so did the detailed correspondence between Barbeau and Gibbon which has provided so much information on the organization of the first and second festivals. Because of this, it is more difficult to discover details of the organization of the 1930 Quebec festival.

When Barbeau withdrew from festival organization, Charles Marchand assumed a greater role in the planning of the 1930 event. In collaboration with Oscar O'Brien and Charles Goulet, founder of the "Disciples de Massenet" who will be discussed below, Marchand designed two sets of "Visions Canadiennes." These performances feature actors

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[9]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 8 May 1929.

who pantomimed the stories of folksongs on stage while the songs were sung. This presentation was designed to make the songs more comprehensive to non-francophone people.

In 1929, Marchand travelled to France where he collected folk dances and information on folk costumes in Limousin, Normandy, Brittany and Anjou. According to publicity released at the time of the 1930 festival, Marchand did this because he had been impressed by the success of the English folk dance revival, and wished to develop a similar revival of old French dances in Quebec. Marchand was probably influenced by Gibbon in this. Pamphlets written for the 1930 Quebec festival and the CPR-sponsored English Music Festival which was held in Toronto in November 1929, indicate that one of the CPR organizers, most likely Gibbon, had a thorough knowledge of Cecil Sharp's work in the English folk dance revival.

The English folk dance revival seems to have had significant impact on North America in the early decades of this century. Cecil Sharp had brought this revival to North America himself in the late 1910s. In 1915, he had founded American branches of the English Folk Dance Society in New York, Boston, Chicago and Pittsburg. Also in 1915, and in the two following years, Sharp directed summer folk dance schools in New England. In 1916, he had lectured in Toronto while on a tour of the northeastern United States.[10] Sharp's efforts were well received in America, and the performance of English folk dances continued after he returned to England.

The CPR-sponsored English Music festival in Toronto featured Morris dancers under the direction of Douglas Kennedy, one of Sharp's

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[10] A.H. Fox-Strangways, Cecil Sharp (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 122-137.

followers. This engagement was the first in Canada for this troupe of sixteen dancers, who then toured the rest of the country under the auspices of the National Council of Education. Efforts to call the attention of Canadians to the English folk dance revival seem to have been successful. Lawrence Mason, in a review of the 1930 Quebec festival, noted "the present vogue of English folkdancing in Canada."[11]

The organizers of the 1930 festival apparently hoped that this interest in English dances could be successfully transferred to an enthusiasm for the folk dances of France. A pamphlet written for the 1930 Quebec festival stated that these old French dances should be of particular interest to English Canadians, as Cecil Sharp had found traces of old French dances, apparently dating from the Norman invasion of England, in the Morris dances he had collected. The festival organizers seem to have implicitly hoped that this connection between the old French dances and the currently popular English folk dances would encourage a sense of national unity among the festival goers. This new emphasis on folk dance was reflected in the title of the 1930 event. In English it was called the "Folkdance, Folksong and Handicraft Festival," in French, "Festival de la Chanson et des Danses du Terroir."

The 1930 Quebec festival was originally to be held in May of that year. Unfortunately, Charles Marchand grew seriously ill, and the festival was postponed until October with hopes that he would recover by that time. Marchand died on 1 May 1930, before his fortieth birthday. His death left a gap in the programme of the Quebec festivals that could not be filled. It is not known who helped

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[11]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 1 November 1930, p. 21.

Gibbon organize after Marchand's death. It seems likely that most of the arrangements for the 1930 festival had been made prior to Marchand's illness, considering that Gibbon had begun to organize it a year in advance.

Most of the participants in the 1930 festival were drawn from the pool of talent that had been established in previous years. Mme. Duquet's children appeared, as they had in 1927 and 1928. But in 1930 they performed European French dances, in keeping with the new emphasis on this aspect of folk culture. In spite of Marchand's death, the Bytown Troubadours appeared at the 1930 festival. A memorial note, "The Spirit of Charles Marchand," which appeared at the front of each programme that year explained:

> The Bytown Troubadours owed their enormous popularity not only to the personal magnetism of Charles Marchand himself, but also to his insistence on securing arrangements for four voices which maintained the rhythmic charm of folkmusic. To replace so unique a personality as that of Charles Marchand is impossible, but a new singer of unusual distinction has joined the remaining three artists in this group in the person of Lionel Daunais, whose decision to devote his outstanding ability to the serious interpretation of folksong is in itself a tribute to Charles Marchand's influence.[12]

Lionel Daunais was a baritone with operatic training. As a young man he had studied harmony and composition with Oscar O'Brien, and it was probably through this association that he became involved in the 1930 festival. In the late 1920s he studied and performed opera in Paris and Algiers.[13] He returned to Canada in 1930. In the Quebec festival of that year he not only replaced Marchand, but also sang the role of Champlain in "L'Ordre de Bon Temps." After the 1930

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[12]"Folkdance, Folksong and Handicrafts Festival, Thursday Evening--October 16th" (Quebec: CPR, 1930), n.p.

[13]Marie-Claire Lefebvre, "Lionel Daunais," EMC.

Quebec festival, he apparently did not appear with the Bytown Troubadours again.

Many of the source performers who participated in the 1930 festival had appeared in previous years: singer Phileas Bédard, dancer Pierre Guérin, fiddlers Elisée Ouellet and sons. Also present at the 1930 festival were crafts workers Mme. and M. Alphonse Plante, Mme. and M. Napoléon Lord, Mme. Jean-Baptiste Leblond and her daughters, Mme. F.X. Cimon and her daughters and Mme. Napoléon Lachance. All of these crafts workers had appeared at previous Quebec festivals.

A group of Métis dancers from St-Paul de Métis, Alberta was also added to the programme of source performers in 1930. This group had first appeared at one of the CPR-sponsored ethnic festivals held on the prairies. These dancers were apparently brought to the 1930 Quebec festival because they had proven competent and popular at the prairie festival. It was commonly believed that Metis people were exclusively a mixture of French and Indian ancestors, and this may have been seen as a justification for the appearance of these people at a festival of French-Canadian culture. There is no doubt that since the time of the Riel rebellions the people of Quebec had strongly identified with the Métis people. While some of these dancers did have the surnames Dion, Beauregard and Ledéroute, others were called Collins and McLean, belying this belief.

This group consisted of four couples, a fiddler and an additional man who could have been a caller. The programme stated that their repertoire consisted of "Double Jigs, Duck Dance, Red River Jig, Reel of Eight, etc." All of the dancers wore felt mocassins. The men, most of whom had long hair, wore dark trousers, brightly coloured

shirts and neckerchiefs, ceinture fléchée and long, homespun coats which looked conspicuously new. The women wore embroidered leggings under long, brightly coloured dresses, contrasting aprons, and bright neck shawls (see Fig. 7).

The most dramatic change in personnel at the 1930 festival as compared with previous years can be seen in the professional artists. At the 1930 festival, these performers were exclusively French-Canadian. It could be expected that Gibbon would not repeat the mistake of importing expensive and apparently difficult talent from the Metropolitan Opera. It is more surprising though that he would neglect anglophone performers from Toronto such as Jeanne Dusseau, and Campbell McInnes and his female singers, all of whom had been quite popular in the past.

This shift may reflect a determination to adhere to a strict budget by only using local talent. But it is also possible that this shift indicates, somewhat ironically, how much the anglophone element of past festivals had been the result of Barbeau's involvement in those events. It was Barbeau, rather than Gibbon, who encouraged the initial use of these anglophone performers. Gibbon, in contrast, had been afraid in the past that the festivals "might have too much of a Toronto flavour."[14] In making the 1930 festival almost exclusively francophone in personnel, Gibbon may also have been bowing to the pressure of the Beatty Competition boycott. As far as can be determined, the only anglophone composer to provide material for the 1930 festival was Healey Willan, as the revised version of "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" was performed.

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[14]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 9 March 1928.

Fig. 7. A group of Métis dancers from St-Paul de Métis, Alberta, who danced at the 1930 Quebec festival.
Credit: National Museums of Canada, J 330.

In the 1930 festival, there was a marked tendency to concentrate on drawing talent from groups rather than featuring "star" individuals as had been the case in other years. The two major groups to provide performers for the 1930 festival were Les Disciples de Massenet and La Société canadienne d'operette. Les Disciples de Massenet was a sixty-five mixed voice choir which was founded by Charles Goulet in Montreal in 1928. Goulet had named the group after the composer of La Navarraise, the opera in which he had made his debut as a baritone in 1923. La Société canadienne d'operétte, also based in Montreal, was founded in 1921. By 1930, it was a well established artistic institution, involving about 155 artists and technicians in its operation and presenting a season of operettas each year.[15] A smaller group, Les Chanteuse du Saint-Laurent, also performed at the 1930 festival. This was a four voice female choir, but nothing else is known about the group. Most of the performers featured at the 1930 Quebec festival other than source performers were drawn from these three groups.

In keeping with the desire to make the 1930 festival more simple than the 1928 event, there were only four concerts, half the number of the previous festival. These concerts were held on the evenings of Thursday, 16 October, Friday, 17 October and Saturday, 18 October, with a matinee on Saturday, in which many of the items featured at evening concerts were repeated. There were only two theatrical productions at the 1930 festival: "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" and "Une Noce Canadienne-française en 1830," which was a representation

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[15]Philippe Laframboise, "Société canadienne d'operétte Inc.," EMC.

of an old French-Canadian wedding, as the title indicates. Both these productions relied on the talents of members of La Société canadienne d'operétte. As all the cast members of these productions lived in the upper St. Lawrence area, the problems involved in organizing rehearsals for the 1928 event were probably avoided.

In contrast to former years, almost all of the music arranged for the 1930 festival was for voices rather than instrumental groups. The Hart House String Quartet was not present, and a small orchestra provided music for the dances and accompaniment to vocal arrangements. Also absent were the classical arrangements of folksongs by composers such as Ernest MacMillan and Alfred Laliberté. Gibbon had always favoured a more popular type of interpretation of folk music, and in the 1930 festival he encouraged this approach. Music for this event was arranged by Oscar O'Brien, Harold Key and Pierre Gaultier, all musicians who were comfortable arranging in a popular vein. The goal of encouraging a national art music based on folk music themes had always been more important to Barbeau than any of the other organizers of these events. In his absence, this aim was quietly put aside.

Seats were less expensive at the 1930 Quebec festival than they had been in 1928: $2.00 and $1.50 reserved, $1.00 unreserved at the evening concerts, $1.50 reserved, $1.00 unreserved at the matinee. These were not inexpensive for the time, especially considering that many people were already beginning to feel the economic pinch of the Depression. Yet Lawrence Mason of the Toronto Globe reported: "There were many standees at every concert and many hundreds were turned away nightly."[16] So these festivals had not decreased in popularity.

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[16]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 1 November 1930, p. 21.

The 1930 event was covered, as usual, by Quebec's Le Soleil, Henri Bourassa's Le Devoir, Ottawa's francophone daily Le Droit and the Toronto Globe. The New York Times also sent a correspondent to the 1930 festival, but coverage in that paper was so brief it is hardly worth mentioning. There are indications that, in spite of this wide press coverage and the popularity of this festival with audiences, the festival was considered less newsworthy in 1930 than in previous years. Lawrence Mason stated:

> I heard other correspondents talking of worldly-wise people who profess to see little "news value" in these folk festivals because a dozen of them have now been put on by the Canadian Pacific Railway and so they are old stuff.[17]

Mason himself disagreed eloquently, but this was probably an accurate assessment of the media's attitude towards these events by 1930. Had the CPR-sponsored festivals continued, it seems likely that they would have received less coverage from this point on.

Generally speaking, the concerts of the 1930 festival were much more even in quality than those of the 1928 event. No doubt this was a result of more modest artistic goals and better organization. The opening night concert on Thursday, 16 October, was typical. This concert was opened by the Bytown Troubadours and featured Mme. Duquet's children performing dances of Normandy, the first set of Marchand's "Visions canadiennes," based on pastoral songs, the Métis dance troupe from Alberta, and source performers Phileas Bédard and Pierre Guérin. The concert ended with a presentation of folk dances and Limousin by the Disciples de Massenet.

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[17]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 1 November 1930, p. 21.

By all reports, the performance by the Métis of Alberta was the most popular of the evening. All reviewers commented favourably on this performance, and the critic in Le Soleil stated that they were called back on to the stage by the audience. Phileas Bédard and Pierre Guérin were also enthusiastically received. As in 1928, the least formalized presentations seem to have been most popular with the audience.

