

AN EXAMINATION OF FOLK-MUSIC-INSPIRED
COMPOSITION IN CANADA THROUGH AN ANALYSIS
OF SETTINGS OF "DANS TOUS LES CANTONS"

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**AN EXAMINATION OF FOLK-MUSIC-INSPIRED COMPOSITION IN CANADA
THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF SETTINGS OF “DANS TOUS LES CANTONS”**

by

Heidi J. Stepanek

**A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which Canadian composers have utilized folk music. This practice can be traced back to the emergence of widespread interest among the elite classes in vernacular art and culture in Europe and figures most prominently in trends of romantic nationalism. Through a detailed analysis of seven settings of the French Canadian folksong “Dans tous les cantons,” I seek to discover answers to three main questions: What reasons do composers give for the utilization of folk materials? What source musics have they used in this process? How have they musically manipulated these materials?

The first chapter examines the European roots of the techniques of utilizing folk music in “art” music composition. The second chapter outlines the motivations and attitudes which led to the development of the use of folksong in art music composition in Canada. The third chapter deals with the specific Canadian utilizations of folksong in art music composition. The final two chapters of the thesis concentrate on the French-Canadian folksong “Dans tous les cantons” and the detailed analysis of seven settings of it. In chronological order, these are: Sir Ernest MacMillan’s “Dans tous les cantons=In all the Country Round” (1928), Alfred Whitehead’s “In all the Country Round” (1939), Maurice Dela’s “Dans tous les cantons!” (1949), Violet Archer’s “Music Everywhere=Dans tous les cantons” (1953), Richard Johnson’s “Dans tous les cantons”

(1964), Morris Surdin's "Dans tous les cantons" (1970), and Howard Cable's "Dans tous les cantons" (1979).

In the fourth chapter, the social and cultural dimensions of the seven composers are examined. Contextual biographies are given for each, exploring their philosophies on the use of this musical practice. The fifth chapter examines the music itself and how the composers have manipulated the original song. Issues pertaining to the differences in these various instrumental and vocal settings are discussed in detail.

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First and foremost, I must emphasize that this thesis would not have been possible without the generous support of the Canadian Music Centre. The fantastic resources and networks that this institution offers have been absolutely invaluable in researching this work. I would especially like to thank the staff at the Toronto branch of the CMC, particularly David Parsons, for his time and enthusiasm, and for giving me the idea in the first place. The staff's patience, trust, and leniency in allowing me to cart huge stacks of scores on numerous trips between Toronto and Newfoundland, and in accessing and photocopying various CMC publications and program notes, has been exemplary. I have thoroughly enjoyed my many hours there and thank all of the staff for their kindness.

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The ideas and motivations for this thesis stem back to my undergraduate years at Queen's University, where I was inspired particularly by two exceptional scholars who both had great enthusiasm for their work. Firstly, I thank Dr. Rudolph Schnitzler for his continued encouragement and advice, which is always both uplifting and insightful. As well, I acknowledge the inspiring classes of Dr. Gordon Smith, whose firm and thorough

teaching and advising methods led me to a greater appreciation of both Canadian music, and of music as a whole.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband, Dimitrios. For all of the hours of menial research tasks that I dumped upon him that he ran off to accomplish without complaint, as well as for all of his support and encouragement throughout the length of this program, I thank him and love him with all that I have.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments	iv
List of Abbreviations	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter I –	
The Beginnings of Folk-Music-Inspired Composition	15
Chapter II –	
Attitudes and Ideas: The Evolution of the Popularity of Folksong in Canada ...	55
Chapter III –	
Folk-Music-Inspired Composition in Canada	107
Chapter IV –	
“Dans tous les cantons” Composers – Backgrounds and Motivations	160
Chapter V –	
“Dans tous les cantons” – A Musical Analysis of Seven Settings	213
Conclusion	252
Bibliography	262

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAPAC – Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada Limited

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CBS – Columbian Broadcasting System

CMC – Canadian Music Centre

CNE – Canadian National Exhibition

CPR – Canadian Pacific Railway

EMC – Encyclopedia of Music in Canada

JAF – Journal of American Folklore

JAMS – Journal of the American Musicological Society

NFB – National Film Board

NHDM – New Harvard Dictionary of Music

RCCO – Royal Canadian College of Organists

TSO – Toronto Symphony Orchestra

INTRODUCTION

The uses of folk music are not found in the artificial furthering of a phenomenon—rather, in the taking advantage of a prime, generative, cultural source. It is alive in every corner of our society, in every part of our individual beings. When we come to terms with it we will discover the definition... and then we will not need it (Richard Johnston, 1974: 96).

This thesis is a study of the uses of folksong in Canadian art music composition. Tracing the roots of this practice to earlier European antecedents, the thesis shows, by looking both generally and specifically at Canadian art music compositions, how and why composers have utilized folksongs in their work. A detailed analysis of seven settings of the French-Canadian folksong “Dans tous les cantons” allows for a more close examination of the possible range of particular compositional techniques employed in the adaptation of one song. Through this combined analysis of motivations and techniques, the thesis addresses three main questions: What reasons do composers give for the utilization of folk materials? What source musics have they used in this process? How have they musically manipulated these materials?

With this study it is my intention as well to address a gap in the literature by offering a concise discussion of the practices of using folk music in art music composition in Canada. Consequently, each chapter has been designed as both a survey of sources and examples capable of standing on its own, as well as being an integral part of the work as a whole, intended to provide background for the discussion of

motivations for and techniques used in the adaption of the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons.” The layout of the chapters has been designed to move from the general to the specific, beginning by looking at the European antecedents of use of the practice of folksong in art music composition, and ending by examining the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons.”

I began my preliminary research with Edith Fowke and Ruth Pincoe’s “A Reference List on Canadian Folk Music” (1973). Their second section, “Compositions based on Folk Songs,” includes Pincoe’s “necessarily limited” (Fowke and Pincoe 1) index of songs in this category. Drawing upon this index, and upon my research done at the Canadian Music Centre (CMC) in Toronto, Ontario, I have compiled a similar, though more extensive list of Canadian compositions which have used a direct folksong¹ quotation as their foundation. I have excluded those songs which, though based on folksong styles, do not draw on any specific song, or those which are based on other “folk” materials such as poetry, visual art, or narratives. My methodology in preparing this list was to consult several sources, including databases and composer files at the CMC, as well as numerous articles throughout the Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, other reference works, books, journals, recordings, web sites, composers and scholars of Canadian music. I chose the data to be analysed from this list I compiled.

¹ Firstly, I recognize that this term is a problematic one. I do not attempt to define “folksong” here, but generally, as I will explain in further detail later, throughout this thesis I have taken a folksong to be any song described as such by either collector or composer who either “discovered” or “recreated” it.

I chose to focus upon “Dans tous les cantons,” because it represents a variety of factors for analysis, including: a diversity of composers who have used it; a historical range of composition dates; several different genres; and varying uses of the source material by composers. The seven settings of this song discussed in the thesis include, in chronological order, Ernest MacMillan's “Dans tous les cantons=In all the Country Round” (1928) for male chorus, Alfred Whitehead's “In all the Country 'Round” (1939) for unison chorus and descant with piano, Maurice Dela's “Dans tous les cantons!” (1949) for string orchestra, Violet Archer's “Dans tous les cantons” (1953) for four hand piano, Richard Johnston's “Dans tous les cantons” (1964) for two voices, Morris Surdin's “Dans tous les cantons” (1968) for accordion, and Howard Cable's “Dans tous les cantons” (1979) for mixed choir and piano or brass quintet. The penultimate chapter of the thesis discusses in detail what is known of the motivations of the composers in utilizing both folk music in general, and this song in particular, in their compositions. In the final chapter I give a musical analysis of the seven settings.

One of the principal challenges I have encountered in the writing of this thesis is the general lack of primary sources on the motivations for and techniques employed in the use of folk material in art music composition. Unfortunately, few composers who adopted this practice have written about it; often the only indications of intent lie in the presence of the scores themselves. I have attempted, whenever possible, to include direct quotes from the composers themselves, however sparse. These I have found in a variety

of sources, principally in program notes in each composer's file at the CMC, along with brief articles both by and about the composers; occasionally in biographies, such as those of Ernest MacMillan and Violet Archer; and, sometimes, on the scores themselves. Other than these few valuable resources, the majority of my sources throughout this thesis have been secondary ones, by musicologists and historians of Canadian music. These include the Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, survey works on Canadian music by Kallmann, Ford, Amtmann, Proctor, Diamond, and others, as well as various articles in Canadian and international periodicals. These sources will be discussed further in the body of the thesis itself.

One of the first difficulties in presenting a discussion of this sort lies in defining the vague lines between "folk," "art," and "popular" musics. This classification is important for a number of reasons, many from a "pure" folklore perspective, while others are more practical, such as classifications for granting and funding institutions. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett laments this hazy border, as she states the following from the perspective of folk art: "Much that has been put forward as folk art by American folk art historians will continue to be rejected by folklorists for not being *folk* and by segments of the art establishment for not being *art*" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 148). While the terms "folk" and "popular" remain widely used (sometimes the two are used interchangeably), there is no consensus about how to succinctly describe music in the style of the "European elite." Often denoted as "art," "academic," "cultivated," "elite,"

“sophisticated,” “conservative,” “classical,” or the more recent and trendy “WEAM” (Western European Art Music), a consensus has yet to be reached on an appropriate title for this music. For the purpose of this thesis I propose the term “art” music as being most appropriate, though I acknowledge its shortcomings in suggesting that other types of music are not artistic, and that this term does little to describe its inherent qualities. However, most of these aforementioned terms imply a class distinction which is not always present. Other terms such as “Western” are also inappropriate as each of the musical styles discussed in this thesis are also present in the West. “Classical,” though likely the most often used vernacular term, describes a specific period in the history of this music and can easily become confused. Thus “art” music is the term that will be employed throughout the thesis.

Firstly, a distinction between the terms “folk,” “art,” and “popular” music should be reached. This thesis will not establish a definition for any of these terms, as this is wellnigh impossible at this point, but will merely suggest reasons for differentiation between the three, particularly in relation to the songs being examined here. Several factors make the composition based on folk materials “art music,” including the changing of the original tune and/or text to various degrees and the instrumentation of the song, which may be different from instruments common to the culture in which the song was composed. The commercial intent of the song is also an important determiner, as it is frequently perceived that once a performer is paid, the music is no longer “folk.”

Many other problems arise here, however, such as the following: “Not to pay fair market value is to exploit traditional artists, but to commercialize exchange is to risk the depletion of value” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 148). Questions will also ultimately arise here concerning the difference between a simple arrangement of a folksong, where only a chordal accompaniment is added, and the transcription of a folksong in a published collection which has also had an added accompaniment. Intent, both in transcription or composition and in performance, is a large factor in this answer, which will be discussed in more detail in the third chapter.

For the purpose of this thesis, I have taken a folksong to mean any song described as such by the composer who utilized it. The purpose here is not to debate current definitions within a historical and scholarly perspective, nor to give my own opinions on the definition of folk and art music, but to look at how folksong has been perceived by the composer who has used it. “Folksong” then includes such diverse material as all First Nations musics, Easter and Christmas carols, hymns, dance and fiddle tunes, and nursery rhymes.

The relationship between folksong and art music is one that is both unique and complex. As most of the composers adopting the folksongs studied here have drawn their source music from printed collections of songs, often ones that were published decades before the composition, oral variations by and transformations of the songs by numerous singers in different communities are, for the most part, ignored. Thus, the

presence of these “new” art music works represents a very limited canon of song variants, derived principally from a relatively limited number of published folk music collections available in Canada. This is not always the case, however, as some composers have also collected the folksongs that they have set. This practice, though rare, adds a new dimension to folk-music-inspired composition and will be examined in detail later.

David Spalding’s article “What is Folk Music?” (1988) must be mentioned here, as he includes in his description of “types of music that are or have been called folk music” a category which he calls “traditional music used as a basis for music in totally non-traditional styles” (33). He describes this as “music using elements of traditional music (tunes, words) but in a totally different tradition, such as the classical or jazz traditions, using only some elements and different forms” (33). Thus, he suggests that this conglomeration of styles may be, and has been, considered both folk and art music. That the new resultant work may also be considered folk music is a contestable point, but one that must be considered throughout the reading of this thesis.

Spalding also raises the point that this original source music has been incorporated into other musical styles besides that of art music. Through the popular music tradition, folk music has again taken on new forms. Though the distinctions between the three genres (folk, art, and popular) are tenuous, “popular and folk music constitute the vernacular” (Nettl 122), while art music is often perceived as representing

an elite tradition. However, works of various styles have consistently been grouped into the category of “popular” music, including such diverse folk music “transformations” as Pepusch and Gay’s “Beggar’s Opera,” several jazz pieces, early twentieth century compositions such as those by Pierre Gauthier, and other modern “pop” works such as Paul Simon’s “Rhythm of the Saints.” Some of these works will be discussed in the thesis when appropriate in describing their influence in the furthering of the practice of incorporation of folk music into art music.

The practice of incorporating vernacular culture in what is perceived as elite art did not begin with, nor is it limited to, music. This tradition has many antecedents in both visual art and in literature, both in Canada and internationally. Several of the same theories that are espoused in the growing fields of folklore in/as literature and folklore in art apply when discussing similar trends in music. It is interesting, particularly in the case of the extensive scholarship pursued since the late 1940s in folklore in/as literature, that no similar studies have been embarked upon when exploring the relationship of folklore, or folksong, in/as art music. A great many parallels can easily be drawn, and several schematics employed in much the same ways. Needless to say, each of these fields have much to offer each other, and I intend this work to be a jumping off point for further work in this direction.

To briefly introduce the developments within the field of literature and folklore in/as literature and some of the parallels to a similar study in folksong in/as art music, I

will begin by looking at Richard Dorson who, with his pioneering 1957 article “The Identification of Folklore in American Literature” essentially solidified the beginnings of scholarship in this field. Here, he identified three ways in which a literary critic might evaluate the “validity” of the use of folklore in a given text through the experiences and research of its author: Firstly, that the text shows “biographical evidence” that author would have “enjoyed direct contact with oral lore;” secondly, that the text itself demonstrates “internal evidence... that indicates direct familiarity of the author with folklore;” and thirdly, that “corroborative evidence supplement[s]... proofs from biographical and internal evidence” (Dorson, 1957: 5-7). Later, in a 1972 article “Africa and the Folklorist,” Dorson identified a fourth category of “intermediary literary sources or influences... kindled by... reading” (Dorson, 1972b: 26-7). These categories, although useful in an inauguration of the field, were concerned mainly with the perception of the author, and of how close he or she was to the original folklore which they saw fit to include in their work. As Neil Grobman has astutely observed, “this is all right as far as it goes, but has little to do with how to interpret an author’s simulation of folkloric phenomenon” (Grobman 18).

Earlier, in 1948, Archer Taylor had already begun to look at the connection between folklore and literature in different ways than what was to become Dorson’s accepted formula. He emphasizes that “folklore is merely another discipline that the literary student [one might also easily substitute “composer” here] has at his command...

The materials of folklore are already admirably arranged for his use in convenient reference works that guide the searcher to the needed information” (Dundes 37-40). This earlier attitude takes away from the idea of authenticity through personal experience; one which is undoubtedly more understood in the practice of utilizing folksong in art music composition.

One might further elaborate on the closeness or distance of an author or composer to the folklore they choose to employ in their work by utilizing Tristram P. Coffin’s four-part schema, which Grobman summarizes as follows:

(1) as a member of a folk community, fully integrated into a folk group to the point where folklore is second nature... (2) as a collector-observer of a folk community... (3) as a mis-user of folklore or a fakelorest, who uses folk traditions in a commercial, popular way... and (4) as a psycho-mythographer, based primarily on a combination of Biblical allusion, Freudian symbolism, comparative mythology, the Jungian concept of the collective unconscious, and various aspects of the myth-ritual approach to literature (Grobman 24).

In the analysis of the seven settings of the folksong “Dans tous les cantons” these distinctions will be important ones to make. As Grobman comments, “in all fairness, Coffin’s four divisions are not meant to be a classification system, but merely questions to be asked” (24). Here, both the relationship of the author or composer to the folklore being used, as well as intent or perceived respect for authenticity are addressed, making these divisions more comprehensive than those of Dorson, and important factors for analysis in a study of this type.

Another third classification set which also outlines important questions about the

nature of both the author/composer and his or her work is that of Donald M. Winkelman. Winkelman suggests a three-part classification of the use of folklore by authors, which is summarized by Grobman as follows:

(1) The first chooses from the material of his cultural milieu, the speech patterns, folkways, and thought processes of his social background, (2) The second also draws upon this social background, but does so in order to add local color and an air of realism to his work, (3) The third is the sophisticated artist who skims through anthologies to add an air of authenticity to his writing (Grobman 23).

Thus, the distinction between the author/composer who emulates the folk style of his or her own emic community is contrasted to the author/composer who essentially “cuts and pastes” for the sake of lending added validity to a non-researched piece of folklore.

Though Winkelman’s essential divisions are sound, his assumptions concerning the motivations of the composer/author in choosing their degree of familiarity are sometimes not. Though it is true that many composers “skim through anthologies” for the sake of, as Coffin suggests, “us[ing] folk traditions in a commercial, popular way,” others who are innately familiar with their own, or another culture’s folklore may still choose to peruse, research, and employ the folklore present in what they may consider to be a valuable anthology. Conversely, an author/composer who has relatively little familiarity with a folk culture may choose to incorporate what they perceive to be the “style” of the folklore in a new “elite art” piece. However difficult these intents may be to determine, it may be assumed that these situations are rare exceptions and Winkelman’s assumptions might be considered, for the most part, correct.

On examination, it can be seen that Winkelman's system models itself closely on Coffin's first three categories, employing the three distinct personalities suggested by the latter, and assuming from their background what type of work they would most likely produce. I might suggest another intermediary four-part classification scheme, in keeping with the basic premise suggested by Winkelman and Coffin, based on the type of final product to be created by the artists, regardless of their background with the folklore in question. First is a product which is composed using themes or patterns of the culture being emulated, with no direct quote of any particular folkloric item. Second, a combination of folk themes with some inclusions of specific folklore items. Third is the direct transcription of a folkloric item with some, though minute, embellishments in order for the new work to be considered of a different form with a distinct authorship. Fourth, the use of a direct quotation of an item of folklore within a tapestry of artistic creativity not related to the original item or its culture -- in essence, a work of fiction using the folkloric item as a jumping-off point. I feel that this four-part system, teamed with the schemas of Coffin and Winkelman, by applying each individual author/composer's motivations with the type of work to be produced, will answer some essential questions, and best further the fields of both folklore in/as literature, and folksong in art music. I will apply this system to each of the composers and settings of "Dans tous les cantons" to be studied in this thesis.

Similar ground has also been covered in the study of the distinctions between folk

art high and “elite” or “high” art, though not with as much time depth and with as many publications as the combination of folklore and literature. Perhaps the most significant paper here is Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s “Mistaken Dichotomies,” in which she decries the detrimental tension between pure and applied folklore, and how this specifically affects perceptions of folk art. She clarifies thus: “Defined as having been produced *outside* the academy and art world, folk art is thereby assimilated into both arenas, whether as a subject for study or as a commodity for the art market”

(Kirshenblatt-Gimbett 146). Thus, definitions between what is to be considered “folk” and “art” are again difficult to solidify, with boundaries often crossed in the middle. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett champions the cause of applied folklore, or the perception of the object, its maker, and of its consumer, rather than of its “historical formation and institutional character” (146). She emphasizes that “it is now a commonplace that American folk art was ‘discovered’ and institutionalized as part of the art world by avant-garde artists, dealers, galleries, and modern art museums...” (146), much the same as folksong has been institutionalized in either collections or through “compositions” and “arrangements.” As with folksong, “the spirit of folk art... makes it resistant to definition and to being put into an academic discipline” (Apfelbaum 31).

Though these advances in folklore and literature scholarship are important ones, issues pertaining to the final adapted work are rarely addressed, or pushed aside while perception and background of the author takes the fore. Here, in my study of folksong in

art music, I intend to focus not only on the composers' motivations in assembling their works, but also at the art music pieces themselves, to determine what devices have been used to alter the original source song, and how much of it has been preserved. As music can arguably be measured more precisely than a piece of folkloric oratory, in that it contains more detailed component parts such as rhythm, pitch, harmony, as well as text, this analysis is perhaps a more appropriate one in the methodological study of folksong in art music, and will be examined in detail in this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: THE BEGINNINGS OF FOLK-MUSIC-INSPIRED COMPOSITION

We are apt to imagine that bars of five and seven, irregular bar lengths, and so on are the privilege of the modernist composer: he is probably only working back to the freedom enjoyed by his ancestors (Ralph Vaughan Williams 35).