The only critical note in the reviews of this concert came from Lawrence Mason of the Globe. Mason stated in his review: "I have attended more [of these festivals] than has any other critic"[18] indicating that he had travelled to some of the events staged in western Canada. While observing these events, it is obvious that Mason developed very definite opinions and tastes concerning the presentation of folk culture. By 1930, he objected to any presentation that he felt was too formalized. He stated:

> The elaborate "Visions canadiennes" suffered from sophisticated "art" singers who were out of keeping with the genuine folk spirit. . . .

and later:

> The evening closed with another less successful piece of artifice when some Montreal dancers [the Disciples de Massenet] failed to capture the spontaneous grace of the native folk performers.[19]

The critics perceived the concerts that followed in much the same manner. Mason complained that the second set of "Visions canadiennes" "were rather too dressy and sophisticated in setting and performance," though the other critics seemed to enjoy them. Mason

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[18] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 1 November 1930, p. 21.

[19] Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 1 November 1930, p. 21.

also stated that the Disciples des Massenet "were not quite convincing in further folk-dance presentations," though again, he was the only one to make such criticisms. The dramatic presentation of "Une Noce Canadienne française en 1830" which was performed Friday evening and at the Saturday matinee seems to have been carried off quite well. Lucien Desbiens, writing in Le Devoir, stated that the Société canadienne d'operétte seemed much more at ease in these performances than at the premier of this work in Montreal. The Saturday evening concert featured the performance of the revised "L'Ordre de Bon Temps" which Mason reported was far better than the 1928 performance.[20]

The great Depression of the 1930s began with the stockmarket crash in October 1929, so that Canada was already a year into the Depression when the final Quebec festival was held. Many areas of the economy were relatively untouched by the Depression until the mid-thirties. However, its effects on the railways in Canada were immediate and drastic. In The Canadian Annual Review for 1930-31, it was reported that due to the economic depression and growing competition from other forms of transportation, "the year 1930 proved by far the worst the railways had experienced for some time."[21] Freight traffic on both the CNR and CPR was the lightest it had been since 1921, and passenger traffic declined to the level of 1909. In August 1930, the Canadian government imposed restrictions on immigration through an Order-in-Council. Without substantial numbers of immigrants to fill passenger space and purchase the vast tracts of land that the CPR had

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[20]Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 1 November 1930, p. 1. Mason mistakenly said 1927 instead of 1928.

[21]J. Castell Hopkins, ed., The Canadian Annual Review 1930-1931 (Toronto: The Canadian Review Co. Ltd., 1931), p. 380.

been granted at its inception, the railway could only fall deeper into a financial morass.

In response to these difficulties, the CPR launched an extensive austerity programme. Dividends to common share holders were cut by half in 1931. Both passenger and freight service were also cut back and in April 1931, E.W. Beatty announced a ten percent wage reduction for all office employees. Officers of the company and supervisory staff also accepted a ten percent wage reduction.[22] Under such circumstances, the CPR could not possibly have continued to sponsor large folk festivals as it had in the more prosperous twenties.

Barbeau's withdrawal from the organization of the Quebec festivals and the death of Marchand left Gibbon without his two main collaborators before the 1930 festival was staged. It is doubtful that Gibbon could have continued to organize such large festivals in Quebec without the aid of these two men, even if the economy had remained stable. Gibbon would never again be able to dramatize the contribution that he felt folk culture could make to Canadian society on such a grand scale. However, he continued to express in his writings and lectures many of the themes that had been apparent in the folk festivals he organized.

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[22]Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review 1930-1931, p. 384.

CHAPTER VI

THE TEXTILE CRAFTS REVIVAL IN QUEBEC

In the early decades of the twentieth century, an awareness of and interest in the traditional textile crafts of Quebec developed among educated, affluent urbanites, both anglophone and francophone. This trend parallels the growth of a similar interest in folk music and will be shown to be motivated by the same factors. Unlike music before the development of the recording industry, handicrafts products are concrete items which generate a market. The study of textile crafts revival is particularly valuable for this reason, as it is possible to document the growth of an interest in folk culture in a more tangible manner than is possible with music at that point in history.

Attachment to the land was regarded as an inalienable part of the French-Canadian identity by the turn of the century. Traditional forms of expressive culture, such as folk music and the home manufacture of textiles, were seen as manifestations of this close relationship to the land. In the face of increasing urbanization and the rise of French-Canadian nationalism in the first decades of the twentieth century, these arts began to acquire new social and political significance. This climate helped to ensure the revival of textile handicrafts in Quebec.

In the early 1930s this interest in textiles blossomed into a full scale revival which involved the efforts of numerous individuals

and organizations, and which had considerable impact on the practice of these crafts. This chapter outlines major events and trends in this revival with reference to the role played by the Quebec festivals, Barbeau and Gibbon. This chapter also demonstrates the broader implications of primitivism in the early twentieth century, and illustrates some of the connections between folk culture and Quebec nationalism that were discussed in chapter two. The history of home manufacture of textiles in Quebec has been subject to a good deal of romantic distortion. For this reason, I will begin with a brief history of textile manufacture from the time before the conquest.

Looking at the early history of Quebec, one might expect to find that the home manufacture of textiles played a vital role in the lives of the colonists, but such is not the case. From its inception, the colony of New France was a commercial centre for the fur trade. The inhabitants of the colony were mainly traders, soldiers and craftsmen rather than farmers. Agriculture was a marginal activity and its main purpose was to provide fresh food. While the economy of the colony boomed, people preferred to spend their income on consumer goods imported from France in annual supply ships rather than spend their valuable time in the manufacture of handmade items. Harold B. Burnham and Dorothy Burnham, in Keep Me Warm One Night, their detailed study of handweaving in early Canada, note that the records of pre-conquest Quebec are detailed enough to indicate beyond doubt that locally produced textiles were almost non-existent in the early days.[1] This was due to economic prosperity, preference for consumer goods over handmade items,

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[1]Burnham and Burnham, Keep Me Warm One Night, p. 8.

lack of interest in agriculture, and scarcity of raw materials.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the bottom fell out of the beaver market and economic depression ensued in New France. As a result, the purchasing power of the colonists declined, the annual supply ships from France grew fewer in number, and, for the first time, a serious interest in the local manufacture of essential goods developed. Even so, the people of New France did not readily give up their taste for European goods. In spite of the fact that England and France were enemies at that time, there was considerable illegal trade with New England. In 1731, a door-to-door search was conducted in Montreal for such contraband goods. Fines were leveled where these goods were found, and the majority of families were penalized.[2]

The economic reverses of the early eighteenth century did not result in the flowering of a home textile industry. In the early colonial period and into the nineteenth century, most weaving was done by professional male weavers, following the pattern of textile production that had existed in Europe since the introduction of the horizontal loom in the eleventh century.[3] Initially, these professional weavers were few in New France. Eleven were listed in the census of 1666, and nine of these had additional occupations. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century the craft began to grow and boys are known to have been apprenticed to weavers at that time. Hand weaving was also done at religious institutions. The Sisters of the Congreation of Notre Dame in Montreal began to weave their own cloth in the eighteenth

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[2]Burnham and Burnham, p. 8.

[3]Burnham and Burnham, p. 8.

century and by 1712 they were reportedly producing both black cloth for priests and blue for the convent's boarders which was said to be as good as that made in France.[4]

The lack of development of a domestic textile industry in early Quebec is quite unlike the situation in Acadia and early anglophone settlements, and was clearly tied to the economy of the colony. The preference for consumer goods over homemade products is generally thought of as a modern trend, but the Quebec model indicates that this tendency can be traced back at least three hundred years, and is linked to such practical considerations as levels of affluence and the need to save labour for other areas of endeavour. The economic decline of the early eighteenth century and the conquest did not significantly alter this pattern. Agriculture assumed the dominant role in the economy of the francophone population as the fur trade declined and control of the economy fell to the anglophone population. But French consumer goods were replaced by English consumer goods, and as long as agriculture remained commercially viable, the majority preferred to purchase textiles rather than manufacture them.

The decline in agriculture in the early decades of the nineteenth century, detailed in chapter two, altered the pattern of textile production considerably. From the mid-1820s on, as agriculture shifted from a commercial to subsistence activity, it became increasingly necessary for each farm to provide food, clothing and other essentials for its inhabitants. Under these conditions, weaving became a rural, domestic and feminine occupation as the habitant women "took over the

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[4]Burnham and Burnham, p. 8.

tasks of processing fibers, spinning them, and weaving them to keep their households supplied with clothing, bedding and other domestic needs."[5]

The main fibres used in textile production in Quebec were wool and flax, which were grown and processed on the farms.[6] Some cotton was also used, but this cannot be grown in Canada, and was mainly imported from the southern United States. Wool and flax were processed into yarn, then woven into textiles on manually operated looms.

Harold Burnham states: "The loom has been described as a tool on which a warp may be stretched and sheds [combinations of warp threads] opened mechanically for the passage of the weft."[7] The complexity of the loom is mainly determined by the number of shafts, these being the bars which lift the sheds. In Quebec, the two-shaft loom was dominant in francophone areas. On such a loom, one shaft takes every other warp thread, and the other shaft takes the remaining threads. This type of loom is capable of producing only plain weave cloth: fabric in which the weft has been passed through one shed, then the other, with no variation. Because of this, the two-shaft loom is extremely limited in its capacity for patterning. Only stripes and bands of colour are possible without the introduction of additional techniques.

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[5]Burnham and Burnham, p. 9.

[6]Flax fibres are processed into linen.

[7]Harold B. Burnham, Handweaving in Pioneer Canada (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1971), p. 6.

The textile products of nineteenth-century Quebec were characteristic of a subsistence economy; practical objects such as grain bags, clothing and bed covers, though some crafts, such as hooked rugs, were clearly more decorative than practical in function. These articles were produced in the homes of those who used them on a non-commercial basis. As far as can be determined, home weaving seems to have been most highly developed in the lower St. Lawrence counties of Charlevoix, Kamouraska and Rimouski, and in other isolated areas such as Ile d'Orleans and Ile-aux-Coudres. The only apparent exception to these patterns was the commercially produced ceinture fléchée, a complex braided sash which was made in a limited area north of Montreal, and will be discussed in detail below.

In this discussion it is noteworthy that Marius Barbeau was one of the first scholars to document the history and practice of these crafts, as well as an important figure in their revival in the early twentieth century. This creates a rather odd situation, for in this chapter Barbeau is both quoted as an authority on textile crafts in Quebec, and appears as a historic personage in the revival of these crafts.

Many of the best existing examples of traditional Quebec textiles were collected by Barbeau in areas such as Ile d'Orléans and Charlevoix County in the early 1900s. He was interested in crafts such as rug hooking, which many collectors might have ignored, preferring dramatic textile crafts such as weaving. Barbeau's study of the ceinture fléchée, Assomption Sash, which was published by the National Museum in 1939, gives many details of the original manufacture and revival of this craft which might otherwise have gone unrecorded.

It is difficult to assess the impact of Barbeau's interest in textiles upon the revival of these crafts in Quebec. However it seems that his study of these crafts, and especially his work in connection with the Quebec festivals, did much to publicize the fact that textiles were still being produced by women on the lower St. Lawrence, and to demonstrate that these products could be marketed quite successfully.

Only those textile products which were seen to have aesthetic and commercial appeal would be incorporated into the textile crafts revival of the twentieth century. These include the hooked rug, the ceinture fléchée, and certain types of traditional bed coverlets. Because these items were important to the textile crafts revival, they will be discussed below.

One such textile product, the catalogne, reflects the economic necessity to conserve all useful materials which must have prevailed in such subsistence conditions. In the production of the catalogne, narrow strips of clean rag, taken from discarded garments, were woven on to a warp of fine linen thread. In the nineteenth century these strips of cloth were woolen, and the resulting catalogne was used as a coverlet (couvre-lit).

The design of catalogne coverlets could be random, the fabric being produced from rags as they became available, or in more deliberate bands of colour. The resulting product is quite thick and heavy. No examples of catalogne coverlets have survived from the early period of their production in Quebec, though, as the Burnhams note, many thousands must have been produced. This is an indication that the plain catalogne coverlet was not a highly valued textile, as it was used until completely worn out and not passed on from generation to generation as a

more valued coverlet would be.

Two other techniques were used with the two-shafted loom to produce more valued coverlets: à la planche and boutonné. These two characteristic Québécois techniques overcame the technological and artistic limitations of the two-shaft loom to produce more complex patterning. A la planche is described clearly by Harold Burnham:

> The patterning is not loom-controlled, but achieved by inserting a thin board [la planche] about four to six inches wide above and below groups of warp threads behind the two shafts of the loom. The ground is woven with yarn or strips of salvaged rags; when a pattern block is to be woven, the thin board is turned on edge to form a pattern shed, and the shuttle carrying the coloured yarn is passed through. As this process is repeated, small blocks of colour are built up producing checkerboard or simpler patterns that usually form bands across the width of the fabric.[8]

Burnham also notes that à la planche seems to have had antecedents in France.[9] Some of the finest examples of à la planche come from Ile-aux-Coudres, an island in the lower St. Lawrence in Baie-St-Paul, Charlevoix county. These textiles were collected by Marius Barbeau in the early decades of this century.

A la planche technique is necessary only with a limited loom. During the handicrafts revival, the traditional two-shaft loom was replaced by more complex looms. As it is possible to achieve with additional shafts the same effects as à la planche provided, this technique seems to have become unnecessary and is not mentioned in literature concerning the revival.

Boutonné patterning was formed by inserting secondary weft threads which were usually of a notably different texture than the main

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[8] H.B. Burnham, Handweaving, p. 6.

[9] H.B. Burnham, Handweaving, p. 6.

weft of the fabric. In many cases, the boutonné weft was also dyed in bright, contrasting colours to draw further attention to the pattern. These secondary weft threads were raised in loops, either with the fingers or using a hook, to form the desired pattern. The most common motifs in boutonné patterning were diamonds, crosses of various types, plant motifs, and the open centred, eight-sided star. The boutonné wefts could extend from selvage to selvage, or might only extend as far as the pattern required, but in both cases they were always placed on the same shed as a regular weft thread.

Boutonné was adapted into the textile crafts revival of the early twentieth century. In addition to its traditional use on coverlets, boutonné was also used in the manufacture of draperies at that time.

These three characteristic coverlet techniques could be combined freely. Marius Barbeau collected many examples of catalogne coverlets with both boutonné and à la planche patterning in Charlevoix county. Because of the narrow width of the traditional two-shaft loom it was customary to make all coverlets with a seam up the middle.

The hooked rug was another textile product which was widely produced for home use in nineteenth-century Quebec. In rug hooking, strips of material taken from discarded garments are pushed through the weave of some loosely woven material such as burlap to form rows of small, even loops of pile. The result is a small floor mat, usually with a highly stylized design. Rug hooking was practiced extensively in New England, the Maritimes, Newfoundland and Quebec. The origins of this craft are obscure and the subject of debate. However, most writers on this topic agree that the type of hooked rug most commonly found in

northeastern North America did not develop until the mid-1800s.

Marius Barbeau was one of the first scholars to study the hooked rug. He believed that this craft was North American in origin. In his article "The Hooked Rug--Its Origin," published in 1942, Barbeau indicated that he felt this craft had originated in Quebec, the patterns evolving out of older embroidery patterns, but he could not state this conclusively.[10] In the same article, Barbeau gave information from a study of the rug patterns of the Leblonds, who demonstrated rug hooking at the Quebec festivals.

The ceinture fléchée is a highly patterned sash traditionally worn by men which is wrapped around the body at the waist several times. It could be worn in winter to keep the overcoat firmly closed, but its primary function seems to have been decorative. This sash is produced by a complex plaiting technique which is entirely manual, and it was apparently always produced for commercial consumption rather than domestic use. Although other types of plaited sashes were made in other areas of Quebec, the ceinture fléchée, with its characteristic arrow pattern, was produced in L'Assomption county, which is about twenty-five miles northeast of Montreal, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

The plaiting technique which produced the ceinture fléchée is a highly sophisticated one. This general type of plaited sash has European antecedents, though both Harold Burnham and Marius Barbeau note that there are no European designs which are as wide and complex as the ceinture fléchée. The specific technique used in the manufacture

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[10] C. Marius Barbeau, "The Hooked Rug--Its Origin," TRSC, 36 (1942), sec. 2, pp. 25-32.

of the ceinture fléchée seems to have been developed out of Eastern Woodland Indian plaiting techniques. Burnham states that wide sashes were made using similar techniques by several tribes in Ontario and New York State, and that fragments of such textiles have been found in archeological sites that pre-date European contact.[11]

The characteristic arrow pattern of the ceinture fléchée is produced by interlocking threads of different colours which then reverse direction. The technique used in L'Assomption was more advanced than any known native antecedents, and this technique and standards for the finished product seem to have been established in the area in the 1830s or 1840s.[12] The finished product was about six feet in length, though it could be as long as fifteen feet, and was wrapped around the body several times so that only the long fringe hung down from the waist. Even the narrowest ceinture fléchée consisted of at least 100 strands of wool. More commonly, 464 to about 482 strands would be used to produce sashes six to six and a half inches in width. The wool used to make these sashes had to be spun and twisted very densely, so that it almost had the texture of fine twine. The usual colours were red, pale blue, dark blue, yellow and green, red being placed at the centre (or "coeur") of the work.

Marius Barbeau's Assomption Sash is the main source for the history and revival of the ceinture fléchée. These belts were originally produced in cottage industry for the fur traders of the Montreal based

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[11]Harold B. Burnham, Canadian Textiles, 1700-1900 (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1964), p. 13.

[12]C. Marius Barbeau, Assomption Sash, Bulletin 93 (Ottawa: National Museum, 1939), p. 6.

North West Company, and, after its decline in 1821, for the Hudson's Bay Company. The ceinture fléchée was used as an item of barter for trade with the Indians. The manufacture of these sashes survived the decline of the fur trade. By the late 1800s, ceintures fléchées were being produced for sale in Montreal by women in the villages of St-Jacques de L'Achigan, Ste-Marie Salomé and St-Alexis, all in L'Assomption. Barbeau, working in the early decades of this century with surviving makers of ceintures fléchées and their families, was able to fully document this cottage industry.

Barbeau states that practically all of the families in these three villages would spend two to three months in the winter producing ceintures fléchées for the Montreal demand in the late 1880s. Like other textile crafts, the making of ceintures fléchées was women's work, though the demands of commercial production were such that men and children were also involved in the simpler aspects of the work, such as the making of end fringes. Barbeau's informants indicated that women often gathered in neighbours' houses so that they could socialize while working, though the unplaited wool was so voluminous that as few as three or four women could occupy a whole room.

A few of these families dealt directly with Montreal merchants, but most worked for a local merchant, Joseph Dugas, who lived in St-Jacques de L'Achigan. The terms of employment were not satisfactory to the women who worked for Dugas, and eventually proved intolerable. This merchant provided the women with wool that had been spun over and prepared into sets of strands by local women who only did this work and were paid more for it. The women who actually produced the ceintures fléchées were paid between 15¢ and 30¢ a day for their labour, in goods

rather than in cash. Barbeau reports that these women would have preferred to have been paid in cash, and that they felt that the merchant was using this system to rid himself of old and excess stock. Dissatisfied with such low wages from a merchant whom they considered to be well off, the women took their grievances to the parish priest, Rev. Tancrede Viger. M. Viger felt that the women were ruining their health by working ten hours a day for so little profit, so he urged them to ask for money for their work, or refuse to continue. The merchant was old by that time and would not change his system. As a result, the cottage industry ended in L'Assomption around 1899.

The parish priest arranged for the purchase of sewing machines for the local women and obtained orders from Montreal for home sewing, but Barbeau reports that this venture failed and that the women were left owing money on machines that were not profitable to them. Around the same time, the Hudson's Bay Company began to market a machine made sash from England that resembled the ceinture fléchée and sold very cheaply.

By the turn of the century, the manufacture of ceintures fléchées had virtually ended, and the home production of textiles was on the decline. Commercially produced fabrics and clothing were again replacing the time-consuming handmade products, as increased industrialization helped to produce inexpensive goods. From the turn of the century on there was also a sharp decline in the rural population. In 1890, about one-third of the population of Quebec was urban. By 1910, this figure had risen to nearly one-half, and by 1911, slightly less than one-third of Quebec's population was involved in farming.[13] These factors helped

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[13]Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, p. 128.

to contribute to a feeling in the early decades of the twentieth century, that techniques involved in the manufacture of handmade textiles were in danger of being lost.

The Quebec government, through the Department of Agriculture, would come to play a large and very deliberate role in the revival of home manufacture of textiles from the late 1920s on. Some years before this involvement was consciously undertaken, the Department of Agriculture established two organizations which would eventually facilitate the teaching of textile related skills to women. These organizations were the Ecoles ménagères and the Cerles des fermières.

The Ecoles ménagères (literally "housewives schools") were set up, as their name implies, to provide young women with training in basic domestic skills such as cooking, laundry and household management. These schools were financed by the Department of Agriculture though the majority were operated out of convents. Similar institutions had been established in France and Switzerland in the 1890s, and the Quebec schools were established according to the European model. The first Ecole ménagères was established in Roberval in 1897.[14] The number of schools increased steadily and by 1915, there were forty-five in Quebec. The students included orphans and day students, all female. There are indications that some early formalized teaching of textile handicrafts was carried on at Ecoles ménagères. The Department of Agriculture annual reports for 1914 and 1915 contain some photographs of these students at spinning wheels and looms.

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[14]Quebec: Ministre de l'Agriculture, Rapport du Ministre de l'Agriculture de la Province de Quebec, 1925 (Quebec: l'Imprimeur de sa très excellent majesté le Roi, 1925), p. 207.

The Cercles des fermières (farm women circles) were small groups of rural women who met locally with the encouragement of the Department of Agriculture. The first Cercles des fermières were founded in 1915. The activities encouraged in these cercles were those related to rural domestic occupations: gardening, poultry raising, bee keeping, the raising of sheep for wool, and the home manufacture of textiles, as well as the more universal occupation of child rearing. By 1926 there were 109 Cercles des fermières in the province with a total membership of about 7,000.[15] These organizations tended to be concentrated in the lower St. Lawrence counties at first.

These Cercles des fermières were established with specific cultural and social goals in mind. It was hoped that women would be able to provide their families with extra income through the activities encouraged by the organizations, and that this might help prevent the migration of rural families to urban centres for economic reasons. During the 1920s it became increasingly apparent that there was a growing market for handmade textiles, and greater emphasis seems to have been placed on their manufacture in the Cercles at that time. By 1926, local contests and exhibition-sales were accompanied, with the aid of the Department of Agriculture, by demonstrations of textile production, classification of products and the awarding of prizes. Judges and demonstrators sent to these exhibits were employed for that purpose by the Department of Agriculture. In 1926, the total value of the textiles marketed through the Cercles des fermières was $616,000.[16]

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[15] Henri Turcot, "The French Canadian Homespun Industry, Quebec, 9 (1929), p. 195.

[16] Turcot, p. 195. Turcot does not indicate whether this figure represented wholesale or retail value.

By the mid-1920s, the structure which would facilitate a major revival of textile crafts was well established. In 1925, there were 102 Ecoles ménagères with a total enrollment of 11,407 pupils.[17] The Church run Ecoles attempted to instill in their pupils such traditionally Christian female virtues as patience, economy and sacrifice to the family.[18] It seems likely that those who ran the Ecoles menagères would associate traditionally feminine skills such as spinning and weaving with the development of such virtues.

Around the turn of the century, educated, urbanized people began to show an interest in handmade textiles. One example of this trend was the emergence of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. This organization, which was formed in 1906, grew out of the Montreal Women's Art Association. In the late 1890s, women in this organization became aware of the decline in home textile and related handicrafts production. From that time, they "became so deeply interested in conserving the minor arts [crafts] that they felt they should devote every energy to reviving and making profitable all such crafts."[19] It is apparent that the women involved in this organization were wealthy anglophones who saw their activities in connection with textile crafts as benevolent work.

These women aspired to reach all parts of Canada. In this, their wealth was an advantage as "each member of the committee pledged

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[17]Quebec, Ministre de l'Agriculture, Rapport du Ministre, 1925, p. 205.

[18]See Quebec, Ministre de l'Agriculture, Rapport du Ministre de l'Agriculture de la Province de Quebec, 1915 (Quebec: Imprimeur de sa très excellent majesté le Roi, 1915), p. 59 for a discussion of this.

[19]M.A. Peck, "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast," CGJ, 4 (1934), 201-02.

herself to search out craftsworkers in whatever part of the country she spent the summer."[20] Apparently, they were primarily concerned with encouraging crafts work among the rural poor, immigrants and handicapped people. Like those who ran the Ecoles ménagères, they felt that crafts work had spiritual as well as economic benefits for those involved in it. In the words of one of the founding members of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild:

> They were sure that if such efforts were successful the country would become happier, healthier and wealthier, and that hundreds of homes would be lifted into a different sphere through the contacts that would result.[21]

Because it was based in Montreal, this organization became quite involved with the textile crafts of Quebec. Working through parish priests, members of the Montreal Women's Art Association helped to establish cottage industries in which "good rag carpet (catalogne)" could be produced and marketed.[22] This development is noteworthy because until that time, the catalogne had been used only as a bed coverlet. Harold Burnham states:

> . . . the use of catalogne as floor coverings is never found in Quebec before the end of the nineteenth century, and was popularized by the crafts revivals that took place in the province during the first part of the twentieth century.[23]

The woven rag rug, presumably similar to the catalogne, was one of the primary artifacts to emerge in the Appalachian handicrafts revival which preceded the Quebec revival by a few decades. Like the

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[20] Peck, p. 204.