En parcourant l'histoire de la musique, qu'elle soit écrite par des Français, des Allemands, des Anglais ou des Américains, on ne peut manquer d'être impressionné par l'importance qu'a pris le folklore dans l'évolution artistique de tous les pays, depuis Jean-Sébastien Bach jusqu'à nos jours (Oscar O'Brien 372).

This thesis examines the use of folk music in art music composition in Canada, particularly through a close examination of settings of the French-Canadian folksong “Dans tous les cantons.” However, before beginning this investigation of folk-music-inspired composition in Canada, the beginnings of the antecedent European practice of using folk music in art music composition must be explored. The roots of this practice are difficult to trace. The most logical place to start would be when the conceptual split between “high” culture and “primitive” culture began, and, thus, the beginnings of the fascination of elite artists with the culture of the “folk.” However, little is known about when this actually might have occurred. Wiora suggests that “the history of high culture begins around 3,000 B.C., that of village culture two or three thousand years earlier” (Wiora, 1965: 21). Michael Broyles also emphasizes this distinction in musical class structure by stating that “a high culture-low culture distinction has existed for centuries

in Western music... aristocratic opera differed from folk play” (451). It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the origins of this practice of using folk music in art music composition, but the tracing of earlier European examples of compositions created in this style is important in determining the motivations which later led to the establishment of this practice in Canada.

For the sake of this chapter, I have used as my principal source Donald J. Grout and Claude Palisca's The History of Western Art Music. Though much has been written on various art music periods and composers, and several other survey works exist, some of which I have also incorporated in this chapter, Grout and Palisca's is the most widely accepted textbook for general study, and often regarded as the most accurate. The quotations taken from it are mainly statements of fact that serve as documentation of various early uses of folksong in the art music tradition. As well, Grout and Palisca have included a significant amount of documentation and analysis of this practice throughout the history of Western art music; one that is rarely present in other survey or even specific works.

Before embarking on this survey, it must be noted that much of the classification terminology employed here in distinguishing between “folk,” “popular,” and “art” musics, as well as between various periods in musical history had not been introduced and explored by scholars until the beginning of the eighteenth century and afterwards. This discussion thus reflects a retrospective glance on what is known of the musical

activities of the past based on, and employing the knowledge and scholarship which we now possess, but was inevitably unknown at the time of the original musical cultures, especially before 1700.

The practice of borrowing previously composed musical material for use in new composition is a venerable one. Its first apparent usages in art music can be traced back to the Middle Ages with the adaptation of plainsong for new sacred works to be sung as part of the liturgy. Many reasons may be suggested for the occurrence, and continuance, of this phenomenon. Perhaps this “lack of creativity” reflects a deficiency of compositional skills, thus explaining the integration of familiar musical material as documented in the early histories of the art music of any nation or region. However, it is also known that Medieval and Renaissance composers were not as interested in originality in composition as they were in finding new and complex ways of setting standard musical pieces. This technique, however, may also have other purposes which will be explored later in the thesis.

Some of the first known utilizations of folksong by what are considered today to be early practitioners of the art music tradition occurred at a time when composers of sacred music were beginning to look for new music to integrate into their compositions. Many turned to secular songs, despite their obvious lack of connection with the church. As these songs were not connected to a particular Mass Ordinary, they could be sung at any time throughout the liturgical calendar. As well, their musical structures were more

pronounced than those of plainsong, adding interest to the new works. Most important here, however, was the impetus from the congregation, who took pleasure (as it still does) in hearing a familiar tune in the church music.

These exchanges of musical materials between sacred and secular, particularly evident in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, led to a broad corpus of liturgical works using folksong as a “cantus firmus,” or a foundation around which the rest of the composition is constructed. Early motets, both sacred and secular, were often composed with a folksong cantus firmus, as is articulated by Grout and Palisca: “The structure of the [thirteenth-century] motet, with its motley concourse of love songs, dance tunes, popular refrains, and sacred hymns, all held together in a rigid mold based on plainsong... encompasses and organizes a universe of secular and sacred ideas within a rigid theological structure” (133). The use of folksong before this time in similar musical works is probable, though difficult to trace for lack of surviving manuscripts. As thirteenth century composers began to favour scripted compositions over improvised ones, as well as devise new notational systems for their preservation, more concrete examples exist. Other musical forms were also beginning to emerge. Grout and Palisca tell us that “in addition to monophonic secular songs, there were also in the Middle Ages many monophonic religious songs not intended for use in church. These songs were expressions of individual piety; they had vernacular texts and were written in a melodic idiom that seems to be derived about equally from church chant and popular folksong”

(90-1). Composers of early forms such as the German lied and quodlibet, as well as the Italian and English madrigals followed suit, using folksong as a direct foundation or as an inspiration for new compositions.

Undoubtedly, the most influential groups to use folksongs in their compositions were the early jongleurs and minstrels, as well as the Troubadours, Trouvères, Meistersingers, and Minnesingers. The jongleurs and minstrels, French traveling professional musicians, first appear in the tenth century. “The minstrels, as a class, were neither poets nor composers in exactly the sense we give to those terms. They sang, danced and played to songs composed by others or taken from the common domain of popular music, no doubt altering them or making up their own versions as they went along” (Grout and Palisca 83). The Troubadours and Trouvères of France followed shortly after, and were active from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Though also traveling musicians, they were nonetheless considered a part of the aristocratic circles, and thus hold an important place in the history of the art music tradition. They both created and sang their songs, which have been preserved in collections called “chansonniers,” often using folk music as inspiration. Specific forms of their songs, particularly “the pastourelles and other ballad songs were aristocratic adaptations of folk material” (86). The German Meistersingers followed the trends of the Troubadours and Trouvères in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and were then succeeded by the Minnesingers, tradesmen and artisans of the German cities. Their music also

often employed folksong as a foundation.

Modern ballad scholars have made us aware within the last century that the elite art song of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance was not composed independently, but often relied heavily on the use of folksong, and on the ballad in particular, for its source material. This is not surprising, for although it is impossible to determine when balladry traditions began in any given culture due to the ephemeral nature of what was inevitably transmitted orally, scholars have proven that ballads did exist as early as the Middle Ages. Friedman is as clear as possible on this point:

Although one generally supposes that the ballad might have been in existence as early as 1100, we might have only a few fragments which, in the hands of ingenious scholars and after a long process of conditional constructions, can be made out to be possible relics of early traditional ballads... We do find allusions in medieval writings, principally chronicles, to traditional and commemorative verse circulating among the people, but we can never be quite sure that the ballad is intended (Friedman 15).

These ballads often became muses for many of what are now termed by modern scholars to be the “elite art songs” composed during this period. Again, scholarship has often leaned heavily in the direction of intent for drawing these boundaries. As Siegmeister suggests, “folk music, you must always remember, is an applied art. The idea of art for art’s sake has no place in the primitive consciousness” (Siegmeister 33).

Definitions again present difficulties, as the difference here between what is now classified by scholars as a Medieval or Renaissance “folksong” or an “elite art song” is tenuous at best, as the two often existed in a reciprocal arrangement, constantly

borrowing from each other. While the early aristocratic songwriters did often take their inspiration from the folksongs which surrounded them, the “folk,” upon hearing the traveling musicians perform, also adopted the aristocratic music and transmitted it orally as if an original folksong. This influence of the Troubadours and Trouvères on the folk music later sung in French Canada is significant, and is often noted by scholars of Canadian music. Clifford Ford tells us that “En roulant ma boule” was originally a fifteenth century French jongleur song, which later became a favourite of the voyageurs (143). Willy Ammann also describes the significant impact that these aristocratic songs had on songs sung in Canada:

The influence from above to below is shown to some degree in the stylistic features which appear occasionally in the French-Canadian folksong; some illustrate the Troubadour style in the verse structure, while in others the textual similarity and the florid style of the melodies indicate the affinity with Trouvère sources. The ethnologist likes to emphasize that a great number of rediscovered and registered folksongs resemble the artistic creations of the chivalrous knights of ancient France and had reached the lower social strata through the wandering minstrel and jongleur... But we must bear in mind that most, if not all, of our *existing* or known folksongs show clearly the features and technical devices which originated in the vocabulary of art music, such as strict meter and measure, clear and regular phrases, well-defined tonality (at times with some reminders of modality), definite structural forms, triadic intervals, etc., and we must also remember that the balanced union of these components did not exist in the Middle Ages (Ammann, 1975: 166-7).

This influence of art music on folk music is one that cannot be overlooked in an examination of the use of folksong in art music. As one, in many cases, has evolved from the other, Spalding’s aforementioned arguments appear to ring true.

Marius Barbeau, however, disputes the fact that the folksongs sung in French

Canada originate completely with the earlier French minstrels. He insists that

Our [French-Canadian] folk songs as a whole were an indirect legacy from the troubadours of medieval France; so we were at first inclined to think. But we had reasons to demur. Troubadour and minstrel songs were written on parchment mostly for the privilege of the nobility; they belonged on the whole to the aristocracy and the learned, not to the people; they affected the mannerisms, the verbosity and the lyrical finesse of the Latin decadence... The troubadours themselves labored between the 11th and 14th centuries, while many of our best songs belonged to the two hundred years that followed. What is more, upon going through collections of their poems we failed to meet the familiar landmarks; the spirit, the technique and the themes had little or nothing in common with those of our records. They were two worlds apart; and we fail to see how the chasm can ever be bridged... Our only surmise is that, while the troubadours journeyed from castle to castle and penned their meticulous lines for the lords of the land, another class of poets sang their songs among the common people, who were not so easily beguiled by a more fashionable art (Barbeau and Sapir xvi-ii).

Many contest Barbeau's views, however, by suggesting that several of these French-

Canadian folksongs have been traced back to the desks of medieval scholars. Amtmann again suggests that

il reste que l'on sait de la vieille chanson française qu'elle est fait des éléments évolués de la musique d'église et de celle de l'élite. Autrement dit, la musique folklorique, tout en participant au progrès de la musique, particulièrement sur le plan mélodique, a subi aussi l'influence d'une musique savante devenue de plus en plus accessible. Cette influence descendante se dégage jusqu'à un certain point des traits stylistiques qu'on retrouve à l'occasion dans la chanson canadienne-française. Elle prend parfois modèle sur une forme poétique ou encore s'appuie sur une forme mélodique ornée qui rappelle le style troubadour. Les folkloristes aiment souligner le fait que, parmi les chansons redécouvertes et enregistrées, nombreuses sont celles qui s'apparentent aux oeuvres que composaient les seigneurs lettrés de la France médiévale et qui, par l'intermédiaire des jongleurs et des ménestrels, ont fini par rejoindre le peuple (Amtmann, 1976: 202-3).

This assimilation of art music into folk and folk music into art is not one that was

restricted to these earlier forms. Throughout the history of Western music as a whole, this reciprocity has been, and still is, present. Bartók gives the title of “popular art music” to this type which has been disseminated and transformed through constant interaction between the two groups. He espouses the view that many of the “folk” pieces adopted by composers throughout musical history were actually these popular art pieces, and do not accurately represent the perceived ideal “true, untainted and pure” music of what he terms the peasantry (Ránki 84). This view, although somewhat tangential to this study, is a point that is rarely perceived by the composers themselves, and is therefore one that must be noted.

Many art music composers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries continued this trend of using folk music in their works, particularly in France. Virgil Thomson tells us that even “Palestrina, like any number of his predecessors, based a Mass on a bawdy song from Crusading times called ‘L’Homme armé’, for the most part concealing the tune with contrapuntal encrustations” (Haufrecht v). Amtmann further suggests that “la mélodie de certaines vieilles chansons servit de *cantus firmus* à des oeuvres adaptées pour trois et quatre voix par les maîtres des XV et XVI^e siècles. De ces chansons se dégage l’influence des modes ecclésiastiques...” (Amtmann, 1976: 203). Two specific examples of how these folksongs were adapted are presented by Thomas Brothers in his 1981 article “Two *Chansons Rustiques à 4* by Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Janequin.” Here, Brothers discovers that Sermisy and Janequin, two prominent sixteenth century

French composers, based several of their polyphonic chansons on melodies (chansons-rustiques) from French monophonic chansonniers. This discovery was significant as it was perceived before that the majority of the works by these two composers were freely conceived, or newly composed without the aid of borrowed melodies (305). Yet these chansonniers often contained text only with no tune. Thus, this proves the existence of a strong oral song tradition in sixteenth century France, one that included these two “elite” composers in its circle in some way. Writing these pieces from their own hearings of the song is a practice different from the more common modern technique of adapting folksong melodies from printed song collections. Brothers describes the adaptation of Claudin’s tunes as utilizing some compositional devices to alter them, though the main melodic shape and original lyrics are preserved. Ornamentation is sometimes applied, and rhythmic durations changed slightly. The polyphony of the new works also follow closely the structure of the cantus firmus. On the other hand, Janequin’s melodic lines are more freely adapted, estimated to relate very sparsely to the original tunes. Much embellishment is used and the polyphonic lines have little relationship to each other.

Brothers suggests that this practice of using as a cantus firmus a monophonic song from a chansonnier in the composition of a three-part polyphonic work was common in France at the turn of the sixteenth century. Its popularity was especially prominent at the court of Louis XII. However, “such arrangements had practically vanished from the royal court and from Paris by the time [Attaignant’s] presses had

commenced” (317). This then explains the fact that very few works of this type remain in existence today.

Up until the end of the seventeenth century, the use of folksong by art music composers was steady, but still rather sparse. English composers such as Morley (1557-1603), Byrd (1542-1623), Dowland (1562-1626), and Purcell (1659-1695), and the Dutch composer Sweelinck (1562-1621), all produced a canon of works based on folksong. Most of these were vocal arrangements with simple added virginal accompaniments, most often in a madrigal style. Haufrecht tells us that “during the Elizabethan era, when there was a great flourishing of music and theater, composers were quite familiar with the folk and popular music of their day. Their secular music was in great measure devoted to variations of folk tunes and to dances then current” (1). Reese, in his Music in the Renaissance, also describes these pieces: “The frequent drawing on folk and dance tunes with their metric nature gives virginal music a rhythmic impetus lacking in purely contrapuntal writing” (863).

In the midst of the Baroque period, both Scarlatti (1685-1757) and J.S. Bach (1685-1750) also began to use folksongs in some of their compositions. Scarlatti, primarily a composer of keyboard works, is suggested to have integrated folkloric elements in his music. Scott suggests that, “there are many passages in Scarlatti’s pieces, in which he imitated the melody of tunes sung by carriers, muleteers, and common people” (122). Bach, though primarily a composer of church music from his post as an

organist in Leipzig, would often integrate folk melodies in his sacred works, much the same as his Medieval and Renaissance predecessor: “J.S. Bach, in his cantatas and chorale preludes, strove rather to ornament and to throw into maximum relief Lutheran hymn tunes no less secular in origin” (Thomson in Haufrecht v). O’Brien tells us that even in his famous Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Bach used a dance tune from his own country (372). After the revival of Bach’s works by Mendelssohn in the mid-nineteenth century, Berlioz even opposed the use of Bach’s compositions in the church due to the inclusion of these secular dance tunes. Johann Sebastian’s sons followed their father’s example by utilizing folksong in their own work. One such example is Johann Christian Bach’s setting of the Welsh tune “Llwyn Onn” as one of his themes in the rondo movement of his Sonata in F major for piano duet.

Undoubtedly one of the most influential early art music works to incorporate folksong was John Gay and Johann Pepusch’s The Beggar’s Opera in 1728. “Expressing as it did a middle-class revolt against the stylized Italian opera which had dominated the musical scene in England since before Handel’s arrival in 1710, the ballad opera consisted of popular songs (anonymous ballads or arias by known composers), dance tunes, and spoken dialogue in the vernacular” (Proctor 20). Gay and Pepusch’s work was an essential one, by starting to bridge the gap between vernacular and elite, demonstrating a “complex interplay of high and low” (Dugaw, 1996: 345). This opera sparked the beginning of a trend in the composition of ballad operas in England based on

both popular and folksong. It would also become the later inspiration for a number of Canadian ballad and folk operas based on folk and popular song, particularly at the 1928 Québec CPR festival, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, nationalist sentiments were beginning to emerge throughout Europe. Wiora suggests that the nationalist movement did not begin with Herder, though it undoubtedly gained its popularity from his writings mid-century. Undoubtedly, as is shown by Dugaw in her writings on Gay, this composer of The Beggar's Opera was one of these precursors to Herder's evolutionary writings. Wiora emphasizes that there was a much earlier awareness of each nation's distinctive cultural traits, particularly within the realm of music:

Matheson says [in 1713] that in music the Italians are best at execution and surprise, the French at diverting and charming, the Germans at composing and studying, the English at judging and recompensing. Yet the nations' awareness of their own and their neighbors' special qualities was in general too rough and generalized to reflect the various nuances in these actual differences. Furthermore, national styles were not fixed from the beginning and for all time. They developed, changed, weakened in the course of history (Wiora, 1965: 138).

This atmosphere in the early eighteenth century was an ideal one for Herder and the Grimm brothers to lay the seeds for more pronounced national sentiments. The time of this nationalist movement, combined with a building sense of Romanticism, was to become the most prolific and influential period in the history of folk-music-inspired composition. Grout and Palisca tell us that "nationalism was an important influence in Romantic music. Differences between national musical styles were accentuated, and

folksong came to be venerated as the spontaneous expression of the national soul” (664).

The eighteenth century began with the climax of the Baroque period, and led into the height of the Classicist movement, which would lay the foundations for the later Romantics. Grout and Palisca tell us that

the eighteenth century was receptive to influences from distant ages as well as distant places: the Classic movement took inspiration and example from the art and literature of the ancient world; toward the end of the century, with the beginnings of Romanticism, attention was turned to the Middle Ages, while musicians and poets alike displayed an interest in [what scholars now refer to as] folksong (544).

As well, “the eighteenth century stream of humanitarian idealism did not markedly affect music until the time of the French Revolution, and may even be considered, like the rise of national opera and the growth of interest in folk song, as a pre-Romantic trait” (548). Thus, this interest in the utilization of folksong is one that was already well established by the time the romantic-nationalists decided to use it as a demonstration of their movement. This early nationalism, however, may also have been a safeguard against the impending musical dominance of the Germans. Though Herder in his writings laments the intellectual and literary dominance of the French which aided in spurring the German educated elite into a counter-hegemonic defense, it is undeniable that it was the Germans who were the dominant nation when it came to musical accomplishment. Spurred by the musical developments and international acclaim earned by Austria and Germany in their musical endeavours, other European nations were seeking to raise their own art to the same revered level. Grout and Palisca tell us that, even later into the

century;

in England, France, United States, Russia, and the countries of Eastern Europe, where the dominance of German music was felt as a threat to indigenous musical creativity, the search for an independent, native voice was one facet of nationalism. Another was the ambition of composers to be recognized as equals of those in the Austro-German orbit. These aspirations were often in conflict. The best way to gain recognition, particularly at home, was to imitate the foreign composers and to compete with them on their terms. Products of this kind of imitation were also most exportable, but they lacked ethnic identity. By employing native folksongs and dances or imitating their character in originally invented music one could develop a style that had ethnic identity but might not be as acceptable to traditional audiences and the European public in general. Still, music that had a national colour was often found attractive because of novel, exotic elements (772).

It was also the coinciding of these romantic-nationalist sentiments with the emergence of the ballad revival, two events which are not at all unrelated, that made the impetus to compose based on folksong twice as strong. With the publication of Bishop Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry in 1765, the first internationally recognized compendium of folksongs, other collections began to surface in greater numbers. Through this revival of interest in folksong and with the greater number of collections to draw upon, composers began to adapt more of these songs, often with nationalistic fervour. Though some scholars, such as Albert Friedman in his The Ballad Revival: Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry, insist that the ballad revival was restricted as a pursuit of the educated and "sophisticated" elite, Diane Dugaw counters this, by suggesting that the ballad revival "in fact flourished on the popular level as well" (Dugaw, 1987: 72). Though the revival was one that permeated all levels of

society, it was also the composers who became interested in utilizing these ancient “reliques” in their works.

The Classical period demonstrated some increasing use of folksong in composition, though the primary motive here was not always nationalistic. Even Mozart was known to have composed some of his pieces with inspiration from folkloric themes, such as in the rondo of his Violin Concerto, K. 216 based on an ancient Austrian carnival song; in his Divertimento, K. 289 which adapts a Bohemian spinning song; and his Piano Sonata in A, K. 331 which quotes a sixteenth century German tune (Wiora, 1957: 221-8). His operas Entführung aus dem Serail (1782), The Marriage of Figaro (1786), and The Magic Flute (1791) also contain some German folk dance and Danish folksong quotations.

Despite Mozart’s obvious hegemony over the art music of the period, it was Haydn (1732-1809) who was one of the first at this time to compose a great deal of his music based on folksong. He often used folkloric sources for themes in the development of his symphonies, and arranged several folksongs as vocal chamber works. These included his Lerchenquartet, based on a German folk melody; his “Farewell” Symphony with a theme taken from a German Ländler dance; the finale of his D-major Symphony from a Croatian melody; his Symphony in E-flat on a seventeenth century German song; and his “Jahreszeiten” lied based on a Bohemian dance tune (Wiora, 1957: 221-8). Due to the overwhelming number of Croatian melodies used by Haydn in many of his works,

a debate began in 1880 “claiming Haydn as a Croat instead of the good German composer everyone had supposed him to be” (Scott 119).

Haydn was also commissioned by George Thomson to arrange several folksongs of the British Isles, often combined with the poetry of Burns and Scott. Haydn was very pleased with his work with this material, and said in a letter to Thomson that “I boast of this work and by it I flatter myself my name will live in Scotland many years after my death” (Haufrecht xiv). Thomson, who eventually published over 315 of these songs, arranged by Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Hummel, wanted to keep these arrangements simple because ““our young ladies... don’t like and are not able to perform a difficult accompaniment’ and the public would feel the complex style inappropriate to the ‘simple melodies’... He even invited Beethoven to make any slight changes in the songs ‘where a passage seems disagreeable to you and which you can improve’” (xv). Despite this artistic license, which would have greatly skewed the original song, both “Haydn and Beethoven have been criticized for their lack of understanding of the national idiom, and because their arrangements resemble their own style and personality more than the traditional folk style” (xiv). However, both Haydn and Beethoven were German composers who were already experienced in setting the folksongs of their own native land. Their experiment with exoticism did not result in nationalistic works for the British. Oscar O’Brien, adopting a similar view to that of many other scholars, states that “Beethoven a harmonisé au-delà de trois cents chansons pour une maison d’édition de

Glasgow; on' n'a jamais entendu dire pour cela que Beethoven fût un folkloriste écossais" (365).

Beethoven (1770-1827) was also an important figure in the use of folksong in his compositions. He incorporated folk melodies in most of his symphonies, particularly in the Sixth (Pastoral), in which his main motive of the first movement is a Croatian dance melody, and in the Ninth: "Le thème de l'hymne à la joie n'est pas autre chose qu'une chanson allemande, rendue sublime par le génie de Beethoven" (O'Brien 372-3). The tune used for the Pastoral was not likely taken from a folksong collection. "It is much nearer the truth to say that Beethoven heard this melody from a bagpipe played in West Hungary, where Croats are also settlers and where he often stayed... The tune appealed to Beethoven and as it just seemed to give a picture of rural life he used it in his symphony without acknowledgment—as was in fact usual at the time" (Bartók 328). When the 1821 Berlin premiere of Weber's Die Frischütz scandalized critics who could not accept the idea of Weber introducing folklore into his opera, by suggesting that it "lacked dignity," Beethoven spoke for the importance of this innovation. For him, it ensured that all foreign influence in German music was removed. O'Brien quotes from one of Beethoven's letters that, "Weber devrait maintenant écrire sans hésitation des opéras les uns après les autres" (373). Beethoven's other prominent compositions which contain folk music quotation include the finale of his Fifth Symphony, based on a seventeenth century German song; the trio of his Second Symphony with a quotation of a

Moravian folksong entitled “Šla jest Maria do řaje,” a theme from the funeral march of his “Eroica” Symphony from a German folk tune entitled “Dort droben in jenem Tale;” and a set of variations on the airs “St. Patrick’s Day,” “The Groves of Blarney,” and “Merch Megan” called “Air Ecossais” in his Ten Varied Themes for Piano Alone, or with Flute and Violin, op 107 (Wiora, 1957: 221-8).

During the Romantic period¹ nationalist schools of composition emerged all across Europe. The most prominent of these were the Russian, French, German, and Czech, though many individual composers, such as Liszt in Hungary, Chopin in Poland, Grieg in Norway, and Sibelius in Finland, were also instrumental in furthering the music of their respective countries. Very rarely did a European composer of this period not adopt the folk music of his homeland in his compositions. As there are too many to discuss in this chapter, I will touch upon the most significant; particularly those that were most instrumental in influencing the use of folksong in composition in Canada.

In Germany, Brahms was respectful in his adaptation of the many popular folk music themes that he selected for his compositions, changing neither notes nor rhythms. O’Brien says of his music, “c’est ce qui donne à sa musique une vigueur et une fraîcheur toute particulière, en plus de lui donner son caractère national” (373). Brahms wrote 260 Lieder based on or inspired by folk music, and arranged many German folksongs, including a set of 14 published in 1858 dedicated to the children of Robert and Clara

¹ In musicological studies, the Romantic period is most often approximated to be between the dates of 1800 and 1900.

Schumann, and 49 published in 1894. His well known Academic Festival Overture also closes with the song “Gaudeamus Igitur.” Grout and Palisca conclude that

the simplicity of these songs, the care taken never to detract from the tune by intricate or harmonically inappropriate accompaniment, is all the more striking in a composer who was a master, when occasion demanded, of most sophisticated musical constructions. Brahms declared that his ideal was the folksong, and many of his own songs, as for example the familiar *Wiegenlied*, are in this style (672).

We also find folksong in the German works of Schubert. Schubert was renowned for his prolific output of Lieder, several of which were inspired by folksong. These include his “The Shepherd and the Rider,” based on a German love song; “The Organ-Grinder,” which imitates a Bohemian dance tune; and “The Ship’s Farewell Song,” which closely resembles the Flemish ballad “Er zat een vrouw maged” (Wiora, 1957: 221-8). Several of Schubert’s instrumental works were also inspired by folk music, including the minuet and trio of his Fifth Symphony based on a thirteenth century English dance tune, and one of his sonatas based on the aforementioned Flemish ballad.

The Russian school was especially strong in the composition of national music based on folksong, due particularly to the efforts of “moguchay kuchka” or “the mighty handful”: Mily Balakirev (1837-1910), Alexander Borodin (1833-87), César Cui (1835-1918), Modest Musorgsky (1839-81), and Nicolay Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908). Grout and Palisca tell us that

their lack of schooling in traditional music theory forced them to discover their own ways of doing things, and in the process they called on the materials nearest at hand, namely folksongs. Their frequent use of actual or imitated folk material

for the generating themes of a work “has literary parallels in the borrowing by Pushkin and Gogol of folk-tales as the bases of so many of their most characteristic stories” (773).

Many of these Russian five were directly exposed to folksong and used it in their work, but they also drew from printed collections. They also frequently composed in a folk style; their melodies are often described as very folk-like.

The Czech national school was also prominent in folk-music-inspired composition. This group was led by Bedřich Smetana (1824-84) whose numerous compositions incorporate various folksong and Czech dance quotations. The most prominent of these is undoubtedly his six-part symphonic poem Má vlast. He uses the Hussite chorale “All Ye Who are Warriors of God” as the basis for the fifth and sixth movements, as well as several other folk-like melodies throughout. Mid-century, a famous debate raged between Smetana and the Czech Count Harrach concerning the nature of national song. Though both supported the fact that a national music must include aspects of the nation’s folksong, it was the means in which this was attained that was contested. Harrach, who sponsored a competition for the best Czech musical work based on Czech themes, espoused the view that a composition must include direct folksong quotation in order to be considered truly national. Conversely, Smetana, who won the competition with his opera The Bradenburgers in Bohemia, opposed this view by espousing the belief that a national music need not quote folksong directly, but employ a similar style, which is naturally inherent in the composer who has been born and raised

in that country. This is a debate which has resurfaced in various locations over various historical periods, and which has affected composition of this type in Canada. It is also a distinction that has been made by folklore in literature scholars, such as Winkelman who distinguishes between the author/composer who “chooses from the material of his cultural milieu, the speech patterns, folkways, and thought processes of his social background” and the “sophisticated artist who skims through anthologies to add an air of authenticity to his writing” (Grobman 23). Unfortunately, it is Winkelman’s bias in espousing Smetana’s side of the debate which makes his theories contestable, in believing that one who quotes directly from a folksong (albeit presumably one taken from an anthology) is not as familiar with the folklore of that particular culture and, thus, less qualified to represent it through his or her work. This discrepancy will be discussed further in the following chapters.

Both Dvořák (1841-1904) and Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) were also instrumental in furthering the Czech school. Dvořák espoused the ideal that it was the duty of composers to reflect in their music the character of the country to which it belonged. His Slavonic Dances based on folk dance forms from his Czech home, and his Three Slavonic Folksongs, op. 43 are most representative of this. After a move to New York in his later life, he was inspired by African American spirituals and the Native American music of the Southern US, and used non-specific portrayals of these in his Symphony no. 9 (“New World”). Janáček was a collector of folksong, and composed many works

based on Moravian peasant speech and song which he amassed from his own fieldwork. Probably his most prominent composition to employ this music is his Twenty-Six Popular Ballads.

In Norway, Grieg (1843-1907) composed several works based on the folksong of his homeland. These included four sets of piano arrangements of folksongs, several “Slåtter,” which are Norwegian peasant dances arranged for piano from transcripts of country fiddle playing, as well as many other pieces using Norwegian folksongs and dances. He often employed modal melodies and harmonies, frequent meter changes, and included drone basses which suggest ancient Norwegian instruments.

Other Romantic composers, though still adopting the folksongs of their respective homelands, experimented with foreign folk music. The most prominent example here is that of Mendelssohn who, after a trip to the British Isles in 1823, composed several works based on the music he had heard during his stay there. These included a piano concerto based on the Irish air “The Groves of Blarney,” a Fantasy on an Irish Song, op. 15, an overture, The Hebrides, and his “Scotch” Symphony. Like Beethoven and Haydn before him, the arrangement of these Scottish and Irish tunes did not make Mendelssohn an expert in British folklore, nor was he perceived as such. He was still a German nationalist, and his experiment with exotica was regarded as exactly that.

Moving into the twentieth century, nationalism in music was still a strong force, and more folksong collections were being compiled. Grout and Palisca describe this

period as follows:

The nationalist musical activities of the twentieth century differed in several respects from those of the nineteenth. The study of folk material was undertaken on a much wider scale than previously, and with rigorous scientific method. Folk music was collected not by the clumsy process of seeking to transcribe it in conventional notation, but with the accuracy made possible by the use of the phonograph and tape recorder; and collected specimens were analyzed objectively, by techniques developed in the new discipline of ethnomusicology, so as to discover the actual character of the music instead of ignoring its 'irregularities' or trying to adjust them to the rules of art music, as the Romantics had often done. More realistic knowledge led to greater respect for the unique qualities of folk music. Composers, instead of trying to absorb folk idioms into more or less traditional styles, used them to create new styles, and especially to extend the realm of tonality (810).

As the phenomenon of folk music collecting and publication grew, the number of folksong collections available to composers increased. Cecil Sharp was an important figure here, and his contributions as a collector, as a promoter of folksongs for use in schools, and as a writer, particularly on the utilization of folk themes in composition, was significant not only within the folk music movement in England, but internationally. Several other collectors, particularly Ralph Vaughan Williams and Percy Grainger in England, and Béla Bartók and Zoltan Kodály in Hungary, were also significant in this respect, drawing extensively on their own collecting experiences for their compositions. Sharp, Vaughan Williams, and Bartók also wrote about the combination of folk and art music, while Kodály developed a unique system of musical pedagogy based on folk tunes of his native land.

During the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the adoption of

recording devices in the collection of folk music was an important development.

Transcriptions became more accurate when scholars could play and replay the original song without having to transcribe directly from the singer in the field. As well, these recordings then became available for other collectors, and even composers, to hear.

Phonograph records, both commercial and field recordings, also played an important role in the dissemination of this music from the 1880s onwards. Though the printed transcriptions were of primary importance in that they were most often consulted by art music composers, these recordings must also be acknowledged as an important source.

Béla Bartók (1881-1945) was a key figure in furthering the use of folksong in art music composition both in Hungary, and internationally. He collected 2700 Hungarian, 2500 Slovak, 3500 Romanian, and several hundred Arab, Ruthenian, and Turkish folksongs, wrote books and articles on folk music, and based compositions on folk music and “develop[ed] a style in which he fused folk elements with highly developed techniques of art music” (Grout and Palisca 810). As a virtuoso pianist and teacher from the Budapest Academy, Bartók was also an important figure in furthering pedagogy based on native folksongs. His Mikrokosmos (1926-37) consists of 153 piano pieces of graded difficulty, based principally on folksongs of his native Hungary. He himself tells us that “my idea was to write piano pieces intended to lead the students from the very beginning and through the most important technical and musical problems of the first years, to a certain higher degree” (Bartók 427). His For Children (1908-1909) is also a

piano pedagogical compilation in four volumes, with the first two based on Hungarian, and the second two on Slovak folksongs. “The folk songs [sic] appear here unchanged, in their full form and vary at most in the way they are divided between the two hands” (Vikár 103). Bartók tells us that “I wrote them in order to acquaint the piano-studying children with the simple and non-romantic beauties of folk music” (427). In an attempt to teach young Hungarians in a progressive manner the various techniques involved in playing the piano, Bartók also emphasizes the importance of familiarizing children with the music of their heritage. He describes his motivations thus:

I always had the feeling that the available material [for teaching piano], especially for beginners, has no real musical value, with the exception of very few works... I myself tried to write some easy piano pieces. At that time the best thing to do would be to use folk tunes. Folk melodies, in general, have great musical value; so, at least the thematic value would be secured (Bartók 426).

Several Canadian composers, particularly Violet Archer, who is one of the seven composers to be discussed in detail in the final two chapters, were greatly influenced by Bartók’s pedagogical methods.

Bartók’s compositional style was also unique. Unlike many earlier composers, he did not attempt to preserve the original song in his new composition. Instead, he altered it using various compositional devices, as well as expanding the realms of tonality. The Canadian composer Murray Schafer describes Bartók’s style as follows:

Bartók’s approach to folk music is highly individual and represents at once the furthest extreme and yet the most authentic attempt to remain faithful to both the original music and his own artistic integrity... He would isolate a special rhythmic or melodic gesture and, using no more than that as a basis, would begin

to compose, varying it in every conceivable way his fertile imagination led him to, always conscious of building it into something, conscious of his power of becoming as well as its nobility of being (15-6).

Of Bartók's numerous compositions based on folksong, some of which quote directly, and others which demonstrate an imitation of a specific folksong style, the most prominent are his Four Slovak Folk Songs (1907) for mixed choir with piano accompaniment, Fifteen Hungarian Peasant Songs for piano, Rumanian Christmas Songs also for piano, and his Suite No. 2 for orchestra, op. 4, based on music from his own collections.

Zoltan Kodály (1882-1967) also produced compositions based on folksong, and published many folksong collections. His Peacock Variations, a cycle of variations on a Hungarian folksong, utilizes the full orchestral palette for the presentation of the theme, and is often criticized as being too complicated musically for its intended subject. However, Kodály was known primarily as an educator, and built a pedagogical system that often incorporated elements of folksong. Carl Orff (1895-1982), a German composer and educator, also devised a graded musical collection for schools which incorporated folk music, and is often adopted by Canadians. Orff was also known for his large-scale work, Carmina Burana, which he claimed embodied the spirit and the rhythms of ancient Hungarian folksong (Grout 816).

In England, Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) was influential in furthering the folksong movement through his prolific collections of folk music and through his encouragement

of the use of these songs in art music composition. Sharp became active at a period where folksong in England was considered to be nonexistent. "The ordinary townsman hardly knew of the existence of English folk music, nor were there many musicians who were better informed. As a wit of the day expressed it: 'if there were any English folk songs, they were Irish.' And among the country people, folk song had gone out of fashion" (Karpeles, 1967: 33). It is significant that Sharp, along with Vaughan Williams, helped to build on what was a lagging interest in folksong. He encouraged its use in art music composition and, as a result, his collections were often consulted by several composers, including Vaughan Williams who used them to compose his Norfolk Rhapsodies for orchestra, and Holst in his Somerset Rhapsody. Sharp also composed several works himself based on songs from his own and other collections. In a 1907 letter, Sharp states his opinion on the preservation of the original song when being adapted: "I am not against chromatic treatment if it can be used without destroying what seems to me to be the essential nature of the folk-melody. But I feel it is difficult - for me impossible - to use modern chromatic harmonies without going astray" (Karpeles, 1967: 55). Opposed to Bartók's free use of tonality and the manipulation of other original elements of the source songs, Sharp's pieces, like those of most of the English Romantics (some of which emigrated to Canada and exercised their influence there), were much more careful in their preservation of the elements of the original songs.

Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), Sharp's contemporary, was another

prolific collector and composer of music based on folksong. He was influenced greatly by his teacher Max Bruch, who himself had an interest in Scottish folksong and had used it frequently in his compositions. Vaughan Williams collected over 810 folksongs throughout England and encouraged composers to use this material in their works. Though the preservation of these folksongs was Vaughan Williams' primary aim, he also had a second, not unrelated objective: the integration of these works into his own compositions to form the basis for a new, and hitherto absent, national English music. These two goals are not unrelated, as Vaughan Williams felt that by using these folksongs in his new music, he would also be preserving them. Concentrating on this objective, Vaughan Williams began to spend more time on his own composition, with the intent and conscious purpose of creating a music that was partly individual and wholly English. He was an strong advocate of the school of thought that a prerequisite of any national piece of music is the inclusion of a folksong. He explains his perspective thus:

In the folk song we find music which is unpremeditated and therefore of necessity sincere, music which has stood the test of time, music which must be representative of our race as no other music can. This, then, or something like this is the foundation, it seems to me, on which all our art must rest, however far from it we spread and however high above it we build... I do hold that any school of national music must be fashioned on the basis of the raw material of its own national song (Siegmeister 40-1).

Elsie Payne in her article "Vaughan Williams and Folk Song" gives a list of thirty-eight of Vaughan Williams' compositions "which use or quote directly from folk song" (Payne 105-6). Hers is an excellent article, which describes the importance of

these songs in his compositional success. Many of Vaughan Williams' instrumental works, several of which have standard titles, also include sections which borrow from folksong. Others, such as his "Pastoral" Symphony of 1922 have the "flavor" of traditional music: "Equally characteristic and folksonglike is the trumpet tune in the trio of the third movement" (Grout and Palisca 822). His poem setting, On Wenlock Edge (1909), is described thus by a critic: "The contour—but not the rhythm—of the opening phrase of the folklike vocal line derives from the top voice of the richly triadic piano introduction" (Morgan 133). Some of his other compositions based on songs from his and from others' collections include his cycle Folk-Songs of the Four Seasons (1950) and his Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'.

Vaughan Williams also wrote and published piano accompaniments for several collections of English songs. His primary concern, very similar to Sharp's, in adding accompaniment to these songs was that "the harmony should be subsidiary and above all impersonal" (Kennedy 29). Vaughan Williams was also known for his lectures and writings on the subject of national music. He published his first book, National Music, in 1934, based on papers he had given and revised on the subject since his early lectures in 1902. Vaughan Williams also had connections to Canada: among his corpus of compositions are several based on Canadian folksongs. These connections will be discussed further in the following chapters.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the French musical school was

beginning to come into its own. With such unique compositional styles as those of Debussy (1862-1918) and Ravel (1875-1937), who both composed works based on the folksong of their homeland, trends such as impressionism, neo-classicism, and the use of new scalar structures were introduced in conjunction with the folksong quotations. Debussy, influenced principally by the Russian “moguchay kuchka” composer Musorgsky, whose own contributions to folk-music-inspired composition were also profound, composed many works using folksong or folklike melodies as a base. These included his opera Pelléas et Mélisande, as well as his Estampes for piano and his Images for orchestra. Ravel also set many folk melodies, particularly exotic ones, in his Rapsodie and Haberna on Spanish idioms, and his La Valse which employed Viennese dance rhythms.

One of the most prominent twentieth century composers to include folksong quotation in his works was the Russian Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971). Though undoubtedly many of the themes and motifs of his pieces were based on direct quotation of folk melodies, Stravinsky was always purposely vague about which were real and which were invented. Bartók tells us that “Stravinsky never mentions the sources of his themes. Neither in his titles nor in footnotes does he ever allude to whether a theme of his is his own invention or whether it is taken over from folk music” (343). This “deception” was purposely produced by Stravinsky to allow a seamless flow of music which he considered inherently national. This strategic ploy on Stravinsky’s part was

undoubtedly a scheme to avoid the inevitable deconstruction of his work as a pastiche of folksong and art music techniques, much as has been done with each of the other works of this nature. However, it has almost served an inverse purpose: By intriguing scholars with the puzzle of first discovering what folk tunes he has employed, where they are found, and how they have been altered, Stravinsky has only managed to provoke the insatiable curiosity of musicological scholars. He has thus succeeded in bringing more attention to the dissecting of his works than any other composer who utilizes folksong.