[21] Peck, p. 202.

[22] Peck, p. 202.

[23] H.B. Burnham, Handweaving, p. 6.

women who founded the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, those who began the Appalachian handicrafts revival saw their activities as benevolent work. It is possible that these Canadian women were influenced by the earlier American movement, and marketed catalogne as rugs rather than bed covers because of the American model.

Beginning in 1902, the Women's Art Association featured demonstrations of ceinture fléchée manufacture at its annual exhibitions. These demonstrations were given by Mme. François Venne, one of the women who had been involved in the original cottage industry production of ceintures fléchées in St-Jacques L'Achigan.

Mme. Venne also demonstrated at an exhibit of traditional French-Canadian textiles which was sponsored by the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in 1907 at the Art Gallery of Montreal. This exhibit attracted the attention of Edouard-Zotique Massicotte, who was then archivist of the Montreal Court House. Massicotte had been aware of the ceinture fléchée since the 1880s when he had belonged to a snow shoeing club whose members had worn these and similar sashes as part of their outdoor attire.[24] Mme. Venne's demonstration at the 1907 exhibit impressed Massicotte so deeply that he "took the initiative for the preservation" of the ceinture fléchée.[25] After this exhibit he began to enquire about the history of the sash, but could not arouse interest in a revival of their manufacture at that time.

In 1919 Massicotte tried to draw the attention of urban, educated people to the ceinture fléchée at the Veillées du bon vieux temps.

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[24]Barbeau, Assomption Sash, p. 26.

[25]Barbeau, Assomption Sash, p. 26.

At these events, examples of the sash were exhibited on the concert stage and performers appeared wearing them. At the same time, the sum of fifty dollars was offered to encourage the study and preservation of the ceinture fléchée. It is not known what use this money was put to.

Mme. Venne is not mentioned again in accounts of the revival of the ceinture fléchée, and it seems likely that she died or became too old to practice her craft. However, Massicotte became acquainted with Mme. Napoléon Lord of Ste-Marie Salomé, who had also been involved in the L'Assomption cottage industry. Mme. Lord proved to be particularly skilled in the making of these sashes, and Massicotte began to look for people who would be willing to learn the technique from her. He approached the Sisters of La Providence in Montreal. This order supported a few old women who knew how to make ceintures fléchées, and Massicotte believed that this helped to stimulate the interest of these sisters in the craft. They experimented unsuccessfully with several types of wool and finally found that Shetland wool was most suitable.[26] One of the two sisters, Soeur Marie-Jeanne, proved particularly adept at the making of ceintures fléchées.

During the 1920s, tourism became increasingly important to the economy of Quebec, as it did to all of Canada. The increase in tourism had both direct and indirect impact on the revival of handicrafts in the province. As example of indirect effects can be seen in the opening of highways along the lower St. Lawrence in the late 1920s. This made previously isolated areas accessible to tourists travelling by car, and

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[26] As the women of L'Assomption had been given materials by the merchant, it was not possible to determine what type of wool had originally been used.

had immediate effects on crafts production in these areas. Oscar Bériau, an official with the Department of Agriculture who was in charge of handicrafts in the 1930s stated:

> With the opening of motor roads to tourists, the Beaupré coast became a sales territory for Murray Bay blankets, Kamouraska coverlets and more especially for hooked rugs. With the increasing demand, mass production began, but the quality tended to decline. Fences all along the road were covered with rag carpets and rugs from stamped patterns, presenting no characteristic interest.[27]

It is clear Bériau felt that this encroachment of technology was endangering the quality of traditional textile crafts in the lower St. Lawrence area. This type of feeling helped to provide the impetus for the major handicrafts revival that the Quebec government began to initiate in the late 1920s.

There are indications that corporations involved in tourism had considerable impact on the revival of handicrafts in Quebec. Major hotels such as the CP's Chateau Frontenac and the Manoir Richelieu of Canada Steamship Lines at La Malbaie on the lower St. Lawrence stocked handmade items for the tourist trade. During the 1920s, these corporations began to notice an increased demand for locally made textiles. An article in Canadian Geographic Journal in 1933 entitled "French Canadian Handicrafts" briefly outlined the involvement of Canada Steamship Lines in the textile crafts revival.

> Canada Steamship Lines, noting the popularity of homespuns among Manoir Richelieu guests and travellers on the river ships, undertook to enlarge the market for the material and at the same time to raise the standard of quality. For this work, the hearty co-operation of the Department of Agriculture of the province was secured, and today these two agencies are working hand in hand

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[27] Oscar Bériau, "The Handicraft Renaissance in Quebec," CGJ, 7 (1933), 146.

> to secure the most superior types of work and the most favourable market for these home products.[28]

Although handmade textiles were also marketed in the Chateau Frontenac, the involvement of Canadian Pacific in the handicrafts revival was less direct than that of Canada Steamship Lines. The major contribution of the CPR to the handicrafts revival was the promotion of awareness of and interest in handmade textiles through the demonstrations staged at the Quebec festivals.

Gibbon was quite aware of the economic link between tourism and handmade textiles. In his initial letter concerning the 1927 Quebec festival to Dr. W.H. Collings, director of the National Museum, Gibbon stated that one of the purposes for holding the first Quebec festival was to "help along the market for some of the handicrafts of the Province, particularly the textile handicrafts."[29] But Gibbon's main reason for wishing to have crafts workers at the Quebec festivals was to demonstrate his belief that folksongs and handicrafts were closely related. In the same letter to Dr. Collings, Gibbon stated that the idea of the festival was

> to bring a number of the singers, particularly from Isle d' Orleans (sic), and to arrange the setting under which they are accustomed to sing, namely, with the women actually at work weaving, spinning, etc.[30]

Gibbon clearly stated his commitment to the idea that folksongs and textile crafts were related in a letter to Barbeau concerning the organization of the first Quebec festival:

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[28]Alice MacKay, "French Canadian Handicrafts," CGJ, 4 (1933), 28.

[29]Gibbon, Letter to Dr. W.H. Collings, 20 January 1927.

[30]Gibbon, Letter to Dr. W.H. Collings, 20 January 1927.

> If you think it would add to the picturesqueness of our exhibit to have two weavers of "Centures Flechee" (sic) I have no objection, but it should be kept in mind that we only want handicraft, which is definitely associated with folksong. If there is singing connected with the making of these sashes, alright.[31]

While this theme was not stressed a great deal in the festival publicity and programmes, it did crop up occasionally. A pamphlet advertising the all expense paid tour from Montreal to the 1927 Quebec festival stated:

> In order to visualize the close association between folksong and handicraft in the Province of Quebec, arrangements have been made to hold a Folksong and Handicraft Festival at the Chateau Frontenac. . . . A number of skilled weavers and spinners from the country districts will demonstrate the complete process of making flax into thread and spinning or weaving homespun clothes, catalognes, hooked rugs, etc. . . . All such work is done to the accompaniment of folksongs, and the workers engaged are either accomplished singers themselves, or are accompanied by such singers.[32]

In accordance with these ideas, the crafts workers who demonstrated at at the first Quebec festival were accompanied by singers. A note in the general programme advised the viewers:

> The craft-workers will be at their looms, etc. in the Café adjoining Dufferin Terrace. . . . The public is requested not to disturb them at their work, or distract the attention of the folksingers who may be giving them the rhythm in song.[33]

In a talk given to the St. James Literary Society of Montreal in November 1927, Gibbon elucidated his ideas on this topic, stating that he believed some songs, which he called "the handicraft songs" had actually originated out of the rhythms of spinning and weaving. It is

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[31] Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 14 March 1927.

[32] Folksong and Handicraft Festival: all expense tour ([Montreal]: CPR, 1927), n.p.

[33] Annotated General Program [1927], p. 1.

apparent that Gibbon regarded these songs as a type of work song, like sea chanties. He believed that the songs' rhythm was determined by the type of work done while a song was sung, and that the song itself was necessary to the performance of the task.

Barbeau does not appear to have shared these ideas. Perhaps this was because Barbeau, in the course of his fieldwork, dealt directly with the women who practiced these textile crafts in their homes and was therefore prevented from developing such an exaggerated concept of the relation between songs and crafts. Gibbon's experience of meeting these crafts workers at the Quebec festivals seems to have altered his views. While he continued to believe that some songs originated out of activities such as spinning and weaving, he was less emphatic about the connection between these two arts after the first Quebec festival.

The textile workers who appeared at the Quebec festivals were informants of Barbeau. Mme. Jean-Baptiste Leblond of Sainte-Famille, Ile d'Orleans, and her five daughters appeared as crafts demonstrators. The Leblonds were also singers. In the 1927 general programme notes, Barbeau stated that more than 160 of Mme. Leblond's songs had been recorded for the National Museum. The Leblonds demonstrated rug hooking, spinning and weaving, and in 1928, all five sang in the play "Madame de Repentigny et sa Manufacture" (see Fig. 8).

Another weaver, Mme. F.X. Cimon from the village of Baie Saint-Paul in Charlevoix county, also demonstrated with her daughters. Charlevoix was the site of some of Barbeau's earliest collecting among French-Canadians. Barbeau noted in the 1927 general programme that Mme. Cimon and her daughters

Fig. 8. Mme. Jean-Baptiste Leblond (extreme right) with her four daughters all of Sainte-Famille, Ile d'Orléans. Mme. Alphonse Plante, standing.
Credit: Canadian Geographic Journal.

> belong to an educated and refined family and represent the country bourgeois type. Several painters and artists from abroad have enjoyed the congenial evenings spent at their home and have elaborated with them some of their best colour schemes.[34]

Since Barbeau sometimes referred to Toronto and Ottawa as "abroad" in his discussion of Quebec, it may be assumed that two of these artists were A.Y. Jackson and Arthur Lismer, members of the Group of Seven, who accompanied Barbeau to the lower St. Lawrence in the summer of 1925.

Other crafts demonstrators included Mme. Napoléon Lachance and Mme. Alphonse Plante, both of Saint-Pierre Ile d'Orléans. Mme. Lachance demonstrated the entire process of making flax into linen cloth. Mme. Plante demonstrated weaving, and was assisted by her husband, whom Arthur Lismer sketched at the spinning wheel at the 1927 festival (see Fig. 9). The making of ceintures fléchées was demonstrated by Massicotte's informant, Mme. Napoléon Lord and by Mme. Vigneau, another resident of L'Assomption.

These crafts demonstrators were able to sell their work at the festival. The tourists did not deal directly with them however, but through Holt, Renfrew and Company, which held the concession for the shop in the Chateau Frontenac at the time. There was considerable range in the prices set by these various weavers. In regard to the marketing of textiles, Barbeau stated to Gibbon:

> . . . you may note that Mme. Cimon sells her homespun $4.00 a yard and the drouget $3.00. She wouldn't like to see her usual price cut down. Her price is really a good deal higher than that of the others; the price of drouget ranging from $1.25 to $1.75 on Ile d'Orleans, and that of homespun being $2.00 a yard. As a suggestion, I may say that arrangements may be made with Holt and Renfrew for them to sell . . . at the price indicated by Mme. Cimon, their profit being derived