In his later life, Stravinsky was also reported as saying that he “was bored with folk music and even more so with the question of its connection with his work” (Mazo 99). However, he continued to use it, and interspersed it strategically with folklike motives of his own creation. His Le sacre du printemps “is one of the best examples of the intensive permeation of art music by genuine peasant music” (Bartók 325), and is most often recognized by scholars for its folkloric content. Divulging the fact that the ballet begins with a bassoon melody taken from an anthology of Lithuanian folksongs, Stravinsky refused to make known any of his other sources, asserting that truly national music should not come from the quotation of folksong but from the qualities inherent in the compositional style of the country’s individual composers. Stravinsky even ventures further to suggest in a 1930 French newspaper article that

Some composers have found their most potent inspiration in folk music, but in my opinion popular music has nothing to gain by being taken out of its place. It is not suitable as a pretext for demonstration of orchestral effects and implications, and it loses its charm by being uprooted (*déracinée*). One is

adulterating it and rendering it monotonous (Taruskin 503).

Some of his other works, which, despite his protests still contain direct quotations of original folksong, include his ballets Les Noces based on Russian wedding ritual, and his Petrushka which is “rich in Russian folksongs and folk polyphonic textures” (Grout and Palisca 837).

Music in the United States throughout the twentieth century, as in Canada, was quick to adopt the European trend of the utilization of folksong in nationalistic expression. The US, however, was quicker in both discovering and discarding the practice, and had a significant influence on later Canadian musical trends. Several of the most important American composers in this regard include Charles Ives (1874-1954), with many folksong-inspired works such as his In Flanders Fields based on quotations of various heroic and military songs (sometimes considered to be a part of the “folksong” canon), George Gershwin (1898-1937), with his folk opera Porgy and Bess, and Roy Harris (1898-1979) with his “Folk Song” Symphony for chorus and his When Johnny Comes Marching Home for orchestra. Most influential, however, were Edward MacDowell (1860-1908) and Aaron Copland (1900-).

MacDowell “resolved to be an American composer in the way that Mussorgsky was a Russian composer or Dvořák a Bohemian one: by treating his own country as the equivalent, musically speaking, of a ‘peripheral’ European nation, and bringing the American landscape and indigenous American materials into his own European-based

style” (Crawford 542). He often included folk music of his home country in his compositions and “has been credited with truly initiating the movement in the United States to use indigenous material as a compositional source” (Keillor, 1995: 187). He was the first North American composer to base pieces on Native American music, using as his source Theodore Baker’s 1882 Ph.D. thesis, which was the first collection of this sort. These works include his Second Indian Suite, From an Indian Lodge, Indian Idyl, and American Indian Melodies. Through this practice, MacDowell greatly influenced the course of both US and Canadian music composition, as many composers later followed his lead in setting these unique and technically difficult songs.

During Dvořák’s visit to the US from 1892-5, MacDowell became disillusioned with the Bohemian composer’s suggestions for the creation of an American national music. He protested Dvořák’s proposed formula for this national song by suggesting that “rather than granting that choosing a melody to borrow, finding its essence and engaging with it musically could be a complicated process, Dvořák seemed to be offering a prescription that could lead simply to arranging ‘folk’ melodies in fancier garb—hardly a solid foundation for a national art” (Crawford 557). Dvořák’s suggestion that American music should be based on the quotation and style of African American spirituals seemed an alien concept to MacDowell, who himself chose, and encouraged others, to compose works based on music of the Native American people, which he considered more indigenous to North America.

Aaron Copland was also instrumental in furthering folk-music-inspired composition in the US. Probably his best known work was Appalachian Spring (1944), a ballet which later became an orchestral suite. Using the “folk tune” of the Shaker hymn “‘Tis the Gift to be Simple” in a set of variations, Copland sets it sparsely, reminiscent of the pastoral nature of much of the American landscape. Copland also used Mexican folksongs in his orchestral suite El Salón México (1936), and cowboy songs in the ballets Billy the Kid (1938) and Rodeo (1942). Several of his other pieces do not quote directly but still have a folksong flavor.

Copland, like other American composers of the time, were undoubtedly influenced by documentary film scores by Virgil Thompson (produced by the Farm Security Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture) The Plow that Broke the Plains (1936) and The River (1937), who employed folk tunes both whole and fragmented, as well as “American” folk instruments, such as the banjo. These early film scores would also lead to many later employing folksongs in much the same way. Film composers such as Morris Surdin, whose setting of “Dans tous les cantons” will be studied later, were undoubtedly influenced by these works.

Throughout the nationalist movement, a variety of musical techniques were used by composers in setting folksongs which will be examined in more detail in chapter five. On a more abstract level, it can be seen that a general evolution occurred from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century in how folksong was treated in art music

composition. Earlier, with the arrangements of Haydn and Beethoven, less care was taken to maintain the form or style of the original song, and it was changed as was seen fit to “improve” the artistic capabilities of the new work. Thomson tells us that

composers have tended to choose folk tunes for their adaptability to being set, not in the style of the music’s period—usually unknown—but in that of the composer himself. They have even forced them a little at the joints—as Bach and Haydn and Beethoven all did—to fit them into current metric patterns, or smoothed out with a sharp or a flat some modal outline obviously archaic. The value of all such treatments by conscientious and experienced composers lies not in their contributions to ethnography but in the taste of their musical solutions (Haufrecht v-vi).

This lack of interest in the precise ethnographic preservation of the songs is one that soon reversed itself with the widespread publication of new folksong collections, particularly leading into the nineteenth century. As most composers accepted Bartók’s suggestion that “it can be surmised that all European folk music that is well-known nowadays owes its origin to the influence of some art music or, rather, popular art music” (316), their efforts in preservation became more concentrated. Schafer describes this evolution thus:

When the spirit of nationalism invaded the various countries of Eastern Europe, composers were at first inclined to be content with literal transcriptions of the melodies of their peoples... Later it became necessary to rhapsodize over the material: now it was louder, now softer, now played on one instrument, now by the entire orchestra, now in the minor, now in the major, while underneath the texture became more complex, suggestive perhaps of rural scenery or rustic social gatherings. But the fundamental tune was never altered or fragmented (15).

As the movement progressed further, composers began looking for new and innovative ways of setting these songs in conjunction with the developing musical styles of each new period. Thus, the preservation of the original song again became secondary

to artistic concerns. The song was often lost amidst larger and more varied orchestral textures, became divided through contrapuntal and developmental devices, and was also changed melodically through the abandonment of tonality or through the adoption of twelve-tone methods. Often, only fragmented motifs of the original song remained, sometimes played in different scalar structures, with its notes rearranged in a different melodic order. These were the principal techniques in later twentieth century settings.

As time progressed, composers became more and more weary of setting these folksongs. Schoenberg, in his essay “The Folkloric Symphony,” suggests that folklike motifs invented by the composer are preferable to existent folksong melodies. He demonstrates how in Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, the single four-note motif so well known is later developed and changed in many ways. Schoenberg attests that this short motif has so many possibilities for expansion, and yet he cannot think of a single folkloric tune that has these same possibilities, where several subordinate ideas may be derived from an original theme. He suggests that there can be no organic growth in these folksong-inspired works, as there remains a simple strophic repetition of the same melody with no hope for development. Schafer sums up these ideas by proposing that

it is the difference between building the average house with a number of identically shaped bricks and constructing, say, Cologne cathedral with its interplay of Gothic arches, large, small, elliptic, triangular, functional, and ornate... Either the composer must take liberties with his material – break it into germinal ideas, in which case the beauty and meaning of the original would be impaired or destroyed – or he must be content merely to transcribe his material and force his creative imagination to be still (14).

Thus, through time, composers in the art music tradition have inevitably changed their tastes in what is considered acceptable music for borrowing. Whereas in the Medieval period, the once-fashionable borrowing of plainsong tunes and their reuse in new compositions was becoming stale, Schoenberg and others are now suggesting that the possibilities for expansion of folksong have also been exhausted.

After outlining a general view here of the history of the European use of folk music in art music composition, many questions can still be raised as to why or why not composers chose to adopt this practice. Schafer suggests that the motive was often sociological: "Folk music is a genuine expression of sentiment, perhaps the most genuine to be encountered in the entire sphere of music. For this reason it is, in itself, perfect. The serious composer who employs it scarcely hopes to improve it; he hopes rather to set it circulating among a wider, international audience" (13). Bartók echoes these opinions with the following statement:

The reference to folk music presents something refreshing and exotic to their works... while the application of art patterns results in many banalities: the artistic values of such melodies cannot be compared with that of the untarnished folk melodies. Popular art music melodies generally lack the absolute perfection so very characteristic of pure folk music (317).

In recent decades, the process of using folksong in art music composition has fallen out of practice. Many reasons are suggested for this phenomenon, several of which echo the sentiments of composers such as Stravinsky, Smetana, and Bartók, who feel that a nationalist expression stems less from a formulaic musical structure based on

folk music and more from the individualist expression of a country's composers. Bartók demonstrates these sentiments by stating that;

it is not a question of merely taking folk melodies of our country and inserting them into our works. That would have been a superficial procedure resulting, at best, in producing a more or less incongruous style. The important matter was to acquire the music language of our peasantry as a child learns his mother tongue, and, in possession of this musical mother tongue, to use it as a natural and, so to speak, unconscious means of expression in our works (348).

Thus, the motivations for the use of folk music in art music composition have varied over time and region. Earlier, the desire to utilize a unique form of music which had greater interest than that of plainsong, led to the adoption of folk music. However, centuries later, composers are looking for new and unique ways to adopt this now familiar material. Undoubtedly, the most prominent motivation for using folk music in art music is that of nationalism, which was apparent both before and after Herder and the nineteenth century Romantics. However, the use of folksong in pedagogy became important, in teaching young musicians not only the idiomatic tendencies of their own instrument, but also about the music of their own homeland; a music that was both unique and, often, simple to perform. Often the choice of the adoption of this music was not left up to the composer themselves, but was dictated through wealthy patrons who encouraged what they believed to be the best expression of a "national" music based on folksong. This can be seen particularly in the case of Smetana and Count Harrach, as well as with Haydn and his patrons, the Esterházy. Similar motivations can be seen in the adoption of this music by Canadian art music composers; motivations which were

often inspired by these European predecessors, and which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: ATTITUDES AND IDEAS: THE EVOLUTION OF THE POPULARITY OF FOLKSONG IN CANADA

He [Ernest MacMillan] sat at the piano, and we began to hum some of the tunes in that book [Barbeau's collection] while he improvised an accompaniment on the keyboard, which struck me 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! (Marius Barbeau, from MacMillan's Music in Canada, 33)

This chapter introduces and describes the conditions and attitudes which led to the development of a rise and subsequent fall of the popularity of folk music in the realm of Canadian art music composition. This popularity, begun by research into the musical past of the nation through printed word and through folksong collection, and perpetuated by such events as the Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts (1919) and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) festivals (late 1920s to early 1930s), sparked a sense of nationalism. Embraced by many composers who used folk music in their own works, this movement, which followed European antecedents, did not, however, meet with the same measure of success. The composer R. Murray Schafer explains that;

This kind of nationalism (composition based on folk song) has never developed as extensively as it did in certain European countries. In the first place, the struggle for independence and national achievement in Canada did not coincide with the period of our most impressive artistic accomplishment. Then, too, progressive urbanization has rendered large portions of the population less conscious of folk art of all kinds; such material is much less meaningful for

Canadian audiences than would be the case in, say, Eastern Europe (6-7).

However, Canadian art music composers have undertaken and in some cases are still attempting to perpetuate this sense of nationalism through the use and adaptation of folksong in composition. This chapter explores the development of this movement by examining researchers, institutions, and events, and it offers my analysis of the complex issues surrounding nationalism in Canadian music.¹ It also explains how the folksong “Dans tous les cantons” came to be collected and preserved, and discusses the motivations and conditions which led to its utilization by various composers throughout the history of Canadian art music composition. Some activities and examples which may at first appear tangential to the examination of “Dans tous les cantons” are, in fact, necessary to insure a complete and accurate description of the folksong climate in Canadian art music.

The song “Dans tous les cantons” is a French-Canadian piece which warns, somewhat jokingly, against entering into marriage. It was first published by Ernest Gagnon in his 1865 collection of Chansons Populaires du Canada, and was later harmonized by Oscar O’Brien in J.M. Gibbon’s 1927 compilation of Canadian Folk Songs Old and New. Over a period of more than fifty years, from 1928 to 1979, seven art music composers have ventured to set this folksong. Each of these “new” pieces stem

¹ Please note that throughout this section, the musical activities described are those of the art music tradition, and bear little resemblance to the progress of what can be considered “popular” music – a stream which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

either directly or indirectly from Gagnon's original variant. These composers include, in chronological order of their composition, Ernest MacMillan (1893-1973), Alfred Whitehead (1887-1974), Maurice Dela (1919-1978), Violet Archer (1913-2000), Richard Johnston (1917-1997), Morris Surdin (1914-1979), and Howard Cable (1920-). These composers, their compositions, and the original folksong will be discussed in detail later.

Most of the information in this and in the subsequent three chapters is taken from the perspectives of musicologists and historians who have endeavored to interpret the work of Canadian composers. Whenever possible, I have attempted here to include direct statements or ideas from the composers themselves. However, this literature is limited, for most Canadian composers have rarely written about the music which they composed, leaving little indication as to their motivations for the utilization of different practices or compositional techniques. Most of the theoretical descriptions of their work come from brief program notes, or from scribbled references on the scores themselves. Though there are a few exceptions, why many of these composers selected these folk pieces, or why they were set in a particular genre can only be divined from a few scarce writings on the subject, and through an analysis of the scores.

The main reference works which have been influential in shaping the historiography of Canadian music, and subsequently in the shaping of this thesis, include Helmut Kallman's A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914 (1960), Willy Amtmann's Music in Canada 1600-1800 (1975), George Proctor's Canadian Music of the Twentieth

Century (1980), Clifford Ford's Canada's Music (1982), and Timothy McGee's The Music of Canada (1985). Several other essay compilations and regional study works, particularly Ernest MacMillan's editing of Music in Canada (1955), Willy Amtmann's La Musique au Québec 1600-1875 (1976), Beverley Diamond and Robert Witmer's collaboration on Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity (1994), and Timothy McGee's editing of John Beckwith's festschrift Taking a Stand (1995), have also been helpful in my research. Recent periodicals have also been useful, particularly The Canada Music Book, The Journal for the Society of Traditional Music (originally the Canadian Folk Music Journal), and Canadian Composer. Very recently, Carl Morey has also produced a comprehensive bibliography of research on Canadian music, Music in Canada (1997). Indisputably, however, the most significant work on Canadian music is The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (hereafter referred to as EMC), edited by Helmut Kallmann, Giles Potvin, and Kenneth Winters, and first published in 1982, with a second edition in 1992.

As Leo Treitler has noted in his Music and the Historical Imagination:

we do not like to acknowledge that, as historians, we are within history. We do not like to think that our choice of problems or our ways of identifying and evaluating evidence serve any particular ideologies or that they reflect the ways in which our worlds are structured, or that they would respond to change in the circumstances around us (4).

However, the inevitable reality is that through these works the musicologists, though relatively few, have shaped perceptions of Canadian music. In her article, "Narratives in

Canadian Music,” Beverley Diamond gives a synthesis of historiographic method employed by three of these main survey publications. She discovers that, in general, there has been relatively little research done on early Canadian musical history, and that researchers have tended to show a progressive growth in Canadian musical activity. She shows how an evolutionist viewpoint has been adopted by most musicologists, regarding musical activity in Canada as having moved from primitive to sophisticated, from rural to urban, from amateur to professional, and from a colonial culture towards a Canadian “identity.” In addition, she notes, there is often a regional bias shown in the literature towards the more largely populated areas, and regions with smaller populations are poorly represented or overlooked altogether. Most of these historical accounts depict Montréal and Toronto as the largest and most influential musical centers, with less attention given to the Maritimes (though Halifax runs a close third), and to Newfoundland, and even less to the West. Diamond suggests that an historical account written by a Westerner is one that is long overdue.

The historiography of Canadian music has been done mainly from an Anglo-Canadian perspective. There does not yet exist a survey of Canadian Music written by a French-Canadian, even though the French originally dominated (and in many ways still do) Canadian composition. As well, the ethnic backgrounds of composers who emigrated to Canada from areas other than France and Britain have been largely ignored.

When examining perceptions of folk music in Canadian art music surveys, it is

evident that in most, if not all, of these publications, Canadian folk music has historically been perceived within three distinct categories: French-Canadian, English-Canadian (which is sometimes further subdivided into music in Atlantic Canada and English music west of Québec), and Native American music. All of the musical traditions of this last category have generally (and perhaps erroneously) been, and continue to be, considered “folk.” More recently, a fourth category has been given more attention, that of ethnic musics not French or English in origin, though this group of songs is still only beginning to be explored seriously within the broader context of “Canadian music.” Though accounts of Canadian musical history bear these ethnocentric categorizations among their faults, they are nonetheless valuable resources. These biases must, however, be recognized before a more accurate understanding of musical activity in Canada may be reached. Each of these divisions and reasons for their existence will be discussed later in the chapter.

At this point, I include a brief account of the history of Canadian art music, that focuses on details relevant to the compositional settings of the seven works based on “Dans tous les cantons.” The first documented account of a musical event in Canada²

² In exploring this historical progression, it is understood that Canada did not officially become a separate country until 1867. When earlier periods in the country’s history are referred to, the term “Canada” is used to indicate activities which occurred within what is now considered to be Canadian territory.

was in 1535.³ Such early sources are sparse and often vague. Generally, they paint a picture of Canada that indicates an expansion of musical activity that parallels the colonization of the country – thus, gradually improving in capabilities as it began to spread from East to West. Some fine examples of music composed in the styles corresponding to the European periods of the Renaissance and Baroque have survived, though it is surprising that little attention has been paid them by Canadian scholars. Though Kallmann and Willis in their EMC article “Folk-music-inspired-composition” indicate that the first known Canadian composition to be created by utilizing folk music was one by Frederick Glackmeyer in ca. 1817, I strongly suspect that this trend became evident much earlier, due to the existence of numerous earlier unexplored works. As many of the first Canadian composers emigrated principally from British and French lands in the first two or three centuries of colonization, it can hardly be disputed, due especially to the quality of some of these earlier compositions, that they were familiar with, and educated in, trends in the contemporary and past compositional methods used by musicians in their homelands. As we have seen, these trends, particularly in France and in England, often included the “borrowing” of extraneous material, including folksong, for incorporation in a new compositional work. Thus, it is surprising that no such example has yet been discovered in the Canadian corpus. However, here the examination of this practice will begin with the earliest documented example of this

³ When Cartier visited the First Nations settlement of Hochelaga, he had the trumpets and other instruments sounded for the apparent enjoyment of the First Nations peoples.

practice in Canada; thus the period in which Glackemeyer's composition is placed – in the early nineteenth century.

The vast majority of Canadian art music compositions, particularly early ones such as Glackemeyer's, have not been published and remain in manuscript form. Thus, the dissemination and the study of these works have been relatively limited. Many of these pieces have not been studied at all, especially with the relatively sparse amount of research done on Canadian music as a whole. As well, many works have undoubtedly been lost since, typically, only one copy existed. Though a few small publishing houses were established in some of the larger urban centers in the mid nineteenth century, music publishing in Canada did not begin with any great enthusiasm until after the 1928 CPR festivals in Québec, which will be discussed further in this chapter. Since many of these earlier works were never published, and since communication between composers across the vast distances of the Canadian landscape was extremely limited until the advent of radio and the formation of the Canadian League of Composers in the middle decades of the twentieth century, many compositional innovations were completed independently with little common influence. Thus, these first early nineteenth century compositions based on folksong must be regarded with the knowledge that they were motivated more by earlier and contemporary European trends than by the compositional styles of their composers' fellow countrymen.

Most sources would have us believe that “sophisticated” musical activity was

relatively slow to evolve in Canada throughout the nineteenth century, and that it was inevitably of a regional nature due to the vast distances between areas. Most musical activity apparently occurred in the urban centers and less in remote areas, which lacked both musical instruments and professionally trained musicians. The quantity and quality of music in any given area depended completely on the musical training and talents of any musicians residing there. As a result, both rural and urban music revolved primarily around the local church. It was here that the first “significant” performances, deemed those of larger scale works of the European “masters” involving choir, organ, and other instrumentalists, began to take place.⁴

Opera was also especially popular throughout the nineteenth century – McGee estimates that by 1810, approximately 100 operas had been mounted in the cities of Halifax, Montréal, and Québec (1985: 51-2). St. John’s, Newfoundland had also sponsored the production of an opera in 1820. The establishment of amateur instrumental and choral societies also began in the early nineteenth century, which later grew into the founding of larger, more professional groups, such as the Québec Harmonic Society in 1820 (by Frederick Glackemeyer) and the Toronto Philharmonic Society in 1845.