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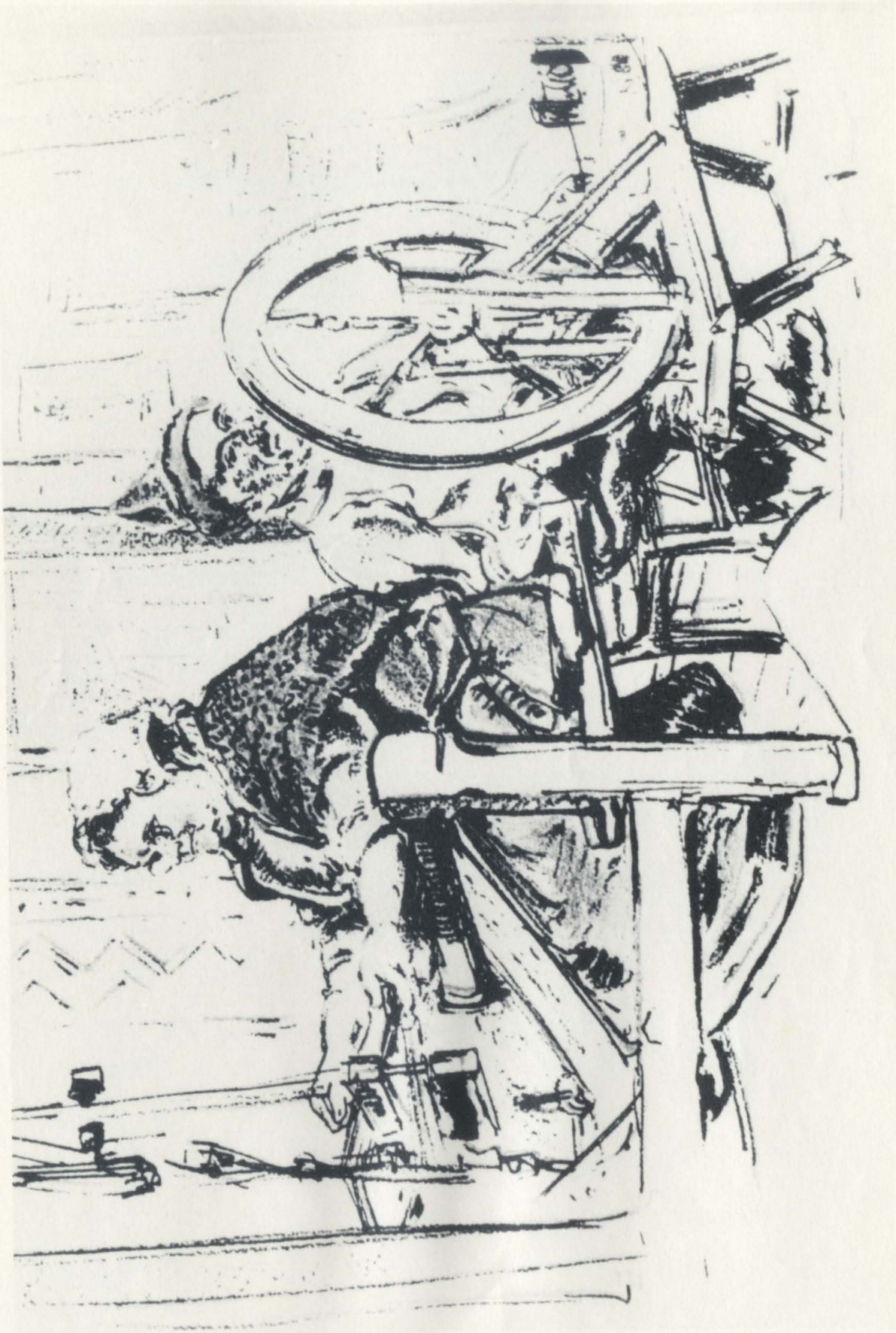
[34] Annotated General Program [1927], n.p.

Fig. 9. M. and Mme. Alphonse Plante of St. Pierre, Ile d'Orléans at a textile crafts display at the 1927 Quebec festival, as sketched by Arthur Lismer.
Credit: National Museum of Canada, J 5318.



> only from the homespun which they will obtain at a lower price. Discretion should be recommended to Mme. Cimon as to this, and the other weavers would understand that the difference between their own price and that of Holt and Renfrew's is on account of the retailer's profit.[35]

The correspondence does not indicate whether Barbeau's suggestion was acted upon.

The handicrafts demonstrations proved to be a popular feature at the first Quebec festival. Recognizing this, the organizers continued to present such displays at the 1928 and 1930 festival. Further, they attempted to capitalize on this interest in handicrafts by having female source performers such as Mme. Leblond appear on the concert stage at her spinning wheel, and by presenting "Madame de Repentigny et Sa Manufacture" in 1928. This production featured source performers at looms and spinning wheels.

The interest in handicrafts shown by audiences at the Quebec festival is related to contemporary trends such as the emergence of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, the increasing market for handmade textiles, and the interest of individuals such as E.Z. Massicotte and institutions such as the Quebec Department of Agriculture in the revival of traditional handicrafts patterns and techniques. Like the Quebec festivals themselves, this interest in handmade textiles can be seen as part of the rise of primitivism among urbanized, affluent people as a reaction against rapid modernization. The handicrafts revival movement was one of the earliest and most visible outgrowths of primitivist feelings in twentieth-century North America.

The emergence of an interest in handmade items among affluent urbanites was paralleled by contemporary trends in the United States.

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[35]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 3 March 1927.

Henry D. Shapiro, in his examination of the similar crafts revival in the Appalachian mountains, notes that by 1910

> a practical market had emerged [in the United States] for the tangible products of folk and primitive cultures, as quaint objects possessing inherent aesthetic merit and sometimes, as in the case of coverlets and baskets, practical utility as well.[36]

Shapiro offers no explanation for the emergence of this market, but it is clearly linked to the same primitivist feelings that led to the development of tourism during the same time. The handmade object may be acquired by the tourist as a souvenir of the visit to another place. As such, it is valued because it creates a tangible link for the owner with the culture which is perceived as the primitivist ideal.

By the late 1920s, it was apparent that there was a thriving market for handmade textile products in Quebec. The Quebec government was anxious to slow the decline in the rural population of the province, and saw in this developing market an opportunity to increase the income of farm women through the marketing of handmade textiles. So a serious effort was made by the Quebec government in the late 1920s and into the 1930s to encourage the revival of these crafts. By 1929, the number of Cercles des fermières had grown to 800, and the Department of Agriculture appointed Oscar Bériau as Director of Handicrafts.

Also in 1929, the government began an investigation into the condition of the home textile industry in the province. The report resulting from this investigation concluded that the old techniques "had almost been lost, and that the looms in operation were almost unfit

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[36]Henry D. Shapiro, Appalachia On Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), p. 219.

for the new conditions of weaving."[37] This report also made aesthetic judgements about the work still being produced, noting the "lack of artistic taste was noticeable," but adding hopefully that "it was evident that the Quebec women had inherited the ability of their ancestors and that they had an eager desire to learn everything pertaining to these neglected crafts."[38] As a result, the Department of Agriculture began to organize a full scale revival of handmade textile production.

As a starting point, the Department studied contemporary conditions existing in the United States and Europe regarding "handicrafts in general and . . . weaving and spinning in particular."[39] Also a collection of "rural art" from many countries was begun. By 1933, 2,500 pieces would be amassed. This collection was first shown at the opening of the first Provincial Exhibit of domestic and foreign handicrafts in April 1930.

The Department of Agriculture also began to seek out traditional Québécois patterns, turning to crafts workers still involved in the production of what were considered to be high quality textiles of traditional design. The women who provided this information were chiefly from the lower St. Lawrence counties of Charlevoix, L'Islet, Kamouraska, and Temiscouata. Some of these counties had been field areas for Barbeau since 1918, a fact which may have been related to the government's choice of these areas.

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[37]Bériau, "The Handicraft Renaissance," p. 146.

[38]Bériau, "The Handicraft Renaissance," pp. 146-47.

[39]Béreau, "The Handicraft Renaissance," p. 147.

In July 1930, the Department of Agriculture founded its Ecole Provinciale des Arts Domestiques at Quebec. This was proof of the serious commitment of the government to the handicrafts revival. The purpose of this school was to train women who would then teach others the handicraft skills they had acquired. The first pupils of this Ecole des Arts Domestiques were fifty-nine nuns who taught in Ecoles ménagères. During the first year of operation, an additional 300 women received instruction at the Ecole des Arts Domestiques. Nuns who taught at Ecoles ménagères were regularly taught handicrafts at the provincial school each summer. The crafts emphasized at this school seem to have been spinning, weaving and rug hooking.

The initial teaching staff of this school was composed of "a few teachers from the very best educational centres of Europe and America" and "two or three of our old Canadian weavers."[40] The teachers who came from other countries included: Miss Kiejland, from the Brunssons School in Stockholm, Sweden; Miss Valon from the London School of Weaving, London England; and Miss Hoagland of Snow Looms School, New York.[41] A specialist in the making of ceintures fléchées, Marguerite Lemieux of Montreal, also taught at this provincial school.

Little is known about the older Québécois women who taught at this school. Only one is mentioned by name in the literature available, but she is Mme. Napoléon Lord, the maker of ceintures fléchées whom

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[40]Bériau, "The Handicrafts Renaissance," p. 147.

[41]Quebec: Ministre de l'Agriculture, Rapport du Ministre de l'Agriculture de la Province de Quebec, 1929 (Quebec: l'Imprimeur de sa très excellent majesté le Roi, 1929), p. 34. The first names of these women are not given.

Massicotte introduced to the Sisters of La Providence, and who demonstrated at the Quebec festivals. Since Charlevoix county was named as an area that the government had looked to for traditional patterns, it seems possible that Mme. F.X. Cimon may also have taught at this school.

The Ecole des Arts Domestiques was established with definite aesthetic and commercial goals in mind. The government was only concerned with preserving the techniques and patterns that were considered to be attractive and marketable. In the Department of Agriculture annual report for 1931, Oscar Bériau stated that the weaving traditions of Quebec were so far behind the modern state of weaving that they could not be relied upon to establish a commercially viable industry.[42] Because of this, the traditional two harness loom was redesigned to accommodate additional shafts, and students were encouraged to replace the basic plain weave with more complex weaves such as serge, herringbone and basket weave. While this may have satisfied the high standards set by the Department of Agriculture, this type of weaving was not indigenous to francophone areas of Quebec. The school supplied plans and specifications so that such looms could easily be built with materials found on farms.

Though non-traditional techniques were taught, emphasis was placed on patterns that were thought to be distinctly Québécois. Although the school's collection contained examples of handicrafts from many nations, Bériau noted that:

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[42]Quebec: Ministre de l'Agriculture, Rapport du Ministre de la Province de Quebec, 1931 (Quebec: l'Imprimeur de sa très excellent majesté le Roi, 1931), p. 101.

> The pupils are warned against the copying of foreign designs; these being exhibited solely as examples of techniques and workmanship. It is impressed upon the workers that rural arts must be truly Canadian in execution, material and expression.[43]

The Ecole des Arts Domestiques also tried to direct the aesthetics of the women taught there by exposing them to the influence of fine art. A studio was established at the school, and by 1933 two graduates of the Ecole des Beaux Arts were employed there to help students prepare their designs, just as the artists Barbeau brought to Charlevoix county had influenced the Cimon family. Bériau noted that the students were encouraged to concentrate on exclusively Canadian subjects such as landscape, flora and fauna, and it seems likely that the fine artists were mainly involved with the design of hooked rugs. It is apparent that the crafts workers trained at the Ecole des Arts Domestiques were encouraged to adopt the aesthetics of fine art, and to produce crafts that would meet the approval of the educated artists and civil servants responsible for the school, and the tourists who would purchase the finished products, rather than to develop an aesthetic sense based on their own tastes, education and experience.

In addition to the women who actually came to study at the Ecole des Arts Domestiques, an effort was made to reach women unable to leave rural areas. Teachers from the school would travel to Cercles des fermières, Ecoles ménagères, or any group of weavers who requested instruction. In this way the school was able to reach large numbers of women. It was reported that the Ecole des Arts Domestiques gave some type of handicraft instruction to 2,000 women in its first year

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[43] Bériau, "The Handicraft Renaissance," pp. 147-48.

of operation. In 1933, Bériau reported that this number was expected to reach 21,000 by the end of 1934.[44]

The Department of Agriculture also organized exhibits of handicrafts. Some of these were mounted in rural areas such as St-Jean-Port-Joli and St-François-de-Montmagny. These seem to have been staged mainly to provide encouragement to the rural crafts workers of Quebec by showing them what other women had made. Other exhibits, such as the 1930 displays at Manoir Richelieu in La Malbaie, and the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, made tourists and potential tourists aware of the handmade textile industry in Quebec and its products.

The success of the Quebec handicraft revival of the early twentieth century can be measured in terms of the concrete effects of this movement on the preservation of the home manufacture of textiles and specific techniques. It is also possible to assess this movement by looking at the accomplishment of stated goals, and impact upon other provinces.

In concrete terms this revival had a discernible effect on the home manufacture of textiles. The technique of making ceinture fléchée, for example, was preserved through the efforts of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, E-Z. Massicotte and the Quebec Department of Agriculture, and this craft is still taught and practiced in the province today. It was felt at that time that this skill would have been lost but for the efforts of these revivalists. This is a commonly expressed belief among revivalists of all sorts. But in this case, considering the limited area in which the ceinture fléchée had been produced, and

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[44]Bériau, "The Handicraft Renaissance," p. 148.

the fact that the craft had lost its commercial value, which was the main reason for its production, this may indeed be true.

In more general terms, there is little question that the introduction of a commercial motive and considerable instruction by the Department of Agriculture helped to preserve the home manufacture of textiles under circumstances in which we would normally have expected these crafts to decline. The provincial government involved itself in the revival of these crafts with the practical goal of creating a cottage industry to provide extra income for farm families.

The ultimate goal of these efforts was less practical. The government hoped that this extra income would help to slow urbanization in Quebec. Oscar Bériau stated this motive clearly in 1943 when he noted that the Ecole des Arts Domestiques had been established "in connection with the back-to-the-land movement."[45] John Murray Gibbon, who continued to be involved in the handicrafts movement for reasons to be discussed below, stated in the same year that the Quebec government's work in the textile crafts revival was "a plan designed to keep the farm woman on her farm, instead of swelling the exodus into the cities."[46] The trend towards urbanization was in fact halted in the 1930s, but this was due to the Depression rather than any conscious government effort to keep the people on the land.[47]

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[45]Oscar A. Bériau, "Home Weaving in Canada," CGJ, 27 (1943), 22.

[46]John Murray Gibbon, "Canadian Handicrafts Old and New," CGJ, 26 (1943), 140.

[47]John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965; 1974), p. 139.

The Department of Agriculture's commitment to the home textile industry continued and by 1943, thirty-two handicraft instructors were employed. The introduction of a commercial setting and formal instruction had considerable impact on the textile traditions of Quebec. With the demise of the two-shaft loom, the techniques of boutonné and à la planche were no longer necessary, as they had been developed to compensate for the artistic and technical limitations of that device. Boutonné was preserved in spite of this, and Bériau's 1943 article was illustrated with photographs of women making a catalogne coverlet with boutonné decoration.[48] Boutonné was probably preserved for nationalist reasons, but the equally characteristic à la planche designs seem to have been neglected.

The government of Quebec had very definite commercial, artistic and nationalist goals in this revival. Because of these goals, the women who were taught were given strong direction, which may not have been in keeping with their own aesthetics or traditional training. Plain weave was replaced by more complex weaves. Hooked rugs were designed in accordance to the direction of fine artists. In spite of this, the women seem to have been receptive students, and this revival had lasting impact on the traditional textile skills of Quebec.

The Canadian Handicrafts Guild also continued to grow. The CPR-sponsored festivals which presented the folk culture of recent European immigrant groups and which were held on the prairies from 1928 to 1930 all featured large displays of handicrafts and demonstrations by ethnic crafts workers. These displays were organized by the

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[8]Bériau, "Home Weaving," p. 21.

Canadian Handicrafts Guild. The CPR-sponsored European ethnic festivals provided publicity for the Guild in the west, and also gave this group a focal point for its activities, which seems to have encouraged its growth. Branches of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild were formed in the west after the CPR-sponsored festivals. In 1933, the Guild opened a handicraft school in Montreal where weaving was taught, and by 1943 this organization operated shops in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg to market handmade items.[49]

Gibbon became associated with the Canadian Handicrafts Guild because of the CPR-sponsored festivals, and became its president around 1942. He seems to have taken his duties in this position seriously though he confided in a letter to Barbeau that he "got jockeyed into the position of being President of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild not through my knowledge of handicraft, but because I had free transportation to travel and visit the various branches."[50] In 1943, he organized a series of articles on handicrafts in Canada for Canadian Geographic Journal which has provided considerable material for this chapter.

The textile handicrafts revival in Quebec also influenced trends in other provinces. In the early 1940s, the government of New Brunswick asked the Quebec Department of Agriculture to train crafts teachers, and by 1943, these women were at work in their own province, teaching spinning, weaving, and rug hooking. In April 1942, a convention was held at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, "to study the possibilities of launching a province-wide movement for the general revival of

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[49]Peck, p. 213.

[50]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 20 May 1944.

handicrafts."[57] The Quebec Department of Agriculture, sent representatives to this meeting to offer advice of handicrafts revival. Interest in handicrafts was so strong at this time in various provinces that the Federal government established an Interdepartmental Committee of Canadian Handicrafts to act as a liaison among the provinces and government departments interested in revival of these skills.

This examination of the handicrafts revival in Quebec demonstrates that, if a folk revival is to be successful, the items being revived must have some relevance to the needs of the larger society. The handicrafts revival in question here succeeded because it met a number of complex practical, social and political needs.

On the social level this revival provided a form of compensation for the frustrations caused by rapid modernization by allowing affluent, educated urbanites to feel that they were sharing the lifestyle of less modern people, both through the purchasing of handicraft items and through direct involvement in crafts revival. At the practical level, the handicrafts revival created some income for the rural women who produced these items, and supplied products to meet the growing demand for artifacts of folk and primitive cultures. Politically, the presentation of handicrafts was used at the Quebec festivals as part of a larger movement to promote national unity, and the crafts revival was used by the Quebec government to encourage people to stay in rural areas, where it was felt they could live in a manner that was in keeping with the nationalist ideal of the time.

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[51] Bériau, "Home Weaving," p. 23.

CHAPTER VII

THE AFTERMATH OF THE QUEBEC FESTIVALS

The Quebec festivals ceased after the 1930 event, but there are indications that they had a lasting impact on those who were involved in them. In the years following the CPR-sponsored festivals, much of the work of Gibbon and Barbeau, and many of the artists who had been part of these events, would exhibit the same motivations and goals that had prompted initial involvement in the Quebec festivals. This chapter will detail the folklore related activities of a number of important participants in the Quebec festivals, in the years following these events.

Charles Marchand had been the driving force behind the Bytown Troubadours. After his death this group ceased to exist, in spite of its temporary resurrection with Lionel Daunais for the 1930 Quebec festival. Shortly after however, Oscar O'Brien organized and became artistic director of a similar group, the Quatuor Alouette (or Alouette Quartet). This group consisted of baritone Roger Filiatrault, bass André Trottier, tenor Jules Jacob and bass Emile Lemarre. Like the Bytown Troubadours, this group performed dressed in homespun shirts and checked trousers with ceinture fléchée around their waists. Many of the harmonizations prepared for the Bytown Troubadours were used by the Quatuor Alouette, including some by O'Brien, Pierre Gaultier and Geofrey O'Hara.[1] The arrangements by O'Hara were probably taken from

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[1]Gilles Potvin, "Alouette Vocal Quartet/Quatuor Alouette," EMC.

Gibbon's Canadian Folk Songs Old and New.

From its debut in 1932, the Quatuor Alouette was remarkably popular. The group travelled to France and Belgium and frequently performed in the United States as well as Canada. In 1945, this quartet even visited Brazil. The Quatuor Alouette recorded a number of songs in the 1940s on the Bluebird label and continued to perform, with changes in personnel, until the 1960s.[2] O'Brien remained the artistic director of the Quatuor Alouette until 1945, when he retired to the Benedictine monastery of St-Benoit-du-Lac. He took his vows in 1947, was ordained as a priest in 1952 and died in 1958.[3]

Gibbon provided English translations of songs for the Quatuor Alouette, continuing the work which began with his initial meeting of Charles Marchand. A folio of a song which Oscar O'Brien wrote for the Quatuor Alouette is reproduced in Labbé's Les Pionniers du disque folklorique québécois. The English translation of this song, which was published in 1932, is by Gibbon.[4]

Gibbon continued to show an interest in lyrics in other work as well. In 1930, his book Melody and the Lyric: From Chaucer to the Cavaliers appeared. In this book, Gibbon put forth the theory that early English poets had written with music in mind, whether folk music or the popular music of their day, and that the rhythm and metre of their poems was heavily influenced by this music. This book indicated that Gibbon was familiar with Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, a

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[2]See Labbé, p. 171 for a list of these recordings.

[3]Gilles Potvin, "Oscar O'Brien," EMC.

[4]Labbé, pp. 133-135.

work that inspired much early folksong scholarship. Gibbon also demonstrated knowledge of the more recent work of Francis James Child, and English folksong revivalist Rev. S. Baring-Gould.

In 1931, Melody and the Lyric was awarded the Quebec government's literary award, the Prix David. It seems odd that this award was given to a book which was apparently published only in English. This award may have been given because Gibbon made connections between early English poetry, particularly that of Chaucer, and French troubadour music. Like references to the connections between English folk dances and French antecedents, this was probably an attempt on Gibbon's part to encourage national unity in Canada. The Prix David may also have been an oblique show of appreciation from the Quebec government of Gibbon's role in organizing the Quebec festivals.

In 1933 The Magic of Melody was published. The theme of this book was closely related to ideas put forth in Melody and the Lyric. Norah Story, in the Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature and History, describes The Magic of Melody as "a collection of suggestions and examples to guide the reader who might wish to write lyrics to the music of the great composers."[5]

In 1938 Gibbon also wrote and delivered a series of broadcasts on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio network. These broadcasts were later described by Gibbon as "a series of programs which would illustrate the contribution of music brought by the different European Continental groups to Canada."[6] Gibbon believed that these

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[5]Norah Story, Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature and History (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 314.

[6]Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. x.

broadcasts, like the European ethnic festivals, "could convey a message and an opportunity of mutual understanding to a large audience of listeners scattered from coast to coast."[7]

Gibbon wrote a number of books as a result of these broadcasts. In 1938 the first of these, Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation, appeared. In this book Gibbon discussed the positive contributions made by each European ethnic group found in Canada. Gibbon mentioned the CPR-sponsored European ethnic festivals frequently in Canadian Mosaic. Though a chapter of the book discussed French-Canadians, the Quebec festivals were not mentioned at all. Canadian Mosaic received the Governor General's Award for non-fiction in 1938. This is the highest literary award in Canada.

For the radio broadcasts, Gibbon wrote what he later referred to as "new words on Canadian themes adapted to the spirit of the music and fitting into the general idea of the accompanying talk."[8] Some of these lyrics were printed in Canadian Mosaic, and all were included in music folios released under the general title Northland Songs by the music publishers Gordon V. Thompson Ltd. In 1937, New World Ballads was published. This was Gibbon's personal attempt to provide a national music for Canada in a popular vein. New World Ballads contained some music that had appeared in Northland Songs. In both the folios and the book, Gibbon wrote lyrics about Canadian life and history set to the tunes of European art music and folksong. It is safe to assume that Gibbon used the same techniques in composing these songs that he had

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[7]Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. xi.

[8]Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. xi.

put forth in Melody and the Lyric, and elaborated on in The Magic of Melody.

Barbeau's work has been given more attention by scholars, and will only be outlined briefly here.[9] Barbeau continued to work as an anthropologist for the National Museum. His publications on the culture of Canadian Indians were numerous, and are beyond the scope of this thesis. Barbeau also continued to devote himself to the collection and popularization of French-Canadian folk culture. During the 1930s, Barbeau organized a number of small exhibits and presentations of French-Canadian materials. In 1932 for example, the National Museum sponsored a reception during the Imperial Conference at which Barbeau organized a programme of folksong. In January 1935, he helped to plan an exhibition of French-Canadian handicrafts at the Art Gallery of Toronto.

Barbeau continued to write about French-Canadian culture as well. In 1935 his collection Folk Songs of Old Quebec was published by the National Museum. In 1936, Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers was published in English. This book was subsequently translated into French. In correspondence with Gibbon, Barbeau stated that this book was "intended mainly for the tourist trade," so it is apparent that Barbeau continued to try to make French-Canadian culture accessible to anglophones, just as he had at the Quebec festivals.[10] Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers gives information on the material culture, folksongs and legends of Quebec. Some of the illustrations in this book are photographs

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[9]For a detailed description of Barbeau's work see Carpenter, Many Voices, chapter five, pp. 220-233.

[10]Barbeau, Letter to J.M. Gibbon, 13 November 1935.

taken at the Quebec festivals. In 1937 another collection of folksongs, Romancero du Canada appeared.

In early 1937, both Barbeau and Gibbon were involved in the organization of a display of French-Canadian handicrafts which was held at the Folk Arts Center in New York City. This centre was associated with the National Committee on Folk Arts, for which Barbeau had acted as Canadian consultant since 1934. The National Museum provided some of the artifacts for this exhibit and Barbeau arranged a concert of folksong given by Phileas Bédard. Gibbon provided free transportation for Bédard and possibly the artifacts.

The correspondence between Barbeau and Ruth Burchenal of the Folk Arts Center concerning the organization of this exhibit and concert is interesting because we find in it for the first time the concept of purity of folk tradition, a concept which would have significant impact on many later North American folk festivals. For example, Barbeau originally suggested that Phileas Bédard could sing in the context of a lecture given by Barbeau in the first half of the concert. The second half of the concert, Barbeau suggested, could be taken by Emile Boucher, formerly the tenor with the Bytown Troubadours, who would be accompanied by Oscar O'Brien. To this suggestion Ruth Burchenal replied:

> I should say . . . that we are particularly anxious to have just the real folksinger. It is our function to present in these exhibitions just the actual original articles not reproductions of representations no matter how true or fine they are. So, when we give folk music we always have a simple folk singer, who sings without accompaniment in an informal and unsophisticated way. Our occasions are arranged to have a folk atmosphere in which a folksinger is quite at home.[11]

This way of thinking was obviously foreign to Barbeau and he replied:

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[11]Ruth Burchenal, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 18 February 1937.