Instruments were relatively sparse through the beginning of the century,

⁴ For further information on the importance of the church in early Canadian musical life, see Lefebvre’s article “The Role of the Church in the History of Musical Life in Quebec.”

especially in rural areas. It is noted by Schafer that in 1783 there was still only one piano in Québec City, one of the oldest and most established musical centers of Canada at the time (4). The earliest known piano builder began his trade there in 1816, and by 1851 there were seventeen piano makers throughout Upper and Lower Canada. As a result of this later boom in the supply and demand of what was rapidly becoming a staple instrument, piano salon music became especially popular, which was most often published in popular Canadian periodicals. After 1840, however, publishing houses were founded in Québec City, Halifax, Montréal, and Toronto which then encouraged the composition and performance of such pieces (McGee, 1985: 53-4).

By the twentieth century, communications technology was developing steadily, greatly encouraging the collaboration of musicians across the country. The most influential changes occurred after 1918, following the advent of radio and the phonograph. In 1919, the Canadian Marconi Company began regular broadcasts. By 1926, there were forty stations across Canada, and 1927 marked the first set of nationwide broadcasts (McGee, 1985: 83). The broadcast repertoire, as it expanded, included European art music “classics,” as well as ballads, patriotic war songs, military bands, and folksongs.⁵

Phonograph recordings also began to make music more accessible. Berliner Gram-o-Phone established itself in Montréal in 1899, then became RCA Victor in 1929.

⁵ For further information on the advent of radio in Canada, consult Berland’s article “Radio Space and Industrial Time: The Case of Music Formats.”

Many commercial recordings of folksongs were made, often adapted in a more “popular” style.

The immense popularity of radio inevitably led to the establishment of several professional Canadian musical ensembles. These were based almost exclusively in urban centers. Though a handful of established ensembles already existed at this point, there was a dramatic increase in these numbers following the advent of the first broadcasts. The first professional orchestra formed in Canada was the Orchestre symphonique du Québec (OSQ) in 1902. The Toronto Symphony (TSO) followed shortly after in 1906, but was disbanded during the first World War, and did not restart until 1923. Other professional symphonies followed later, such as the Calgary Symphony (CSO) in 1910, and the Montréal Symphony (MSO) in 1936. The availability of large instrumental ensembles led to the composition of a few select works for orchestra, however this genre has been sparsely explored in Canada to date, due to two main considerations: Firstly, there were still relatively few large musical ensembles capable of producing such works, especially in what were often short seasons, and secondly, the repertoire of these orchestras consisted principally of major European works. The first Canadian work of symphonic proportions to be performed in Canada was Healey Willan’s Symphony No. 1 in 1936. Only a few Canadian orchestral works, including a second symphony by Willan and two symphonic works by Claude Champagne, were created around the same time frame. Proctor emphasizes this point by stating that, “the Canadian composer of an

extended work was not always guaranteed a first performance; second and third performances were even rarer. Canadian orchestras still tended to view their obligation to Canadian music as being fulfilled with the insertion of a ten-minute concert overture as an audience-settler at the beginning of a performance” (73). This perception is still dominant even today, with few orchestral works being produced in relation to the number of compositions created for smaller chamber groups, or for solo instruments. Inevitably, the time commitment involved in the undertaking of such a grandiose work is a large consideration, as is the relatively sparse funding available for works of this nature.

The establishment of government agencies that included the promotion of artistic growth in Canada in their mandate began in 1936 when the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was inaugurated. The CBC brought together a broad geographical base of Canadians through its broadcasts, and created numerous employment opportunities for musicians. In 1951 the Canadian League of Composers was established to bring together and encourage the growth of composers in Canada. Also in 1951, the federal government published the results of a national inquiry into Canadian culture, the National Commission on Arts, Letters, and Sciences, chaired by Vincent Massey, chancellor of the University of Toronto. His “Massey Report” was a document consisting of 450 essays presented by experts in various fields across Canada.⁶ Ernest

⁶ No provinces from Atlantic Canada were represented in this report.

MacMillan, one of the composers to set the folksong “Dans tous les cantons,” was chosen to compile the report on music. He emphasized the urgent need for facilities for performances, facilities for publication, private foundations for support of composers’ works, and widespread public propaganda for the nation’s own music. Since that time, each of the areas outlined by MacMillan have improved significantly, due in large part to the efforts of MacMillan himself.

As a result of this report, the Canada Council, a funding agency for the arts, was founded in 1957. Two years later, monies received by the Canada Council from government support and from wealthy patrons (such as the Floyd Chalmers Foundation) resulted in the founding of the Canadian Music Centre (hereafter referred to as CMC). This non-profit organization is dedicated to the collection and preservation of Canadian music written after 1940. The CMC publishes scores, research, and recordings of Canadian music, and provides a library of scores with borrowing privileges. The first office opened in Toronto in 1959, followed by branches in Montréal, Vancouver, Calgary, and Halifax.⁷

Music education programs were also flourishing in schools at this point, encouraged by such programs as the John Adaskin Project. This project, begun in 1961 with the mandate to establish a “Graded Educational Music Plan,” encouraged both the

⁷ For more information on arts patronage in Canada, see Lazerevich’s essay in McGee’s Taking a Stand, “Aspects of Early Arts Patronage in Canada: From Rockefeller to Massey.”

composition of new pedagogical works and the teaching of Canadian repertoire to elementary and secondary school students. Many of these works were created with nationalistic purposes, and often included folk music quotations. Some of the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons” were composed under this mandate. Music education in post-secondary institutions was also developing rapidly at this time (through the middle decades of the twentieth century), as prominent Canadian musicians were hired at universities across the country.

Although each of these events had a dramatic and lasting effect on the progress of composition in Canada, it was the impetus of the folksong movement in Canada, made possible mainly through the collaboration of Marius Barbeau and John Murray Gibbon, which had the most profound effect on the furthering of composition based on folksong. Through the creation of the Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts in 1919, and of the Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals sponsored by the Canadian Pacific Railway through the late 1920s and early 1930s, these two men were instrumental in encouraging a nationalist movement based on the resurrection of folksong. This section will then explore these festivals in detail in relation to their importance in the furtherance of the practice of using folksong in art music composition.

Marius Barbeau (1883-1969), born in Québec, completed his schooling at Laval, at Oxford, and in Paris in anthropology, ethnology, and archeology. While Barbeau was at Oxford, he was in the midst of the beginnings of the English folksong and dance

revival there, and was undoubtedly affected by this British nationalist movement.

Barbeau was hired as an anthropologist by the National Museum of Canada in 1911, whereupon he began to record the folklore of various First Nations tribes. His contributions to the field of French-Canadian folksong collecting are vast, and will be discussed later in the chapter.

Barbeau, along with Édouard-Zotique Massicotte (1867-1947), who had collected over 5000 versions of folksongs and stories himself, staged two concerts in Montréal in 1919. Under the title of “Veillées du bon vieux temps,”⁸ these concerts, often performed by their informants, helped to draw attention to the folksongs that were being collected by the two scholars throughout French Canada. Janet McNaughton, in her insightful M.A. thesis, A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Songs and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930, states that “in these concerts actual bearers of traditions were put on stage before an audience of educated urbanites for the first time in Montréal. Indeed the Veillées du bon vieux temps may have been the first events in North America to take this innovative step” (McNaughton 49-50). Also significant in these concerts is that some art

⁸ This title is, in my estimation, an obvious descendent of the “Ordre de bon temps,” or the sociable house parties staged in Port Royal to avoid fatigue and ennui, put in place by Champlain after his establishment of the settlement there in 1605. This tradition of the house party, and its title, has remained an important one in French-Canadian culture since. However, Barbeau and Massicotte’s term may also be based on a combination of other terms: “Veillée,” an old world term, suggests a traditional gathering for entertainment while “vieux temps” is most likely the French version of “old-time,” a nostalgic term that gained currency in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as a response to the many changes precipitated by the industrial revolution.

music arrangements of these folk songs were presented as well, thus introducing this form of composition as a viable one in Canada. The fact that some Canadian composers had already begun to use folk music in their compositions was not well known, and indeed their motives may have been very different than those of Barbeau. In fact, Barbeau was not even aware that several of such compositions already existed, and stated in a pamphlet for the Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts that

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 traveling German! Where were the Canadian composers? (Barbeau and Massicotte, 1919: 4).

Following the success of the first two, another group of concerts, also under the name of Veillées du bon vieux temps, were mounted from 1921 to 1941 in Montréal, and featured important early performers of Québécois music. These concerts both promoted an interest in the performance of folk music, both in its “original” state, as well as in altered “sophisticated” musical forms, and led to the performance of folk music as a viable career. Thus, the careers of several professional and amateur singers were launched, including that of Charles Marchand (1890-1930) who became an active promoter of French-Canadian folksong. As a performer and composer, Marchand was instrumental in both the Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts as well as in the CPR festivals.

Sometime shortly before 1920, Barbeau was introduced to John Murray Gibbon,

with whom he collaborated to produce the Québec CPR festivals of 1927 and 1928.

Gibbon (1875-1952) was born in Ceylon, and completed his schooling in Scotland and at Oxford. He also studied Sanskrit and Greek archeology in Germany, and traveled extensively throughout his life. One of his most significant contributions to the folksong movement is his book Melody and the Lyric: From Chaucer to the Cavaliers, published in 1930. Here, he describes the “common” practice of the unconscious use of vernacular culture in elite art. He espouses the opinion that, historically, English poets have consistently written with either folk or popular music in mind, and that the rhythm and meter of their poems were influenced greatly by this music. He bolsters his theory through a discussion of major collections such as Child’s Ballads and Percy’s Reliques.

Shortly after coming to Canada, Gibbon became supervisor of European propaganda with the CPR in 1907 -- a job which required him to encourage European immigration to Canada. In 1913, he became the publicity director for the CPR and initiated artistic and cultural events, including the Folk Song and Handicraft festivals.

These sixteen or more festivals were staged at the CPR hotels along the length of the new Canadian railway system from central to western Canada. Their purpose was to facilitate the expansion of the west, and to encourage the growth of Canadian culture, by hosting elaborate displays of Canadian folk music, handicraft, theatre, dance, and visual art. They were “intended mainly for an audience of affluent Anglophone tourists,” and signaled an “apparent rise of an interest in folk culture among the affluent, educated

urbanites in the early decades of the twentieth century” (McNaughton iii). McNaughton further suggests that “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 nationalistic, romantic and conservative in nature” (3).

The most influential set of festivals, in terms of music, were the three staged at the Château Frontenac in Québec City in 1927, 1928, and 1930. Here, folk musicians performed, as well as many professional vocal groups and chamber ensembles. Gibbon and Barbeau became the chief organizers of the events for the first two festivals. The relationship between these two men is a fascinating one, as each had his own very distinct goals. McNaughton believes that Gibbon’s chief goal was cultural:

The desire to promote harmony among people of different ethnic groups went 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 the also the rationale for many of his later writings, lectures, and radio broadcasts (60-1).

Gibbon became then, through this post, a cultural entrepreneur, and was one of the chief architects of the concept of Canada as a mosaic. Yet, he can also be perceived as commodifying folk music, by putting folk performers on stage for corporate profit; this being his primary goal as dictated by his position with the CPR. That his disagreements with Barbeau on repertoire and performers for the festivals often showed his favoritism towards groups or songs that would be more popular rather than historically significant,

indicates a more dynamic interest in tourism.

Barbeau's interests were more nationalistic than those of Gibbon. McNaughton indicates that

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 (61).

Barbeau's interest in promoting folksong as a valuable tool for composers took root in his festival plannings and in his writings afterwards. He, and many of his followers, were inspired by this compositional concept:

I had been acquainted with these "Raw" elements in their own surroundings and they were no novelties to me. What entranced me was the interpretation on the concert platform of sets of songs I had transcribed from the phonograph, the most lyrical and lovely I could choose, by Ernest MacMillan at the piano to Campbell McInnes' singing; Alfred LaLiberte's elaborate but admirably performed accompaniments of pastourelles and chansons a repons to the singing of two or three of his disciples; or again Healey Willan's powerful, at times fugue-like, developments, executed under his direction by a small orchestra, in the performance by a group of singers of de Montigny's "Ordre de Bon Temps." To some observers at the time it seemed that Canada's own music was born and would soon be coming into its own. Perhaps we were too optimistic. Yet definite progress has been achieved since, in spite of a climate in North America averse to originality and fundamentals (Barbeau in MacMillan, 1955: 34).

The CPR festivals were a forum for this kind of "national" composition. This was especially encouraged through the establishment of a competition for compositions

based on French-Canadian folk songs, the E.W. Beatty prize, at the 1928 festival.⁹

Unfortunately, the competition did not accomplish its goals of creating a large quantity of high quality works based on Canadian folk song; however, some pieces were added to the growing canon. It is interesting to note that Ralph Vaughan Williams was an adjudicator for this competition, signaling his direct influence over the establishment of this folk-music-inspired composition movement in Canada.

Gibbon and Barbeau reached several compromises when selecting performers for the festivals. The two decided on a relative balance of what they termed “source” performers, or professionally untrained folksong singers who had learned their songs through oral tradition, and “non-source” performers, who were responsible for what was termed the “academic” music compositions and arrangements of the folksongs. McNaughton tells us that, “this was the group [non-source performers] that most interested Barbeau in his work with the Québec 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” (73). The balance between source and non-source, however, was skewed greatly in favor of the academic performers in the first two festivals, though it swayed in the other direction when Gibbon became solely responsible for the 1930 festival. Some of the most notable performers of the Québec festivals in terms of the compositional styles being discussed, were the quartet the “Bytown

⁹ Named after E.W. Beatty, president of the CPR.

Troubadors,” organized by Charles Marchand, the highly acclaimed Toronto-based Hart House String Quartet, and the soprano Juliette Gaultier. The Bytown Troubadours sang voyageur and lumberjack songs arranged specifically for them by the Ottawa musician Pierre (“Père”) Gautier. Gautier also won an honourable mention in the Beatty competition for the composition of these songs. However, they were criticized for having been written in too “popular,” and not “academic” enough a style. It is significant that the Hart House Quartet agreed to play, as Proctor explains that this “prompted several attempts to incorporate Canadian folk material into chamber music, particularly the string quartet” (21). Canadian singer Juliette Gaultier trained in Europe and sang at the Boston Opera before deciding to return to Canada. She studied several First Nations dialects, and constructed a repertoire of songs from Canadian First Nations song collections. Her subsequent successful career is a strong indication of the popularity achieved by folksong among the patrons of the art music tradition.

The amazing compositional output of these festivals began the first significant wave of music publication in Canada. Boston Music Company published eight pieces from the CPR festivals in the late 1920s, including MacMillan’s Two Sketches and his “Au cabaret,” and Alfred Whitehead’s “Gai lon la, gai le rosier.” Both before and after the festivals, many Canadian composers published their works with United States companies, or in other foreign countries. Champagne usually published through Durand and Company of Paris, while Whitehead went to Carl Fischer of New York. Inspired by

the festivals' success, some Canadian publishing companies began to emerge in the 1930s and 40s, including Western in Vancouver, Gordon V. Thompson of Toronto, Waterloo of Waterloo, Ontario, and Leslie and Frederick Harris in Oakville, Ontario.

The success of the first two Québec festivals encouraged Gibbon to produce more through the CPR, including the 1928 New Canadian Folk-Song and Handicraft festival in Winnipeg, the Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival in 1928 at the Banff Springs Hotel, two Old English Yuletide festivals in Victoria (the first in 1928), the Sea Music Festival in Vancouver in 1929, the 1929 and 1930 Great West Canadian Folksong, Folkdance and Handicraft Festivals in Regina and Calgary, and a third Québec festival in 1930. The purpose of these festivals was to encourage a positive attitude towards European immigrants, a theme which McNaughton believes was Gibbon's primary intent. This third festival in Québec was organized without Barbeau's input, and emphasized folk dance in keeping with the contemporary revival of folk dance in England. Gibbon's intent was to promote interest in traditional French dances, much the same way that Sharp had popularized English dance in Britain. In addition, Gibbon shifted the focus away from the academic music so prominent in the earlier two festivals, and gave the majority of the performance time to the source performers. However, the effects of these festivals, whatever their emphasis, were far-reaching: Oscar O'Brien, after the festivals were successful, stated that "le folklore est à la mode" (371).

After the events of 1930, the economic squeeze of the depression made it

impossible for the CPR to sponsor further festivals. However, those that were staged exercised a tremendous influence on the perception of national music in Canada.

McNaughton concludes that the main purposes of the festivals were as follows:

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... 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... One of the main goals of the Quebec festivals was to strengthen the national unity of Canada by creating a national art based on its 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 (242-3).

Undoubtedly, the most important influence for Canadian composers utilizing folk music was the emergence of Canadian folksong research and of the folksong collections themselves. It was from these printed collections that the majority of the composers drew their inspiration. Thus, I now turn to a discussion of the broad range of issues attached to the preparation and publication of these collections themselves, in order to reach an understanding of the perceptions of both the collectors who amassed, and the composers who utilized, this source material.

These collections can be characterized in many ways; most are inevitably regional, and emphasize three main cultural and linguistic areas, as discussed earlier, which consist of French-Canadian, English-Canadian, and First Nations music. The earliest folksong compilations explored both French-Canadian and First Nations music;

Anglophone collections, particularly those west of Québec, emerged much later. It was widely held that folk traditions did not exist west of this Québec border, a perception that still persists today. Barbeau describes his difficulties with this perception thus: “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” (Barbeau, 1919: 192).

Canadian composer Richard Johnston, one of the seven to compose a setting of “Dans tous les cantons,” echoes this opinion in his article, “Towards a Definition of Music in a Polyglot Society”:

Nova Scotia is one of the traditional strong-holds of folk music and folklore in our country. At this point in time [1974], the majority of people who think about folk music and folklore in Canada do not look to the West – though they are the fools. They don’t even look much past the midpoint of Ontario! I’m not particularly critical of those short-sighted people because not so many years ago – about twenty – the horizons of this kind were actually limited to the Ontario-Québec border, and that included people who should have known better. But during this century, there has never been any doubt, on the part of thinking people, of the treasures that lay east of Ontario – all the way to the coast, including Newfoundland (95).

Despite the insistence of these two and other scholars, it is interesting that several decades later, in the Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, Kallmann chose to give his misguided opinion on this matter, by stating that, “since most of the songs were in the Maritimes and Newfoundland and most of the composers in central Canada, little fertilization [of collectors] took place” (481).

The French-Canadian folksong canon is much larger than either that of the

English-Canadian or the First Nations in Canada. Several explanations may be offered for this phenomenon of the popularity of French song in Canada, including the theory that these are the only songs which are truly indigenous to our country alone. Though they originate stylistically from France, those that are native to Canada still retain many unique characteristics. As well, these are songs which are not found in as great a quantity, if at all, in the United States, who share the Canadian folksong tradition of both Anglophone and First Nations music.¹⁰ Ernest MacMillan, in describing the unique characteristics of French music, explains its importance thus:

His [the French] songs are not, indeed, native to America except in a few instances, but in the three centuries during which they have flourished here they have played an important part in his life... They lack the wealth of melody and sheer musical invention which distinguish the Celtic and especially the Irish, but in their place we find a rhythmic vitality combined with a wealth of expression which give it a very high place indeed (Schabas 85).

This popularity of French-Canadian song might also be attributed to the successful marketing of the Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts and of the CPR festivals.

It is also important to mention here the growth of the “Mouvement littéraire de Québec” [Literary Movement of Québec], which reached its climax in the 1860s.

Gordon Smith, in his essay “The Genesis of Ernest Gagnon’s *Chansons Populaires*,” a work which will be discussed in detail later in the thesis, describes the movement thus:

“The primary aim of the small group of intellectuals which made up this group was to

¹⁰ Though there are many tribal differences in the songs sung by the varying First Nations people of both Canada and the United States, this difference has not been widely recognized by composers and musical scholars alike.

create a nationalist literature which, although inspired by French Romantic models, was truly French-Canadian” (222). He goes on to describe how the group intended to achieve their nationalist objectives:

An example was the citing of folk repertory as an effective means of creating a French-Canadian nationalist idiom in literature. Like their counterparts in France, nineteenth-century French-Canadian writers developed the technique of incorporating folksong texts in their works. Writers in both countries used excerpts and complete texts from folksongs to provide local colour... French-Canadian writers introduced ‘chansons populaires’ into their works in an effort to portray the French-Canadian people and their way of life (222).