> I am sure you would be satisfied with Bedard and his singing. He will be dressed in homespun. But I have to use him to demonstrate songs in the course of an address. He does not speak English and he is used to appearing just as a singer under guidance. The reason why I suggested also Boucher is that he is halfway between the professional and the folk singer and we have trained him to demonstrate the artistic use of folk songs and the utility of folk songs with harmonizations.[12]

But Barbeau concluded by stating that Boucher was not essential to the concert as his presentation with Bédard could stand by itself.

Burchenal placed the same emphasis on purity of folk tradition in artifacts. When Barbeau suggested including some coverlets that sounded like Jacquards, she stated:

> It is our custom not to show more than one or two Jacquards in a Exhibition as they verge on the professional rather than the folk type and so are not as interesting for our purposes as the more strictly home-made more primitive earlier types.[13]

What we see in these letters is a major conceptual difference between the organization of the Quebec festivals and many later folk festivals. The concept of the need to preserve pure folk traditions is not apparent at any point in the Quebec festivals. The organizers of these events, guided by the national romantic school of thought, believed it was their responsibility to encourage fine artists to reshape the raw material provided by the source performers into fine art. The conflict between the festival organizers and Juilette Gaultier in 1928 demonstrates that Barbeau and Gibbon were not interested in having professional performers imitate the "pure" folksinging style of the source performers; the organizers of the Quebec festivals wished to encourage a more sophisticated type of art. Lack of a

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[12]Barbeau, Letter to R. Burchenal, 20 February 1937.

[13]Burchenal, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 18 February 1937.

concept of purity of folk tradition is also apparent in the fact that Barbeau encouraged fine artists to help his informants work out colour schemes for their handmade textiles.

The reasons for this are never clearly articulated by Gibbon or Barbeau. Apparently, the notion of purity of traditions never occurred to them. It may be that this was so because of the strong influence of the national romantic school of thought. One of the main goals of the Quebec festivals was to strengthen the national unity of Canada by creating a national art based on folk music. Because of this, items of folklore were seen as the raw material, a means towards an end rather than an end in themselves. In contrast, in festivals and exhibits where the concept of purity of tradition prevails, the presentation of "authentic" folk culture becomes the ultimate goal.

After the 1928 festival, collaboration between Gibbon and Barbeau was limited to helping other people with their projects, as in the case of the New York Folk Arts Center exhibit. In 1941, Gibbon and Barbeau helped Alan Lomax to prepare a radio broadcast on French-Canadian folksong. Lomax was an American folksong collector who did a great deal to popularize folk music through such radio broadcasts and recordings. This broadcast originated at the Montreal station CKAC and was produced for the Columbia Broadcasting System. Barbeau arranged for Phileas Bédard and the Quatuor Alouette to sing. Gibbon provided arrangements of music which had been performed at the Quebec festivals.

World War II had its effect on Gibbon and Barbeau, as it did most of the nation. By 1940, Barbeau had produced a book of French-Canadian folksongs for soldiers, and was beginning work on a similar book of English-Canadian folksongs. When Barbeau asked Gibbon

for suggestions of songs to include however, he received some strong criticism. Gibbon stated:

> In regard to your folksong book for English speaking Canadian soldiers. My impression is that they are more interested in the popular songs that you find in any Community Song Book than they would in folksongs other than sea chanteys, some of which are definitely popular. . . . To my mind, it is no good trying to shove down the kind of song that these fellows don't know.[14]

So the old conflict between popular and folk songs remained unresolved.

Of all the CPR-sponsored festivals, the European ethnic festivals seem to have made the most lasting impression on Gibbon, as many of his later works were devoted to combating inter-ethnic hostilities. For Gibbon, the war created new problems in this area. During the war and after, Gibbon lectured on the value of German classical music. He urged people not to reject the music of Beethoven, Brahms and Schubert because of war with modern Germany.[15] It should be remembered that Gibbon completed his education at the University of Gottingen in Germany. Throughout his life, Gibbon seems to have maintained a special sympathy for the German people. In 1941, Gibbon's The New Canadian Loyalist was published by MacMillan and Company. In a letter to Barbeau, Gibbon referred to this book as "a war pamphlet on the New Canadians."[16] In the early 1940s Gibbon also became the president of of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild.

In 1942 Barbeau gave his first series of university courses in human geography at the University of Ottawa. During the summer of

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[14]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 3 December 1940.

[15]See Gibbon's article "Contribution of Austro-German Music to Canadian Culture," TRSC, 43 (1949), ser. 2, pp. 57-71.

[16]Gibbon, Letter to C.M. Barbeau, 17 October 1941.

that year he also lectured on French-Canadian folksong at the Université Laval in Quebec. In 1944, Laval established a chair in folklore, and appointed Luc Lacourcière to the position. Lacourcière was a follower of Barbeau and had been involved in the organization of the Quebec festivals as a young man. In 1945, Barbeau himself joined the Faculty of Letters at Laval. It was largely through the efforts of Barbeau to create awareness and understanding of French-Canadian folk culture that this academic Department of Folklore was established, the first in North America.

In 1945, at the age of seventy, Gibbon retired from his position as head of publicity for the CPR. A retirement banquet was given for him at this time, which was attended by men who had been involved in the Quebec festivals. These included Marius Barbeau, Ernest MacMillan, Louvigny de Montigny and Claude Champagne. The speeches given at this event were later published in a booklet, Tribute to a Nation Builder. It is noteworthy that Gibbon, in his speech of reply, chose to give a brief history of the organization of the CPR-sponsored folk festivals over any other aspect of his life's work that he might have discussed.

After retirement Gibbon remained quite active as an author and lecturer. In 1951, The Romance of the Canadian Canoe, Gibbon's final book, appeared in print. That same year, at the age of seventy-six, Gibbon made his twenty-eighth pack horse trip with the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, an organization which he helped to found. Gibbon died in July 1952. One of his final requests was that Barbeau visit him at the hospital.

Throughout his life in Canada, Gibbon expressed concern for promoting good relations among the diverse ethnic populations of this country. He believed that what we refer to today as applied folklore could be a valuable aid in promoting positive feelings among different ethnic groups, and worked towards his goal with vision, imagination and remarkable energy.

Barbeau retired from the National Museum in 1948. Like Gibbon, he remained active after retirement and continued to publish prolifically. Carpenter has noted that Barbeau attracted a number of followers later in his life.[17] Some of these went on to contribute significantly to the study of folklore in Canada, notably Luc Lacourcière, Carmen Roy (who replaced Barbeau at the National Museum) and Marcel Rioux, who has studied French-Canadian culture extensively.

After retirement, Barbeau devoted himself mainly to publication and classification of materials he had collected earlier, and to encouraging others to take an interest in folklore studies. In 1955, a book of folktales from his collection, The Tree of Dreams was published. In 1962, two collections of folksongs appeared: Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec and Rossignol Y Chante. The latter book was published by the National Museum and was to be the first of a series of books based on Barbeau's song collection. Unfortunately, the next book in the series had not been prepared at the time of Barbeau's death.

Marius Barbeau died in 1969 at the age of seventy-six. Because of his efforts, people in both French and English Canada had been made aware of the existence of a vast amount of folk culture. Also as a

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[17] Carpenter, p. 229.

result of Barbeau's work, the serious study of folklore became established both at the National Museum of Man and the Université Laval. Barbeau is often described as the father of folklore studies in Canada, and this title is not an exaggeration.

The national music movement that Barbeau attempted to encourage through the Quebec festivals never attained the success of the English model, but it cannot be discounted as a total failure. Helmut Kallmann and Stephen Willis state:

> The folksong movement--as much of a musical "movement" as Canada ever had--was Canada's phase of musical nationalism. . . . Some composers, O'Brien, Gratton and Lapierre among them, thought that in folk idioms lay the true potential basis of a distinct Canadian music. If this prophecy has not been fulfilled . . . it remains true, nevertheless, that many of the folk-influenced compositions of the 1920s have survived to become a permanent and valuable part of the Canadian concert repertoire, and folksong as the basis of composition has remained an important element in the work of many Canadian composers, even those whose outlook is primarily international.[18]

Kallmann and Willis blame the lack of success of the national music movement on the multicultural nature of Canadian society and the fact that "a distinct national idiom presupposes a degree of cultural isolation impossible to maintain in any developed country in the later 20th century."[19]

In an article "Canadian Musical Life," published in 1939, Ernest MacMillan gave an intelligent and insightful analysis of the national music movement and its failure.[20] It should be noted that MacMillan continued his distinguished career as a teacher, conductor,

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[18]Kallmann and Willis, p. 345.

[19]Kallmann and Willis, p. 345.

[20]Ernest C. MacMillan, "Canadian Musical Life," CGJ, 19 (1939), 330-339.

administrator and composer of music. In 1935 he was knighted for "services to music in Canada."[21] MacMillan continued to arrange French-Canadian and native Indian folk music into the 1940s and 1950s. He also acted as arranger for Gibbon on at least two occasions: in 1938 for Northland Songs, and in 1947 for Ballads of British Columbia.

In the article "Canadian Musical Life," MacMillan noted, as do Kallmann and Willis, the difficulty of formulating a national idiom in a country where so many cultural influences are at work. MacMillan stated that Canadian composers had grown away from British influence on music styles by the 1920s, when the attempted national music movement began. By that time, young Canadian composers were more attracted to developments in the United States, where jazz was beginning to have considerable and exciting influence on composition styles. So the experience of the national music movement in England was not as relevant to Canadians as it might have been at an earlier time.

National romantic movements, when they are successful, often seem to be fueled by some deeply felt artistic or political discontent. The English folksong revival was successful in creating a national school of music because composers in that country were dissatisfied with domination by German styles and had therefore been receptive to alternatives. Canada, in contrast to England, was still a cultural colony in many ways, and composers in Canada seem to have been more content to be influenced by trends in other countries.

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[21] Beckwith, p. 582.

A major folk festival movement followed in North America in the wake of the CPR-sponsored events. It is difficult to state at this time what impact, if any, the CPR-sponsored festivals had on subsequent events, as research into the history of these festivals is currently in progress or has not yet been undertaken. The first major continuing folk festival to be organized in the United States was the National Folk Festival, which began in 1934. This event was quite similar to the CPR-sponsored European ethnic festivals, but it is not known whether the organizers of this event were aware of the earlier Canadian folk festivals, or simply responded in a similar manner to the same conditions.[22]

Annabel Morris Buchanan, who founded the White Top Folk Festival at White Top, Virginia in 1931, made reference to Gibbon and "those wonderful Canadian festivals" in correspondence with John Blakemore, the festival's business manager.[23] However it is not known whether she was influenced by the Canadian folk festivals in her work.

Folk festivals continued to be organized in Canada, though during the Depression this work was done by volunteer organizations and service clubs rather than private industry. In the final chapter

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[22]I wrote Sarah Gertrude Knott, a major organizer of the early National Folk Festivals, in the summer of 1981 concerning her awareness of the CPR-sponsored events, but she is seriously ill and was unable to reply. Robert O. Turkel at the Western Kentucky Folklore, Folklife and Oral History Archives informs me that there are no references to the CPR-sponsored festivals in that institution's Sarah Gertrude Knott and National Folk Festival Collection. Letter received from Robert O. Turkel, 10 February 1982. (This letter and the letter referred to in footnote 23 of this chapter are not part of the Barbeau correspondence.)

[23]Letter received from David E. Whisnant, 5 May 1982.

of Canadian Mosaic, "Cement for the Canadian Mosaic," Gibbon made reference to a number of these. The fact that Gibbon was aware of these festivals, organized in different parts of the country, may indicate that he was consulted during their organization. Gibbon stated that folk festivals, apparently similar to the CPR-sponsored European ethnic festivals, had been organized in the 1930s by the Rotary Club in Port Arthur, Ontario (now part of Thunder Bay) and by the Kiwanis Club in Kirkland Lake, Ontario. He also stated that the Catholic School Commission of Montreal "organized a colourful pageant of New Canadians" at Lafontaine Park in honour of the King's birthday in 1938.[24] Gibbon mentioned, and included photographs from a "Church of All Nations Missionary Festival" also held in Montreal.

Gibbon also gave what seems to be a first hand account of a folk festival which was held in Toronto at the Exhibition Grounds on Dominion Day in 1938. This festival involved nearly 200 performers and was sponsored by the Native Sons of Canada and the Daughters of Canada. The programme included handicraft displays and a concert. Gibbon mentioned that Danish, Finnish, Italian, Spanish, Macedonian and Ukrainian groups participated.[25]

The events mentioned above were apparently not repeated annually. However, at least one annual folk festival was established in Canada in the 1930s. This was the "Vancouver Folksong and Dance Festival, With Arts and Crafts Exhibition," which was held annually from 1933 to 1939. These events were organized by Mrs. John T. McCay,

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[24]Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, pp. 424-425.