Many of these objectives were taken up by French scholars in music as well as in literature. That Hippolyte Fortoul, minister of worship and public education in France, began an official survey for collecting folksongs in 1853 contributed strongly to the antecedents of these sentiments. News of Fortoul’s goals spread quickly to Québec, which inspired an immediate response of some smaller collections of French-Canadian folksongs. The combination of these rising nationalist sentiments in Québec led to some of the most significant compilations of folk music in the history of Canada, which will be discussed further in the chapter.

A fourth area of folksong collection, that of the folk musics of ethnic communities other than French and English in Canada, is one that has been only recently explored. The Gaelic song tradition of Nova Scotia is one that has elicited much research, as the Scottish and Irish have formed one of the main immigrant groups of Canada. As well, several other European and Asian communities have published short

collections of their folksongs, particularly from the west of Canada and from central Ontario, including the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Japanese, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, and Polish. The bulk of this research began with an impetus from Kenneth Peacock, whose pioneering collections of ethnic music from his work with the National Museum of Man from 1951-72, “covered virtually every part of Canada” (EMC 1026). Peacock’s work will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Most of these Canadian folksong collections of all four types contain a wide variety of materials, including Child ballads, broadsides, Christmas carols, sea shanties, and other forms. The songs which have been most often employed by composers, however, have been those that are native to Canada, for obvious nationalistic reasons. Very rarely has a British Child ballad or an American broadside, though sung in Canada, been arranged by a Canadian composer. However, it has also been common for immigrant composers to compose pieces based on folksongs of their home countries. As well, several Canadian composers in more recent decades, becoming enthralled with exotica in a search for new material and, perhaps, a sense of internationalism, have taken to setting folksongs from nations not their own.

Kallmann’s History of Music in Canada tells us that first collector of folksong in Canada was the Parisian lawyer Marc Lescarbot (ca. 1570-ca. 1630) who recorded the words and music of four MicMac songs in Port Royal, Nova Scotia. He later published these songs with observations in his Histoire de la Nouvelle France (1609). He only

indicates the scale steps of the melody, however, and not the rhythm in his transcriptions (9). This inspired several other Frenchmen who became interested in the Canadian “Indians”—some few songs were notated, which were not always considered to be accurate, as their sources were sometimes the recollections of traveling seamen. The Jesuit Relations of the 1630s is also a valuable early source, documenting First Nations’ music and ceremonies by the missionaries who had traveled to convert the “natives” to Christianity. Voyageur songs were first collected by Ferdinand Wentzel, a Norwegian who served with the North West Company in the early nineteenth century, though these have only been referred to in log entries and never published.

Probably the earliest significant collection of French-Canadian tunes was one compiled by Lieut. George Back. Published in London from his earlier manuscript under the title Canadian Airs (1823), these 73 pages of songs were ones he had heard while traveling along the Coppermine River, Northwest Territories. Kallmann emphasizes that the book “shows little respect for the French-Canadian songs: the text is replaced by new English words, and the keyboard accompaniments, written by musicians who had never visited Canada, freely adapted the tunes into the mould of current harmonic fashion” (EMC 481). Many “chansonniers” or “songsters,” song books with texts only, were published in French Canada in the mid nineteenth century, but contained more French than French-Canadian songs. Kallmann, undoubtedly one of the most prominent and influential Canadian musicologists, adopted the same philosophy as many of the

Canadian composers in assuming that these older, imported songs were not as valuable as the “authentic” Canadian folklore.

In 1863 and 1865, two significant collections of French-Canadian folksong emerged, no doubt inspired by the activities of the “Mouvement littéraire de Québec.” The first was compiled by Hubert LaRue, who completed two studies on comparisons between French and French-Canadian songs, which were published in Le Foyer canadien under the title “Les Chansons populaires et historiques du Canada” (1863 and 1865). Kallmann indicates that these were influential, but were more political than musical (180). The second was Ernest Gagnon’s Chansons Populaires du Canada (1865-67), undoubtedly the most influential collection from French Canada. This collection of 104 songs of both French and Canadian origin has been reprinted in twelve separate editions, and is still in print today.

Gagnon was born in Rivière-du-Loup in 1839, and completed his musical studies in France, where he was strongly influenced by Fortoul’s ideals. He became an organist in Québec, where he began to collect folksongs. He was also a composer who used his collected songs in his work.¹¹ As a folklorist, he worked alone and inspired no immediate followers. However, his work was incredibly influential, especially his Chansons Populaires du Canada, which was the principal collection which later inspired, either directly or indirectly, the composition of the seven settings of “Dans tous les

¹¹ Gagnon’s compositional activities will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

cantons” to be analyzed here. Gagnon’s work as a whole was revered by many, particularly by folklorist Luc Lacourcière, who compared his study and dissemination of French-Canadian folksong to the work of Child in England and Scotland (Smith 1995).

This groundbreaking work was influential for a number of reasons. Firstly, it helped to perpetuate the Canadian nationalist movement which was reaching its peak at the time of its publication. Smith tells us that, “in his folksong collection, Gagnon sought to provide a distinctively nationalist work by portraying the French-Canadian people through their folksongs. Like his colleagues in the ‘Mouvement littéraire de Québec,’ Gagnon emphasized the power of folksong as a means of establishing the French-Canadian identity” (Smith, 1995: 231). As well, Gagnon was influential in changing elite views of French-Canadian folksong and, indeed, of folksong as a whole. He studied these songs as a musician – by comparing their use of ancient church modes and rhythms to the Gregorian chant he was studying as a composer, he convincingly abolished the concept of folksong as barbaric and primitive. Instead, he helped to establish folksong as a viable artistic entity in Canada, worthy of study and use by “elite” artists and scholars.

Gagnon’s work was also unique in that it contained songs which were published with no accompaniments. Gagnon was one of the first to oppose the practice of giving accompaniments to folksongs, and indicated in the introduction to his collection that harmony “must be added to folksongs only with much discretion and taste,” and that

often “it lessens the charm and hinders the rhythm, even if it does not completely destroy the modality,” and that “in the present climate of scholarship it often is considered much preferable that harmony not appear at all” (trans. Laforte in EMC 478). However, there was much opposition to Gagnon’s theory, as J.E. Middleton commented about the collection in 1914;

from the academic musical standpoint the melodies have little interest. They are unconventional to excess. Many of them are not to be classified either in the major or the minor mode. There is more than a trace of Gregorian in them. What would a modern composer do with a theme like “Ah, qui me passery le bois,” which ends on the second of the major diatonic scale? As Gagnon very properly says, harmonization of these folk airs is too great a task (Kallmann 183).

However, what appeared at the time to be a rather radical position was much more ethical when it came to the historical and archival value of the songs as representative of their original performance. After adopting this position, however, Gagnon still saw fit to compose works based on these folksongs which altered their original state quite dramatically in some cases.

Gagnon was also interested in furthering the valuable scholarship which he had begun to make known. In the introduction to his collection, he urges other researchers to follow his lead: “The number of our folksongs is without limit. This volume contains only 100 which I have chosen from among the best known and from those which present a particular type” (trans. Laforte in EMC 477-8). It would be 72 years before another significant collection of French-Canadian folksong emerged, with popular opinion espousing the belief that Gagnon had exhausted the supply of the songs, despite his

appeal to the contrary.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the exploration of Canadian First Nations music was becoming popular, and many composers became interested in setting these songs. Gagnon, in a letter to Barbeau in 1911 wrote that

it has always been my belief that the 'discovery' of our roots would help establish a sense of national identity. With particular reference to music, I intended my work on our folksongs and the music of our native Indians to lay a foundation for a musical language based on these repertoires. Perhaps you will continue to encourage Canadian composers to seek out these sources in their musical works (Smith, 1989: 32).

In the last few decades of the nineteenth century, American anthropologists were beginning to research and publish findings on the musical styles of the First Nations people, which produced a select set of collections from which composers could draw upon. Theodore Baker's PhD dissertation Über die Musik der Nordamerikanischen Wilden (1882) is the first significant examination of North American Native music. Baker transcribed songs directly from Seneca performers during a visit to their New York reservation in 1880. The first main studies began to emerge in the 1890s, then expanded into the twentieth century, produced by researchers and collectors such as Franz Boas, Jesse Walter Fewkes, John Comfort Fillmore, Frances Densmore, and Alice Cunningham Fletcher. Many of the pieces selected and transcribed for these collections were originally published with piano accompaniments or vocal harmonizations included. Fletcher was also a great promoter of composers using her transcriptions as inspiration for new compositions.

Although this material was groundbreaking, there was still relatively little of it – at least not enough to satisfy the appetites of Canadian composers who sought a nationalist expression through a fascination with this particular music. Those collections which did make it into print appeared mainly in obscure publications. As the written collections were often the composers' only source, and as most were the "armchair" types who did not venture into the field to collect their own material, or to listen to the original sources themselves, these composers often had to use the same collections over and over, or sought to create pieces using elements of the stereotypical flavor of the First Nations songs. Keillor notes this deficit in her statement that, "even if the Canadian composers had wanted to use authentic material, there was the problem of a lack of published resources" (191). However, composers often encountered problems in how to compose using this material, which was often difficult to interpret in the "academic" musical language. Schafer alludes to this difficulty by stating, rather controversially, that

Our truly indigenous and uncounterfeiting folk music is the music of our Indians and Eskimos, but for ethnic and historical reasons it is not our music and cannot be expected to signify any more to us than that of any other society which is not ours. Experiments at utilizing it, notably by the Toronto composer John Weinzweig, who collected much Eskimo music, have come to self-acknowledged failure, partly for this reason, and partly because the Eskimos are such an astonishingly unmusical race that the composer really has to wring his material to make it musically presentable (10).

Keillor, in her article on indigenous music in Canadian composition, addresses similar concerns, though rather less blatantly, and gives comprehensive descriptions of compositional techniques used by various musicians in incorporating the First Nations

music with the art music tradition. These practices will be discussed further in the following chapter.

By the middle of the twentieth century, Canadian composers began to respond favorably to the French-Canadian folksong collections of Marius Barbeau who, alone and through collaborations with Edward Sapir¹² and Édouard-Zotique Massicotte, published compilations of French-Canadian folksong. These were the first collections of French-Canadian folksong to surface in almost eight decades, after the resounding popularity of Gagnon's work. Among Barbeau's numerous publications, in book, article, and pamphlet form, those most often used by composers, are his Folk Songs of French Canada (1925; with Sapir), Folk Songs of Old Quebec (1935), Romancero du Canada (1937), Alouette (1942), Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec (1962), and Le Rossignol Y Chante (1962). Though Barbeau published a vast repertoire of folksongs, his collection at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, preserved in written transcriptions and in various forms of recordings, is even larger, exceeding 13,000 texts and 8,000 tunes. Many arrangements were produced from his published collections, most often for piano, or for voice with piano accompaniment. The Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts, the CPR festivals, and folksong recitals begun in Montréal by Charles Marchand in 1920, and continued by his male quartets "Le Carillon canadien" (1922) and "The Bytown Troubadours" (1927), created a demand for these arrangements.

¹² Sapir was also employed at the National Museum as an ethnologist (since 1910), and had already begun collecting French-Canadian folk song by the time he met Barbeau.

Barbeau was also active in the collection of First Nations music throughout Canada, and his collection at the Museum of Civilization includes many of these. Barbeau was particularly interested in the Nass River Tribe on the west coast of British Columbia, though his collecting trips led him to various tribal communities across the country. His attitude was similar to Alice Cunningham Fletcher's, in that, despite the obvious difficulties in incorporating this music into an art music style, he nonetheless encouraged the use of his transcriptions by composers:

Of what use then can be Indian music with all its resources to aspiring Canadian composers and interpreters who look for fresh materials to work upon, if it is not possible to present it in accessible form? Their musical language is endowed with enough universality in tone and texture to appeal to our poets, musicians and historians. Our composers, if they knew these songs, might well be stirred into recasting them in broader moulds and patterns of their own (Barbeau in MacMillan, 1955: 38).

No doubt this attitude stemmed partly from Barbeau's association with Ernest MacMillan, a prominent Canadian composer who accompanied him on one of his collecting trips. The relationship of these two men, and the influence that it had on MacMillan's practice of using folksong in composition, particularly in his setting of "Dans tous les cantons," will be discussed further in the fourth chapter.

According to Ford, Anglophone folksong collecting began in the Maritimes in 1909 with the collecting trips of Roy MacKenzie (1883-1957), resulting in the publication of his Ballads and Sea Songs of Nova Scotia in 1928 (143). His collecting philosophy was similar to the ballad scholarship being accomplished in the United States

at the time, which extolled the virtues of folksong, particularly balladry, as a potent source of poetry, often ignoring the value of the attached music. These attitudes, imported directly from the highly acclaimed research of Francis James Child, encouraged the collection of folksong texts, with little emphasis on the tunes. MacKenzie adopted this same approach, as his collection gives transcriptions of texts with very few tunes.¹³ His scholarship was nonetheless important in opening up the field of English-Canadian folksong collection, which again followed his lead of establishing itself in the Maritimes. MacKenzie was a direct influence for many prominent collectors who followed him, particularly Helen Creighton.

Other English collections from Atlantic Canada which followed include that of Elisabeth Greenleaf and Grace Mansfield, whose Ballads and Sea Songs of Newfoundland was published in 1933. Greenleaf was an American who taught school for Newfoundland's Grenfell Mission in 1920 and 1921. Interested in the songs she heard around her, she encouraged Mansfield to join her collecting trip in 1929 to transcribe the music. Most melodies accompany the texts. However, no harmonizations or accompaniments are present. Maud Karpeles (1885-1976), who had worked closely with Cecil Sharp and with Ralph Vaughan Williams, then published 30 Folk Songs of Newfoundland in 1934, with accompaniments by Vaughan Williams and others. That

¹³ Wilgus discovered in his Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898 that MacKenzie gave tunes for 21.4 percent of his texts, in an appendix, while Greenleaf and Mansfield gave them for 54 percent, and Creighton (1932) for 100 percent.

Vaughan Williams was one to create accompaniments to her collection is significant, as he also later composed settings of songs taken from this work. Karpeles later published another collection, Folk Songs from Newfoundland (1971), in which she included most of the songs which she had collected in Newfoundland from 1929 to 1930. She published this collection without accompaniments. Karpeles herself was an important figure in the history of both Canadian and international folk music studies – she founded the International Folk Music Council and helped to define folksong and its scholarship.

Undoubtedly, the most prolific and influential collector of Maritime folk music was Helen Creighton (1899-1989). Richard Johnston describes her contributions thus: “The thousands of songs which Helen Creighton has collected have helped to swell our National cultural holdings; they are there for everyone to sing; they are there for the professionals to perform in their way and for our composers to use in many more ways” (1974: 99). Inspired by MacKenzie’s 1928 publication, she began her collecting the same year, and established a canon of Maritime songs which includes those from the Irish and Scottish Gaelic traditions, emigrated British ballads, French and German folksongs, Micmac ceremonial songs, and native English-Canadian songs. Her most influential published collections include Songs and Ballads of Nova Scotia (1932), Traditional Songs from Nova Scotia (1950; with Doreen Senior), Maritime Folksongs (1961), Gaelic Songs in Nova Scotia (1964), and Folk Songs from Southern New Brunswick (1971). It is significant that the majority of the songs in these collections,

including all of the songs in her first publication, printed the tune along with the text, though Creighton did not always transcribe these herself. This was also the case in the Mansfield/Greenleaf and Karpeles collections, however not with her principal inspiration work, that of MacKenzie. Songs from these collections have been used by both Canadian and international composers, which was Creighton's original intent in the compiling of these works. She explains this in the introduction to her Maritime Folk Songs:

It would have been sad if all this had been lost to us, because our songs enable you to know us better and can also be put to many uses ... 'Sea Gallows,' a ballet, had its premiere in Montreal, and I saw there how our beautiful tunes could be applied to this classical form. Songs have been arranged for solo and choral voices with piano accompaniments, and many tunes have supplied our Canadian Broadcasting Corporation with background music for dramatic productions ... But much more could and should be done, and I trust that composers will turn to this new volume and do all sorts of wonderful things with its contents (vii).

This attitude, namely reserving the greatest time and energy for collecting songs which could be best translated into art music genres, stemmed undoubtedly from Gibbon's popularization of the use of folksong in art music during the CPR festivals. That it was taken up by Creighton and by later Canadian collectors, such as Johnston, indicates a dramatic shift in the purpose of collecting from that of many European antecedents. Songs which might have been more historically significant were "left behind" in favour of those that were more easily adaptable, due perhaps to less bawdy or more nationalistic lyrics, tonal rather than modal construction, and/or relative rhythmic simplicity. This was certainly the case when it came to the collection of First Nations music, which was often deemed too unwieldy for translation into art music forms, and was therefore

restricted to a scant few compilations. It is naive to assume that this was the only reason for the sparse number of collections published, though it was undoubtedly a factor. This phenomenon will be discussed further in the third chapter.

Although much First Nations music has been collected, very little has been published. In 1925, undoubtedly the most crucial publication in terms of indigenous-inspired composition appeared, Copper Eskimo Songs from the Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18. Collected by Diamond Jenness and transcribed by Helen Roberts, songs from this collection have been the inspiration for numerous Canadian compositions, more so than any other First Nations music collection. Though some other important collections have been published since then, very few have been employed consistently by Canadian art music composers, with the exception of Beverley Cavanagh's Music of the Netsilik Eskimo: A Study of Stability and Change in 1982, most likely for the reasons mentioned above.

In 1927, another significant work in folksong scholarship appeared: that of J.M. Gibbon's Canadian Folk Songs Old and New. Comprised of a set of 30 French-Canadian folksongs from various earlier published collections (primarily Gagnon's), these songs were compiled for the principal purpose of providing a singable repertoire of these songs translated into English. This collection includes the version of "Dans tous les cantons" based on Gagnon's variant that was consulted by most of the seven composers to be discussed in this thesis. This compilation was conceived after Gibbon was witness to the

lament of Charles Marchand that no adequate translations existed. He described his primary goal in this endeavor thus: "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" (Gibbon ix). However noble this aim, Gibbon's book might easily be criticized for its popular outlook, much the same as with his organization of the CPR festivals. Several specific charges were laid: First, though translations were singable and could be sung concurrently with the French versions with no real oral clash, the meanings of the words were often changed, sometimes quite dramatically, to make this possible. Yet Gibbon refused to sacrifice the melody for the sake of the text, a stance which elicited much criticism from scholars adapting the contemporary Harvard school of thought, begun and upheld by Child, which championed the text of a folksong over its melody. Second, the work was published with piano harmonizations by Geoffrey O'Hara and Oscar O'Brien, another strategy for popularization which might be perceived as detracting from the "purity" of the original songs. Regardless of these controversies, the book was very popular and has gone through several reprints. It became a main source of inspiration for composers.

Anglophone folksong collecting in Ontario occurred much later than in the East of Canada for reasons discussed earlier. The first songs in print were published by F.W. Waugh and F. Eileen Bleakney in a Canadian issue of the Journal of American Folklore

(hereafter referred to as JAF) in 1918. Karpeles also printed five British ballads collected from a Peterborough woman in the Journal of the Folk Song Society (hereafter referred to as JFSS) in 1930. Franz Rickaby's Ballads and Songs of the Shantyboy (1926) and W.M. Doerflinger's Shantymen and Shantyboys (1951) included some lumbering songs from Ontario. Extensive collecting, however, began in 1957 with the folksong compilations of Edith Fowke (1913-1997) in Peterborough. A colleague of both Barbeau and Creighton, Fowke was the first to open up the field of Anglophone folksong collecting in Ontario. She published a total of 22 books collecting everything from logging songs to children's rhyming games. She began scouting for material in Central Ontario in the late 1940s after meeting Helen Creighton, and presented her material on CBC Radio from 1950-53 on "Folk Song Time." She was quoted at one point as saying that, "little work had been done west of Québec. I realized nothing was listed" (Rose np). Her most prominent collections include Folksongs of Canada (1954), co-edited with Richard Johnston, one of the composers to set a version of "Dans tous les cantons," Folk Songs of Ontario (1958), Traditional Singers and Songs from Ontario (1965 with transcriptions by Peggy Seeger), an anthology of children's songs and games entitled Sally Go Round the Sun (1969), Lumbering Songs from the North Woods collected from Northern Ontario and Québec (1970 with transcriptions done by Norman Cazden), and The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs (1973), a compilation of previously published songs originating mainly from Newfoundland and Ontario. This last collection was a

collaboration with Keith MacMillan (the son of Ernest) as her music consultant, who attempted to popularize the collection by adding guitar chords. Fowke's collections were paramount in encouraging composition based on Anglophone folksongs of Ontario, as these songs were used by a great many Canadian composers.

In 1955, Barbeau discovered a valuable manuscript in Oregon, containing 11 voyageur songs collected ca. 1830. Edward Ermatinger, a Swiss servant of the Hudson's Bay Company stationed at York Factory on the Red River and on the Columbia River, notated these songs, which Barbeau was able to publish in JAF the same year. These were a surprising find, and were published in a source which was easily accessible to scholars and composers alike, thus several arrangements and compositions based on these songs emerged in the late 1950s and 1960s.

At this time, a noted folksong scholar and composer, Kenneth Peacock (b. 1922) was completing field research (1951-72), particularly in Newfoundland, but also in ethnic communities in the west of Canada. He has deposited over 500 tapes at the Museum of Civilization, and composed several works based on these and other folk sources. His influential Songs of the Newfoundland Outports (1965) consists of a three-volume compilation of songs collected from six field trips between 1951 and 1961. His primary goal was to bring Newfoundland culture to the rest of Canada, particularly through the adaptation of these songs in composition. The songs in the publication contained no accompaniments, yet Peacock changed many of their details, such as rhyme

schemes and melodic structures. Songs from this collection have also been used frequently by composers, and this was most likely another of Peacock's goals in compiling the collection. He himself set some of the songs in his Essay on Newfoundland Folk Themes (1961) for string orchestra, as well as composed other works based on First Nations music from his own collections, such as his Idioms (1950) for piano, Rituals of Earth, Fire, and Darkness (1950), and his Songs of the Cedar (1950).

In the west of Canada, Anglophone folksong collecting has not been pursued as extensively as in the east. The first significant example of a collection from the prairies was Margaret MacLeod's Songs of Old Manitoba (1960), which contained both Métis and English songs. In 1963, Barbara Cass-Beggs compiled songs for a pamphlet, Eight Songs of Saskatchewan, and for a record, Folksongs of Saskatchewan. Michael Weiss, a folklore student in the United States, published "Songs from Western Canada" in the Canadian Folk Music Journal (hereafter referred to as CFMJ) in 1973 (EMC 475). The most prominent collector in the west was most probably Peacock, who compiled many important publications on ethnic folksongs there. However, Fowke tells us that "by 1980 few Anglo-Canadian songs had been collected in the three prairie provinces" (EMC 475) while Philip Thomas says the same of the situation in British Columbia (EMC 476).

Though some significant compilations have been published in recent years, overall the interest in folksong collection in Canada has been waning, perhaps because of the still-popular antiquarian perception of folksong as a dying art which may have

already been collected to its limits. As well, the apparent ennui of composers with folksong and their reluctance to utilize it in recent years has no doubt contributed to this opinion. This decline can be readily attributed to the decline of the enthusiasm in a search for a “national” Canadian music based on folksong. Though Kallmann advocates that the first role of this folk-inspired music is to preserve for history what the populace sang, and that this music is an evolution, depending on how much the original song has retained its singularity, to something which is peculiarly Canadian (123), the primary impetus for the use of folksong in art music has been for its nationalistic tendencies.

Many questions arise here as to the nature of “national” song. Jean-Marie Beaudet says that

evidently our traditions were neither old enough nor deep enough to be considered as the foundation of truly characteristic and distinctive Canadian music, especially as so much of our musical development has taken place on local and provincial lines. In order to be national an art must reflect the way of thinking, the social conditions, the aspirations of a people. Even the many excellent arrangements of our folk-music—French, English, Scottish, Irish, and so on—cannot be said to constitute a Canadian style. It may never prove possible to develop such a thing. Whether it is even desirable to do so is a moot question; perhaps a people so diverse in origin and traditions, living in a country so vast and varied in geographical features, may by-pass the national phase through which most European nations have passed (MacMillan, 1955: 55).

The idea of the adaptation of folksong as national song has become less and less accepted. Though initial nationalist fervour for the technique sparked much interest in the composers of the early CPR festivals, it has become generally accepted by composers and historians alike that the use of folksong in new compositions does not or should not

have nationalism as its root. Even Barbeau, one of the most devout supporters of the adaptation of folksong as the path to national song admitted its faults: "To some observers at the time [CPR festivals] it seemed that Canada's own music was born and would soon be coming into its own. Perhaps we were too optimistic" (MacMillan, 1955: 34).

Nationalist ideas in Canada did not spring up uninfluenced, however. Much of the passion of Canadian nationalist fervour was inspired by immigrants who had seen the results of nationalism in their home countries. It was particularly the English, influenced no doubt by the writings of Cecil Sharp and Vaughan Williams, who were advocates of nationalist song. Celebrated immigrant English composers such as Willan and Whitehead were instrumental in composing songs of this type. The early French immigrants, such as Champagne and LaLiberté, were also instrumental in furthering nationalist sentiments. Their influence was far-reaching, and no doubt inspired many others to begin the composition of "national" song through folksong adaptation.

This evolution of thought did not take place as slowly in Canada as it did in other European countries which were attempting to establish a national character in the mid-nineteenth century. In the case of the Bohemians, a debate raged for several decades over whether or not a composition must include a direct folksong quotation from the Bohemian lands in order to be considered national. Musical philosophy in Canada followed the same course. Proctor tells us that

most Canadian composers agreed with Léo-Pol Morin who maintained in 1928 that a work need not quote or use of folk music directly in order to be distinctively Canadian. Rudolphe Mathieu expressed a similar view in 1932: 'le véritable nationalisme en art consiste, non pas à chanter l'âme nationale, mais à la laisser chanter sur tous les sujets.' Sir Ernest MacMillan also summed up the prevailing attitude in 1936: 'we cannot by taking thought produce a national music; all we can do is to create an atmosphere in which strong musical personalities can express themselves creatively and naturally (19).

Kallmann and Willis echo these opinions with the statement that "the majority of composers, however, even those charmed by folk material, have been inclined to use it more for its incidental and intrinsic appeal than for any self-conscious desire either to champion or to capitalize on its 'Canadian-ness'" (EMC 483). Morin and others with the same view were more interested in musical development than in nationalism. To them, keeping abreast of new techniques developed in Europe such as Schoenberg's twelve-tone system, Stravinsky's neo-classicism, and Debussy's impressionism were of greatest importance. However, several such as O'Brien, Gratton, and LaPierre, opposed Morin's view, believing that in "folk idioms lay the true potential basis of a distinct Canadian music" (EMC 482). Despite these contrasting opinions, a great number of these folksong adaptations still remain an essential part of the Canadian concert repertoire, and the technique of using folksong in composition still remains a part, albeit a much lesser one, of contemporary composition.

Though the adoption of a colonialist viewpoint of Canada is often harshly criticized, it is safe to say here that Canadian musicians repeated the history of those of its mother nations, failing to learn valuable lessons from the decline of romantic

nationalist movements throughout Europe. Through the later adoption of these Herderesque ideals of romantic nationalism, this movement was doomed to failure, perhaps for reasons that should have been obvious from the beginning. As Herder espoused the view that there is nothing so unnatural as “the wild mixture of various breeds and nations under one sceptre” and that the concept of one voice and one people is a universal law (Wilson, 1989: 28), Canada was unable to meet these expectations from the beginning.

With Barbeau as its chief proponent in Canada, the view of a nationalist expression in music through the fusion of folk and art musical elements was embraced with few backward glances towards results of the same attitudes in European nations often decades before. Proctor explains that

in Canada music, which tends to lag behind the other arts in following new trends, was slow to adopt identifiable nationalistic elements. It was not until the 1920s, and then only in a modest way, that Canadian composers began to incorporate in their work distinctly national materials (i.e. folksongs and dances), as Vaughan Williams and Bartok had done in the early years of the century (19).

The increased enthusiasm in the nationalist movement of Canadian music in the 1920s saw an increase in the number of compositions based on folksong for the purpose of creating a Canadian musical style based on the folklore of its people. Violet Archer describes the beginnings of this movement thus:

The vitality which has manifested itself in Canada’s realm of composition is the outcome of a growth originating before the 1920’s [sic] when a revival of interest in folk song began...The influence captured the interest of some of Canada’s foremost composers... These composers have given expert personalized treatment

to folksongs which they have arranged or incorporated in some of their works (1959: 12).

In hindsight, many scholars and musicians have claimed to see this movement's inherent doom to failure, espousing instead the need to find a unique and personal style through compositional development. Ernest MacMillan, in his 1951 report on music for the Massey Commission, describes in detail the difficulties discovering this still elusive nationalist idiom:

Music, like most Canadian cultural life, has developed largely on provincial lines and has been strongly influenced, both favourably and unfavourably, by the US... In spite of greatly increased activity during recent years, one finds it difficult to trace any distinctively national idiom in Canadian composition as a whole. Perhaps this is not altogether a bad thing or perhaps we err in expecting its appearance too soon, for such national traits usually develop later in music than in literature and visual arts. French Canada is the only large section of our country where a living and familiar folk-lore exercises a powerful influence on composers, and French-speaking Canadians usually write music showing a definitely French colouring. Sea-songs (mostly of English origin) collected in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and elsewhere have been used as a basis for extended works; native Indian music has, more rarely, been drawn upon. Some of our English-speaking composers have made use of the wealth of material collected by Dr. Marius Barbeau and others from French-Canadian and Indian sources, but others feel it alien to them and some do not, in any case, feel disposed to use folk-music of any kind in their works. We have no characteristic national dances, and it is usually dance rhythms that give a distinctive flavour to the music of other nations. Our composers are influenced by varied traditions—German, English, Russian and, especially among those who have studied in the United States, American music (354-5).

This detailed report by MacMillan demonstrates the varying difficulties encountered by Canadian musicians in finding a unique path of composition. With so many varying influences, ethnicities, and traditions spread across a huge and varied terrain, the search

for unifying aspects has been, and still is, difficult. Others suggest that it is this diversity which defines Canadian music, though this opinion is less often adopted: "It is not necessary to see, in this division, a reason for the non-existence of a Canadian style, but rather the vital signs of an equilibrium produced by the play of contrary forces in a society formed by different individuals" (Poirier 263).

John Beckwith (b. 1927), a prominent Canadian composer, writer, and educator, suggests that there are three types of national music in Canada: music based on Canadian texts, music which reflects the landscape, and music based on folk material (Beckwith 14). Some, such as Schafer and several other composers of "landscape" pieces, propose that Beckwith's second type is the one that is most representative of Canadian musical style. In an obvious parallel to the Group of Seven, Schafer suggests that, "perhaps stronger national characteristics in our music may have been inspired by the climate and geography of our country. The rugged austerity of the Canadian North has prompted a response from many composers" (6-7). This opinion is one that has become more popular in recent years, after the decline of interest in Beckwith's third type. Even MacMillan in his 1951 Massey report suggests the move towards landscape music from the use of folk materials:

Some of our talented musicians have shown much invention and ingenuity in the composition of "background" music for films and radio broadcasts; many of these deal with Canadian subjects. Concert music has often been based on Canadian geography and the Canadian landscape, but a mere title or programme does not give the music itself a national stamp. The very diversity of our traditions and of "source" material only serves to emphasize the lack of unifying influences; hence

the lack of national traits (355).

This idea that Canada really does not possess any folk music which is truly its own is one that also led to the decline of its use in composition. Many musicians felt that the majority of these songs were imported and, thus, not unique, or that there existed very few in comparison with the vast collections of other nations. A 1905 history of music publication laments that;

malgré qu'il n'y ait pas de règles fixes en art, dans les pays qui possèdent un beau folklore, les musiciens trouvent facilement de quoi s'inspirer, tandis que dans les pays qui n'en ont pas, les musiciens ne peuvent essayer de combler cette lacune que par un travail redoublé, et cela produit rarement un grand chef-d'oeuvre (O'Brien 374).

Schafer echoes this philosophy by emphasizing Canada's general lack of folksong.

Those songs which the country does possess, he suggests, are closely shared with the United States and, thus, are not uniquely Canadian. Like O'Brien's source, Schafer feels that a nation requires a broad base of this unique song before it is able to produce a national compositional style based upon it. That most of the European nations had a vast repertoire of their own unique songs gave them the right, and the ability, in Schafer's opinion, to compose in this fashion. He suggests that;

when the fire of nationalism swept through Europe a hundred and fifty years ago, there was good reason for composers to get enthusiastic about employing local musical idioms to stimulate native pride. The process, which is still going on today under the Communists [1960], was welcomed because it offered an opportunity to explore the rich harmonic and rhythmic resources of a new kind of music previously ignored by the sophisticated classical composer (9).

Schafer also believes that a problem lies in the fact that many Canadians do not

associate themselves with this folk music. Not only are the different cultural folksong traditions not familiar to most, but many would not even be able to sing a verse from a folksong of their own language and geographical area. He emphasizes that;

a nationalist composer needs moral support. It is essential, if he is to employ folk music in symphonic works, that the audience be able to participate by having been familiar with the music in its original state. This need not amount to knowing the song by heart; rather to feeling it in one's bones as something that belongs in one's life... Canadian audiences could not be expected to participate in this way (11).

Current perceptions on national music in Canada emphasize the need for a Canadian musical "style" based on the writings of its individual composers rather than on the inclusion of folk materials. Macmillan tells us that, "in the long run national traits cannot be distinguished from the characteristics of a nation's great composers; we cannot create great composers but we can and should prepare the ground for them and meantime give every encouragement to the highly talented composers now among us" (1951: 355). Morin, one of the most prolific speakers on Canadian music, reached a similar conclusion in 1930: "If it is not through the land or through authentic folklore, it is by its personality, by its spirit, by that which it expresses about the individual, about what is particular and at the same time general about the individual, that this music is German or French [or Canadian]" (27).

Most recently, many have espoused the view that music need not adopt any folkloric elements in order to be distinctly Canadian. It is this opinion that has led to the decline in both folk music collections and of folk-music-inspired compositions in

Canada; a decline which has slowly developed out of an unsuccessful popularity in these activities. Rodolphe Mathieu tells us that;

for Canada, it is possible... to conceive of a music completely different [from folklore], far more Canadian perhaps; an immense music with rich and varied harmonies, with the sonorities of the forest, giving a feeling of grandiose immensity, in quiet as in powerful moments. There would be, lastly, a special technical principle in the melody, harmony, rhythm, and form; it would be an essentially musical creation, with a purely musical, and not literary, character (Poirier 264).

Though nationalism has undoubtedly been a primary motive in folk-music-inspired composition in Canada from its inception, many other motivations have also been prominent both before Barbeau, after Morin, and in between. Inspired by the various movements and influences discussed in this chapter, pedagogy, simplicity, familiarity, and other reasons for the use of this music have been suggested by both the composers themselves and the historians who have analyzed their works in the absence of primary material. These motivations inspired a significant number of Canadian compositions based on folk music, including the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons.” The following chapter will give a more specific view of these composers and their compositions by exploring both intent and techniques used in the setting of these folksongs, in preparation for a more in-depth analysis of these factors in considering the utilization of one particular song, “Dans tous les cantons,” in the final two chapters.

CHAPTER THREE:

FOLK-MUSIC-INSPIRED COMPOSITION IN CANADA

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 (Lawrence Mason, The Globe [Toronto], 23 May 1927, 4).

Why doesn't some Canadian do the same [as Bartok]? Partly because Bartok had the Balkans, one of the most fertile areas of folk music in the world, as a field of study... Canada... is thinly supplied with folk music that we could call our own, and what is ours is of such a character that it would not easily have tempted the imagination of even Bartok (R. Murray Schafer 16).

The use of the techniques of employing folksong in composition and its motivations in Canada have been vast and varied. This chapter outlines the various significant contributions to the compositional canon of Canada which have utilized direct quotations of folk music. Those which have adopted a folksong “flavor” will not, as a rule, be examined in much detail here. The chapter will, however, look at the use of various types of folk musics, including both French- and English-Canadian song, First Nations song, and various ethnic musics found in the Canadian compositional repertoire. In general, a piece is defined as a folksong here if it has been defined as such by the composer who used it. This often includes all pieces sung by First Nations Canadians, regardless of their origin or purpose, Christmas and Easter carols, nursery rhymes, and sometimes hymn tunes. This general survey of Canadian works employing folksong is a

necessary one to establish the trends in this practice of composition through time, trends which influenced the composition of the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons” through various periods in Canadian musical history. However, I also intend this chapter as one that could stand on its own as a comprehensive survey of folk-song-inspired composition in Canada, a survey which does not exist as of yet in any of the publications by Canadian musicologists and historians.

Undoubtedly, one of the most important distinctions to be made before a discussion of the material of this chapter begins, is that between what are often vaguely referred to as harmonizations, accompaniments, arrangements, and compositions. Throughout the Canadian musical literature, various pieces incorporating folk music have been given very different classifications, with little or no explanation for their inclusion in any specific category. Often the terms allotted to these varying compositional works are confusing, and can greatly skew the opinion of a particular piece before it has even been heard. What makes a piece a composition and what makes it an arrangement? Let us then systematically investigate each of these terms, which often have overlapping boundaries in the perception of both composers and musicologists.

The term “composition,” when referring to the practice of the utilization of folk music in art music, is one that has ideally implied full and complete artistic freedom with the folksong used only as a jumping-off point. The original piece is not usually

preserved in its entirety, but is fragmented and displaced for purposes of development. A piece which is generally perceived as a composition is a work that is usually much lengthier than the original song, and applies various devices such as modulation, augmentation, diminution, counterpoint, serialism and others to the “borrowed” material. Genre is a consideration in this unwritten classification system, where a work that involves any type of vocal performance, whether it be solo or choral, is almost always stereotyped as an arrangement, regardless of its compositional prowess. Conversely, a work which employs a large instrumental ensemble, or even a chamber group, is automatically considered a composition. This fallacy thus places a high expectation on instrumental works, assuming them to be of a much higher compositional value than vocal works.

The New Harvard Dictionary of Music (hereafter referred to as NHDM) gives no definition of the term “harmonization,” though this is one that is often used when referring to songs which have been placed in a folksong collection. Often used interchangeably with “accompaniment,” it seeks to describe a work which retains its original melodic, rhythmic, and textual features, but which has been given the added element of harmony, either in the form of block chords or a more fluent broken-chord progression or, often, a combination of the two. This harmony is most often meant to be performed on the piano, though there are a few scarce examples of harmonizations for voice, organ, violin, and, more often in “popular” pieces, for guitar. The perceived

purpose of this “harmonization” is not to create a distinct and unique musical composition, but to preserve the inherent nature of the original song, adding to its original flavour rather than distracting or detracting from it. Many of these pieces termed “harmonization,” however, are criticized for not adhering to this cardinal rule and turning the piece into something which it should not be. This term thus invokes certain restrictions on the composer’s freedom, since the songs so treated come from folksong collections, whose purpose is inherently preservation, and not creation. Many of these “harmonizations,” however, are meant for performance, and readers of works in which they appear are encouraged to use them in that way. Yet, performances of these pieces are usually presented differently than full-blown “compositions” based on folksong themes as a “purer” rendition of the original song, with harmonies added only to enhance the song’s natural qualities.

On a closer inspection of these “harmonizations,” however, it is clear that many are compositionally sound, and do add embellishments and harmonic changes. When sung alongside another piece termed an “arrangement” or a “composition,” often the two would be comparable in sound. However, it has been generally perceived that these “harmonizations” are found solely in folksong collections, and thus are truer to the inherent nature of the original song.

The term “accompaniment” is very similar, and is often used interchangeably with “harmonization.” A lengthy two-page article in the NHDM describes it principally

as “the musical background for a principal part or parts” (5). Accompaniment occurs when “one or more primary melodic parts are supported by other material subordinate in musical interest, often of a primarily harmonic rather than melodic character, commonly chords or chordal figuration, and similar formulas” (5). Thus, pieces termed “accompaniments” most often refer to those bound within the same set of rigid rules as “harmonizations,” since they are most likely to be found in a collection of folk music. The “composer” must then forego creative artistic expression and retain all of the original elements of the song. This has again not always been the case, as many works termed “accompaniments” have become standard performance pieces which demonstrate somewhat idiomatic or virtuosic compositional techniques. NHDM further explains that, “there has been a centuries-long tradition of providing composed accompaniments for folk songs [sic] that includes not only works by composers such as Haydn and Ives, but also what are now regarded as the misguided efforts of some 19th- and 20th- century collectors” (6).