[25]Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. 425.

who was President of the International Club of Vancouver. The International Club seems to have been primarily a social club which promoted good relations among the various ethnic groups in that city. These festivals included handicraft displays and performance of dances and music from many European ethnic groups. However, the Vancouver folk festivals also presented the folk culture of the Chinese, Japanese and East Indian communities. This is apparently the first positive cultural promotion that non-European groups received through folk festivals in Canada.

Another major undertaking was the Toronto Festival which was held at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1947. This did not apparently become an annual event, but is noteworthy because of its size and scope. The Toronto Festival was also organized by Mrs. John T. McCay, at the request of the Art Gallery. This festival involved forty-two ethnic groups, including French- and English-Canadians and members of the Scottish Gaelic community. Events were staged over a seven day period. Each weekday, four concerts were staged for children and in the evenings, two concerts for adults were given.

It cannot be stated conclusively at this time that Mrs. John T. McCay was directly influenced by the CPR-sponsored folk festivals. However, it is clear that she shared the same goal as Gibbon: an interest in using folk culture to create better understanding among the so-called new and old Canadians. Considering the wide publicity given to Gibbon and his festivals, and the fact that Mrs. McCay, like Gibbon, chose to call these events folk festivals, it seems likely that she was influenced by Gibbon's earlier events.[26]

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[26] It should be noted that the first Vancouver folk festival was staged before the first major American event, the National Folk Festival, which was held in St. Louis, Missouri in April 1934.

In the opening paragraph of an article on the Toronto Festival, which appeared in Saturday Night in 1947, Gibbon's contribution to the Canadian folk festival movement was acknowledged:

> The institution of the Folk Festival in Canada was started nearly two decades ago through the efforts of Murray Gibbon, famed Canadian writer and formerly public relations officer for the CPR, when he organized a series of folk-song, folk-dance and handicraft festivals in Quebec and at various places throughout the west. The Folk Festival is a unique colourful show window of the various national cultures in the Dominion.[27]

From this quote it is apparent that Gibbon's efforts were not forgotten, even if those who organized later folk festivals were not directly influenced by him.

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[27]Lester C. Sugarman, "National Cultures make Festival Show Window," Saturday Night, 10 May 1947, p. 28.

CONCLUSION

In The Tourist, Dean MacCannel states that he believes tourist attractions to be "an unplanned typology of structure that provides direct access to the modern consciousness or 'world view'."[1] The Quebec festivals were tourist attractions and the examination of these events presented in the present work seems to concur with MacCannel's view. Through the study of these events it is possible to determine both the dominant social and political concerns of Canadians, and the more universal concerns of urbanized, affluent and educated people, in the early decades of this century.

The major preoccupations of Canadians are apparent in the goals of the organizers of these festivals. In seeking to promote unity between anglophone and francophone Canadians, and in trying to encourage the growth of a national art for Canada and a sense of Canadian identity, Barbeau and Gibbon expressed some of the major aspirations of progressive Canadians of their day. In choosing to present a highly romanticized vision of French Canada, and by taking an essentially colonial approach to their subject matter, they also embodied some of the primary conservative traits of their time. It has been suggested that the political dynamic of Canada is at once conservative and progressive in nature.[2] Barbeau and Gibbon, in the organization of the Quebec festivals can be said to reveal the quintessence of the illusive Canadian identity.

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[1] MacCannel, p. 2.

[2] Porter, p. 377.

In addition to such national traits, it is also possible to see more universal trends in the examination of the Quebec festivals. Most important of these is the rise of primitivism among affluent, urbanized and educated people in the early decades of this century. Although MacCannel never refers directly to the concept of primitivism, he notes the related alienation of modern man from a sense of meaning in one's own life which is central to the modern state of mind. This alienation causes modern man to devalue his own lifestyle and place a disproportionately high value on a romanticized vision of the lifestyle of some distant, less modern culture. This is primitivism, which is a form of compensation for alienation, as it allows modern man to believe that real experience or authentic lifestyle does indeed exist. Tourism is the quest that modern man undertakes to experience such a culture. Primitivism, as an unconscious social philosophy, is central to the modern world view and can be seen as a driving force behind the national romantic school of thought, the rise of tourism, and folk revival movements of all sorts.

The Quebec festivals were what MacCannel calls "cultural productions."[3] Inherent in such productions is the process of "the separation of nonmodern culture traits from their original contexts and their distribution as modern playthings."[4] We can see, in the Quebec festivals, not only a change of context, but a change of function as well. Whatever function the making of textiles or singing of folksongs may have had in the lives of the source performers outside

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[3]MacCannel, p. 23.

[4]MacCannel, p. 8.

of the Quebec festivals, it is apparent that during these festivals the primary function of these activities was to entertain the tourists. MacCannel certainly does not regard this new function as a trivial one. He states:

> These displaced forms, embedded in modern society, are the spoils of victory of the modern over the nonmodern world. They establish in consciousness the definition and boundries of modernity by rendering concrete and immediate that which modernity is not.[5]

MacCannel further states that this is one of the great strengths, and great ironies of modernity. The tourist is drawn to the cultural presentation out of a sense of the fragmented nature of modern life. Yet the cultural presentation establishes the ability of modernity to absorb all other forms of culture, proving that modernity is not in fact fragmented but monolithic and almost all-encompassing. As MacCannel notes: "the progress of modernity . . . depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity," for, as tourists travel, they take their lifestyle with them.[6] As an example of the way in which tourism spreads modernity, it seems likely that the source performers who participated in the Quebec festivals returned to their isolated rural communities more worldly and aware of urban lifestyles than they had been prior to these events.

This process was in fact noted. In an article probably written by Gibbon it was stated that at the festivals one could see "internationally known artists talking shop with native craftsmen; New York débutantes marvelling at the complexion of Jean-Baptiste's Petite Marie, and Petite Marie in her homespuns gazing with longing at Paris

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[5]MacCannel, p. 8.

[6]MacCannel, p. 3.

creations."[7]

In the reviews of the Quebec festivals we have seen how the critics often missed the point of what was being presented. Lawrence Mason, for example, confused the francophone audience with the tourist attraction itself at the 1927 festival. During the 1928 festival, some critics were willing to accept superficial charm and quaintness in place of real artistic merit. If professional critics could be so misled, we may assume that members of the general audience were as well. However, it is important to note that his misunderstanding was due to the way in which culture was presented rather than the "tourist mentality."

In The Tourist MacCannel explains:

> That touristic experiences fall short of "understanding" . . . is well known. We do not, however, know the reasons why touristic experiences turn out to be so shallow. Common sense places the blame on the tourist mentality, but this is not technically correct.[8]

As MacCannel explains, the tourist is motivated to seek experiences by the same desire to understand that motivates sincere scholarly examination, so the "tourist mentality" cannot be faulted. He further states:

> The tourist's inability to understand what he sees is the product of the structural arrangement that sets him into a touristic relationship with a social object. . . . Since popular consciousness has a pronounced bias in favor of "experience" as the main route to understanding, it is through sightseeing that the tourist demonstrates better than any other means that he is not alienated from society. If distance exists for the tourist, it is not between him

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[7] N.A.G., "The Quebec Folk-Song Festival," Quebec, 3 (1928), 2-5, also partly reprinted in the 1928 festival pamphlet Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, pp. 2-8.

[8] MacCannel, p. 68.

> and what he sees. As a tourist, he can only be alienated from the meaning of what he sees since the meaning is secreted in unnoticed details.[9]

What obscures meaning for the tourist is the very structure of the cultural production. The tourist is seeking authenticity, but what is offered in the cultural production is what MacCannel calls "staged authenticity." To elucidate this important point, MacCannel borrows a concept from Ervin Goffman. Goffman states that in every cultural presentation (even something as mundane as a restaurant) three types of dramatis personae are involved: those who perform; those performed to; and those who neither perform nor observe. He also defines three corresponding regions which these role players have access to: the performers appear in the front and back regions; the audience appears only in the front region; and the outsider is excluded from both.[10] The present discussion is concerned with the performers and audience of the Quebec festivals, not with Goffman's category of outsider. In Goffman's terms, Barbeau and Gibbon would fall under the rubric of performer; they had access to the back region of the Quebec festivals, but they also appeared in the front region (which is more than just the literal stage) in the role of "organizer."

The tourist, feeling that authenticity is to be found below the surface, seeks to enter the back regions. Staged authenticity gives one the impression of having penetrated a back region, but the cultural production is actually just another form of the front region.

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[9] MacCannel, p. 68.

[10] MacCannel, p. 92.

MacCannel states:

> . . . what is being shown to the tourists is not the institutional backstage, as Goffman defined this term. Rather, it is a staged back region, a kind of living museum for which we have no analytical term.[11]

Given this situation, it becomes more easy to understand how the tourist might be deceived by what is seen and why the resulting experience is so shallow.

To fill this analytical gap, MacCannel proposes a continuum of tourist settings, starting with Goffman's front region and ending at the back region. This continuum can be applied to folk culture and its presentation at the time of the Quebec festivals.

MacCannel defines six "stages." Stage one is Goffman's front region, the kind of social space tourists seek to go beyond. In terms of Quebec at the time of the Quebec festivals, this would be the Chateau Frontenac under ordinary circumstances (that is to say, aside from the times of the festivals). This structure, and others like it exist because there are tourists and do not attempt to disguise the fact. Stage two MacCannel defines as "a touristic front region that has been decorated to appear, in some of its particulars, like a back region."[12] He notes that functionally, stage two is always a front region. An example of this would be the Chambre canadienne, the room in the Chateau Frontenac that had been decorated to look like a habitant house.

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[11] MacCannel, p. 99.

[12] MacCannel, p. 101.

With stage three we come to the actual Quebec festivals. Stage three is a front region that is totally organized to look like a back region, such as the theatrical productions "Madame de Repentigny," and "Forestiers et Voyageurs" at the 1928 festival. Stage four is defined as a back region which is open to outsiders. I would place the performances of the source performers and the handicrafts demonstration at the Quebec festivals in this category. Unlike the dramatic productions, the presentations of the source performers represented a real back region, as they were examples (though displaced) of the types of activities these people might be involved in when in their own environment.

Stages five and six take us beyond the Quebec festivals and the city of Quebec, into the literal back regions of the province. Stage five is a back region that may be altered to accommodate the presence of tourists. In the 1920s, the Beaupré coast and other areas that were just being opened by highways could be defined as such a region. In chapter six, it was noted that the advent of a highway into this area caused women to alter the style of hooked rugs and to produce them for commercial sale. Stage six is Goffman's back region, the kind of space which tourists are normally denied access to. In terms of the present analysis, this would be the context in which the type of folk culture presented at the Quebec festivals could be found with their original functions: Mme. Leblond making textiles in her home on Ile d'Orléans or the Ouelette family playing for a local dance in Témiscouata. MacCannel notes that this is the kind of space that motives touristic consciousness.[13] At the time of the Quebec

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[13]MacCannel, p. 102.

festivals, access to such regions was fairly limited to the urbanite, and especially to the anglophone.

The cultural presentation cannot bring the tourist to the actual back region of a culture. The Quebec festivals, with their presentation of source performers, came as close to presenting a back region as a tourist attraction can. This discussion has focussed mainly on the negative aspects of the tourist attraction and the way in which it obscures meaning from the tourist. On the positive side however, tourist attractions such as the Quebec festivals can also create an awareness of the existence of actual back regions that might motivate the tourist to go beyond staged authenticity to seek a deeper understanding of a culture.

In the preceding chapters I have documented, through the study of the CPR-sponsored Quebec festivals, the major efforts to effect folk revival in Canada in the early decades of the twentieth century. The motivations of those who attempted this folk revival are many and complex, but the major trends which helped to create an interest in folk culture were a discontent with rapid modernization which resulted in a romantic idealization of folk culture, nationalism (both Canadian and Québécois), and a desire to incorporate folk art into fine art, as put forth by the national romantic school of thought.

The organizers of the Quebec festivals sought to promote national unity between the two charter ethnic groups of Canada, to create a more general awareness and appreciation of French-Canadian folk culture, and to provide the impetus for the creation of a national school of music. While they did not accomplish as much as they hoped to, their efforts cannot be dismissed as a total failure.

As Kallman and Willis note, the national music movement did result in some valuable contributions to Canadian music.[14] As a result of the life's work of Marius Barbeau, including the Quebec festivals and the promotion of a national school of music, folklore became established as a university discipline in French Canada, and a more general awareness of folk culture prevailed. It is more difficult to assess the role that the Quebec festivals might have played in the promotion of national unity. Finally, the CPR-sponsored events were the precursors of the North American folk festival movement, though their actual impact upon subsequent events cannot be fully evaluated at this time.

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[14] Kallman and Willis, p. 345.

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