The term “arrangement” is one that moves further along the scale of artistic freedom. It is still, however, constrained by a vague set of conventional restrictions which do not allow it to become a full-scale composition. NHDM refers to this practice as “the adoption of a composition for a medium different from that for which it was originally composed, usually with the intention of preserving the essentials of the musical substance; also the result of such a process as adaptation” (53). In art music

history, the process of “arranging” often involves the downscaling of a musical work, such as the adaptation of a symphony for piano or chamber music ensemble. The etymological allocation of this term to folk music studies is one that renders it even more vague, as those pieces that change form from a vocal song to an adaptation for a different musical ensemble are most often, if not always, referred to as “compositions.” Those works which are termed “arrangements” are most often scored for a single voice with a single accompanying instrument, most often piano, or are choral works either scored ‘a capella’ or again with a single accompanying instrument.

It appears that the perception of these pieces termed “arrangements,” when referring to works based on folksongs, are ones that are given more artistic license than “harmonizations” or “accompaniments” but still rate rather low on the creativity scale, as they retain most of the elements of the original song. They are thus generally met with certain value judgements about their merit as compositional works, by composers and performers alike, in that they are perceived as not requiring as much in the way of compositional talent. Despite their inherent value, they are still regarded as adaptations, not as creations. They are, however, intended primarily for performance and not for preservation, thus a degree of musical creativity is allowed. NHDM, in describing the definition of eighteenth and nineteenth century arrangements, tells us that “some such arrangements, however, notably those of Liszt, were clearly intended to have artistic merit in their own right as well as to serve as vehicles for the display of virtuosity by

performers” (53).

This classification system has many faults. It makes value judgements based on various unrelated elements such as genre and intent (either preservation or performance). As a result, confusion arises when referring to many of these works based on these vague terms. However, for the sake of this thesis, I will refer to each piece as it has been designated by both its composer and by musicologists who have examined it. The remainder of this chapter will concentrate on pieces categorized as “arrangements” and “compositions.” Many of the “harmonizations” and “accompaniments” have already been discussed within the contexts of the various collections described in the previous chapter.

Although this antecedent section has focused on the works themselves, and the value judgements implicit in them, these are intricately, and inevitably, linked to perceptions of the composers themselves. This has been demonstrated earlier in the introduction, in the discussion of how studies in folklore in/as literature should be analyzed, both in terms of the intent and background of the composer/author, and of the “validity” of the final work itself. In the case of Canadian music, this discussion filters down to the high value placed upon the musician who is a composer, rather than an arranger. In fact, it has been the case throughout the history of Canadian music that any musician who aspires to composition has not been looked upon with much professional respect if that goal is not achieved, and one is forced to settle solely into another, or

several, “secondary” positions, such as teaching, accompanying, organ playing, and the like. Interestingly enough, it is true that it is virtually, if not impossible, for a Canadian musician to completely support him or herself through their compositions. Secondary jobs become necessary in order to maintain a satisfactory living, though this inevitably detracts from time and energy which might be spent composing. Traditionally, the most successful composer is one who is able to produce the largest-scale compositions, or ones which are not harmonizations or arrangements and demonstrate a secure and innovative command of cutting-edge compositional skills, while still being able to support oneself through other means of employment.

Many of the compositions referred to in this chapter have not been published, and still remain in manuscript form. Most of these have been identified much later than their date of composition by musicologists. Many of these have scarcely, if ever, been performed or circulated widely and, thus, were not a strong influence on other works being composed at the time. I have attempted to indicate throughout the chapter those pieces which were published either shortly after their composition or much later, as well as those which have remained in manuscript form.

The beginnings of the practice of using Canadian folksong in art music did not originate in Canada. Canadian composers took their inspiration for this practice not only from European composers who adapted their own folksongs, but also from these European composers who were adapting Canadian folksongs from collections which had

found their way across the ocean. These beginnings occur, apparently, long before the idea occurred to Canadians, as occasional Europeans attempted to imitate Native American music throughout the eighteenth century. However, these songs were most often based on non-authentic models, and were set to harmonies and rhythms that were popular at the time. Works such as Rameau's Les Indes galantes (1735) and Gréty's Le Huron (1768), though inspired by Canadian First Nations music, "have only a fanciful and non-realistic relationship to the native peoples of North America" (EMC 192). Thomas Moore's "Canadian Boat Song" (1804) was probably the earliest piece of music inspired by Canadian folksong. This work was also not entirely authentic, however, in that it used only the opening motif of a specific voyageur song in its structure. The rest of the melodic and harmonic lines were newly devised, and the text consists of a poem written by Moore himself.¹⁴

Other foreign composers who ventured to set Canadian songs included the French organist Eugène Gigout, who composed Rhapsodie sur des airs canadiens for his instrument before 1898. Benjamin Britten also composed Canadian Carnival for orchestra in 1939, the Brazilian Francesco Mignone produced Tres preludios sobre temas canadenses for piano, George Frederick McKay and Alan Shulman, both from the US, composed Rocky Harbour and Sandy Cove for string orchestra (Birchard, 1950) and A

¹⁴ There has been much written about this piece in several sources, including the EMC, the Oxford Companion to Music, and the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.

Laurentian Overture (Chappell, 1952) respectively. Ralph Vaughan Williams was also interested in the folk music of Canada, and produced some piano accompaniments for Maud Karpeles' collection of Songs from Newfoundland (1934). Vaughan Williams also composed music for the film The 49th Parallel (1941) based on Canadian themes.

The first known adaptation of a Canadian folksong by a Canadian composer was Frederick Glackemeyer's Chansons de voyageurs canadiens in 1817 (EMC 481). His arrangement of two French-Canadian songs, "En roulant ma boule" and "Mon père a fait un étang," was set for voice and piano, after the popularity of salon composition. These pieces were found in one of his manuscript notebooks, and are now preserved in a private collection in Québec City (EMC 481). Though they were then not circulated widely, or perhaps even never performed, thus exercising little influence on other composers of the time, that Glackemeyer himself saw fit to compose these works is significant.

Glackemeyer, probably the most prominent Canadian musician of his time, was born in Hanover, Germany in 1759, and emigrated to Québec in 1776 at the age of 17. Several accounts of Glackemeyer's musical career exist in various musicological sources, describing him as a jack-of-all-trades. He was known primarily as a performer (of violin, viol, and keyboard instruments), a bandmaster, a composer, and a seller and repairer of instruments. McGee tells us that, "to earn a living as a professional musician he served as organist at the Québec Basilica," and he taught private music lessons (28). He also organized concerts and played in the Québec theatre orchestra. He founded the Québec

Harmonic Society in 1820, and was responsible for importing scores of European music for performance. Says Kallmann in his History of Music in Canada, Glackemeyer was “the first professional musician of excellence in Canada” (50).

Glackemeyer settled in Québec, and was undoubtedly affected by the large amount of folk singing occurring there at the time. This composition, Chansons de voyageurs canadiens, was most likely based on Glackemeyer’s own hearing of the two songs, as no significant collections of French-Canadian music had yet been published. As the pieces were found in one of his notebooks, many estimate them to be fairly simple harmonizations of the two folksongs. His motivations for writing these works are not documented, though it may be assumed that he was fascinated and influenced by the singing of the tunes around him. It was then practically inevitable that he would use his compositional talents to set these melodies to the music nearest to his own language and understanding.

Shortly afterwards, in 1818, Stephen Codman was reportedly commissioned to write an Introduction and Variations on a Canadian Melody, but no known copies exist (EMC 481). Whether or not this work was actually completed is unknown. Codman, like Glackemeyer, was born in England (ca. 1796), and came to Canada at the age of twenty. He also was an Québec organist, as well as a composer and teacher. His focus was sacred music, and he composed primarily liturgical works for his organ and choir. The reported existence of this work demonstrates the aforementioned influence that

patrons had on the development of music in Canada. One may conjecture that since the second known piece of music composed on folk themes in Canada was commissioned by an external source, this indicates that the impetus for the start of this practice was generated by non-musicians, most likely interested in promoting a national Canadian music based on folksong.

Around 1840, folk tunes began to appear in various Canadian periodicals, such as the Literary Garland and the Album littéraire et musical de la Revue canadienne, both of Montréal. These were primarily piano pieces, due to the increasing popularity of this instrument and the growing number of builders in Canada, and were arranged and harmonized to suit the moderately skilled pianist. Tunes included were logically those that were most popular and most sung in the communities, such as “A la claire fontaine,” “V’la le bon vent,” “Vive la canadienne,” and “En roulant ma boule” (EMC 481). Antoine Dessane’s Quadrille canadien, presented in 1855, is an example of this style.

It must be noted that all of these songs were French, as English folksong collecting and, thus, composition based on these collections, did not begin until much later, around the start of the twentieth century. One early exception is James Paton Clarke’s Lays of the Maple Leaf, or Songs of Canada (Nordheimer, 1853), a cycle of seven songs for solo voice, duet, and chorus based on English songs in the “folk idiom” (EMC 481). The texts described the hardships of Canadian life, and were written by the composer. This was the first example of an Anglo-Canadian song composed in this way:

its successors would not surface for another half a century. Other Anglo-Canadian composers did venture to set French songs during this early period, however. The first to do so was Susie Frances Harrison with her Trois Esquisses canadiennes (Nordheimer, 1887) for piano and with her opera Pipandor (late 1880s). The first piece is a series of piano arrangements on French-Canadian airs while the three-act opera, with libretto by F.A. Dixon of Ottawa, incorporates several French-Canadian folksongs.

Ernest Gagnon's compositional activities also furthered the trend of "folksong" based works, both before and after the publication of his renowned 1865 collection. He published several piano arrangements in various Canadian periodicals, including "Le carnaval de Québec," a "quadrille sur des airs populaires et nationaux" (1862), as well as vocal arrangements such as his "Le chant de l'Iroquois" (1859) published in Journal de l'Instruction publique, and his "Chant des voltigeurs canadiens" (1862). Credit for the first piece composed on Native Canadian themes also goes to Gagnon for his "Stadaconé," a "danse sauvage" for piano (1858). It is interesting that Gagnon was the first not only in Canada, but in North America to adopt First Nations tunes in his compositions; the first similar work in the US appeared a year later. Gagnon states in a letter that, "in Stadaconé I have incorporated certain stylistic aspects of native music. These include melodic and rhythmic repetition, open fifths, and marked accentuation patterns" (Smith, 1989: 36). These "stylistic aspects" are ones that have been stereotyped consistently by Canadian composers who have ventured to set this music,

even as late as John Weinzweig (b. 1913), the most recent composer to create a number of pieces based on First Nations' music. Gagnon's choral folksong arrangements also appeared in the collections Chants canadiens (1877) for SATB chorus and piano, Les Soirees de Quebec (1887) for 3 voices and piano, and Cantiques populaires du Canada français (1897) for SATB chorus and organ.

After 1865, whether inspired by Gagnon or drawing on their own personal experience, more and more musicians began to adapt folk pieces. A large literature of arrangements and new compositions exists, ranging from simple chordal or piano accompaniments to larger works involving both pre-existing tunes and texts, and newly-invented motifs in the style of folksongs. The most common setting was for voice and piano (a good example is Achille Fortier's 20 Chansons populaires du Canada [1893]), or piano solo (such as Alexis Contant's Variations sur "Un Canadien errant" [1898]), followed by three- and four-part choral arrangements. Other solo instrumental pieces, such as Oscar Martel's Airs canadiens variés, Op. 2 (nd) for violin, were also relatively common. Though organized ensembles were sparse and instruments not easily available, there still exist a number of compositions for band (such as Calixa Lavallée's Pas redoublé sur des airs canadiens [1870s] and Joseph Vézina's Mosaïque sur des airs populaires canadiens [1880]), chamber ensemble (Susie Frances Harrison's String Quartet on Ancient Irish Airs [nd]), and even for small orchestra (Paul Gilson's Fantasie sur des mélodies populaires canadiennes [1891] and Louis-Phillipe Laurendeau's

Laurentian Echoes [nd]). Opera was not forsaken, as is shown by the aforementioned Pipandor (late 1880s) by Harrison (EMC 481).

Only a few examples exist of compositions utilizing folksongs from the period at the turn of the twentieth century. The composers George Alfred Grant-Schaefer (1872-1939) and Alfred LaLiberté (1882-1952), were most active in this practice at the beginning of the century. Grant-Schaefer composed a set of seven pieces for piano based on French-Canadian idioms entitled Scènes Canadiennes (Schmidt, 1907), as well as several vocal arrangements of French-Canadian folksongs, also published by Schmidt in 1921 and 1925. LaLiberté produced several harmonizations of French-Canadian, Scottish, English, US, and First Nations folksongs. A few of these were published by Eschig under the title Recueil de chants populaires du Canada (1925), while some of his other songs appeared in the journal Le Passe-Temps. Some other prominent compositions also exist from this time, including Charles Harriss' Canadian Fantasie (1904) and Sir A. MacKenzie's Canadian Rhapsody, Op. 67 (ca 1905), both for orchestra.

Ford tells us that

after WWI, some composers did begin to look consciously at stylistic characteristics which grew out of the Canadian soil: setting Canadian poetry, "landscape" composition, and use of folk music material... The most extensive, conscious use of Canadian material was in the form of setting or utilizing the music of the Native Peoples or the English- or French-Canadian folk song. The work in folk-song collecting during this period was a catalyst in bringing composer and folk music together. What resulted was a short period of activity in arranging and then incorporating folk music in composers' works (145).

This period described by Ford was not by any means a prolific one. One of the few existing works is Arthur Honegger's Le chant de Nigamon (1917), based on Iroquois and Huron themes found in the collection Ethnographie Musicale (1905) by Tiersot. The songs included in this publication may or may not have been collected in Canada. In addition, the prolific Québec composer Léo Roy (1887-1974), composed between 1903 and 1958, "350 original works and made 800 harmonizations and 400 free-style transcriptions of folksongs, including 160 Bohemian, Czech [sic], and Slovak and 47 Iroquois... By far the majority of these works remained in manuscript form" (EMC 1151).

Undoubtedly, the most influential event in terms of promoting composition based on folksong was the creation of the CPR festivals of the late 1920s, particularly those in Québec. Before this point, little is known about the motivations for the composition of these folk-music-inspired works. Very few writings exist from the composers themselves, and intent may only, at this point, be assumed. Moving into the 1920s with the establishment of the CPR festivals, more, though still relatively little, was being described and documented. Barbeau's vision of creating a national music through the incorporation of folk music in Canadian composition is one that attracted several prominent composers. It must be noted here, however, that it is possible that the reasons why many composers may have submitted pieces for performance at the festivals may also be due to the immense opportunities for recognition which the events presented.

That the festivals had on their roster many accomplished performers, who would be heard by a large audience consisting primarily of the affluent elite, must have been a huge drawing point for many of the composers. As well, the E.W. Beatty competition of the 1928 festival presented an opportunity for these composers to profit both financially and through recognition from their compositional activities -- a rare event in Canada at the time. Whatever the motivation, many prominent composers submitted pieces for performance at these festivals. The 1927 festival included works by Healey Willan, Ernest MacMillan, and Leo Smith (all from the Toronto Conservatory of Music), as well as by Montréal composers Claude Champagne, Oscar O'Brien, Léo-Pol Morin, Alfred LaLiberté, Achille Fortier, and Henri Gagnon (nephew of Ernest). The same composers also submitted pieces to the 1928 festival, as did George Brewer, Alexandre D'Aragnon, Leo-Pol Morin, and Hector Gratton.

Undoubtedly, one of the most important composers of this period was Claude Champagne (1891-1965). Influenced by his early study with the French composer Vincent D'Indy, Champagne used techniques from his teacher's "schola cantorum," or the reintroduction of medieval elements such as Gregorian chant and modality in folksong, in his compositions. Though born in France, Champagne quickly became a nationalist in his adoptive country, and included many French-Canadian folksongs in his work. This phenomenon was not rare, as it was often the immigrant composers who were inherently more nationalistic than the native Canadians, having been exposed to the

romantic nationalist movements in their home countries. Champagne's fascination with modality was expressed in his compositions Danse villageoise and Suite canadienne, both of which were performed at the 1928 festival. The latter work won one of the E.W. Beatty prizes – it became especially popular after the festival, and is still one of Canada's best known works. The Suite canadienne retains both the traditional tunes and texts of four French-Canadian folksongs; "C'est Pinson avec Cendrouille," "Nous étions trois Capitaines," "Et moi je m'en passe!" and "Le fils du Roi s'en va chassant." It was written for a fairly large ensemble, including soprano or tenor solo, SATB chorus, and orchestra. Though it retains the original character of the songs, the piece still introduces many new elements. It is composed in a polyphonic style (interweaving melodic lines) through which it develops the themes of the work.

Champagne's settings of several French-Canadian folksongs for various instrumental and vocal ensembles demonstrate many new compositional techniques. His works are more inventive than transcriptive as they depart frequently from the original song through devices such as sixteenth century counterpoint. Ford tells us that "Champagne used folk music less as material to arrange or even quote than as inspiration for newly-composed material" (147), and was thus one of the first to create "compositions" based on folksong. Champagne's influence was profound, though others did not begin to follow his lead until much later. His combination of Canadian material with contemporary international compositional styles was imitated later by composers

such as Violet Archer and John Weinzweig. Another of Champagne's most prolific pupils in terms of folk-music-inspired composition was Maurice Dela, who composed a version of "Dans tous les cantons" for string orchestra. Dela's style as a whole was more suited to "arrangements" of folksong, particularly for the short radio pieces which were most characteristic of his output; however, in this particular composition Dela was much more inventive and reminiscent of Champagne's influence on his style. These considerations will be discussed further in the following two chapters. "Both the rhythmic accentuation and the modality of the folk music became the basis upon which Champagne built a style influenced further by studying the works of Russian and French composers through the guidance of his teacher Alfred LaLiberté" (Ford 146). Yet, few other composers of this period attempted to create new works in this way, preferring instead to preserve most of the original elements of the songs that they were setting.

One of the most significant figures of the time who preferred to "arrange" folksongs rather than build compositions around them was Healey Willan (1880-1968). Willan was heavily involved in church music, and a conservative romantic by nature. He composed several successful pieces based on folksongs of Canada. Born and musically trained in England, Willan emigrated to Canada in 1913 to fill the post of head of the music theory department at what was then the Toronto Conservatory of Music. For the 1927 CPR festival, he arranged twelve Québec folksongs for voice and piano. He also arranged the music for one of the most influential pieces of the 1928 festival, and

perhaps of Canadian musical history, the ballad opera L'Ordre de Bon Temps. Based on Champlain's establishment at Port Royal in 1605, this opera, much like its famous English antecedent, John Gay's The Beggar's Opera is based on popular folksongs of the day. The most significant difference between these two works, though similar in form and in intent, is that the "popular" songs employed by Gay were ones that were familiar to both him and to his audience. However, those used by Willan, though native to French Canada, were ones that had been sung centuries earlier in an isolated community, and were thus relatively unfamiliar to both him and to his audience. Willan's work, though tinged with nationalistic intent, was an experiment in exoticism, and was not populist. The opera itself was conceived by Gibbon, who contracted Willan to arrange the music, based on songs from Barbeau's collection. The work was so successful that Willan later revised it, and an English translation by Gibbon was added for future performances. The music to a second ballad opera, Prince Charlie and Flora, was also arranged by Willan for the 1928 festival. This work was set to words by Gibbon, using Scottish folk melodies.

Another significant set of pieces by Willan are his Chansons canadiennes, a compilation of 24 French-Canadian folksongs in two volumes arranged in 1929. Published by Frederick Harris, these songs were scored for solo voice and piano, though several were later revised with different instrumentations. Taken from Barbeau's collection, the song texts were translated by Paul England. Willan continued to arrange

many other folksongs after the festivals, both of French-Canadian and British origin. His French-Canadian pieces include “Deux chansons canadiennes” (1929), “Rossignol du vert bocage” (1937), “C’est là mon doux plaisir” (1937), “Le navire de Bayonne” (1952), and “Sainte Marguerite” (1952). Most, if not all, of these pieces were taken from Barbeau’s collection. They are scored for various choral groups, with one or two accompanying pianos. All were published by Frederick Harris, and were relatively well circulated. Willan’s collection of English folksong arrangements include “Sir Egalmore” (Oxford UP, 1929), “The Arethusa” (Oxford UP, 1929), “Brigg Fair” (from a melody collected by Percy Grainger; Frederick Harris, 1935), and “The Rising of the Lark” (Carl Fischer, 1939). These are again scored for choir with piano accompaniment.

Another prominent composer at both the CPR festivals, and in the furtherance of folksong-inspired composition was the folklorist Oscar O’Brien (1892-1958). A great admirer of Charles Marchand, O’Brien arranged many folksongs for him. The two performed together some of O’Brien’s portfolio of over 400 arrangements at both the 1927 and 1928 festivals. O’Brien’s folk opera [Forestiers et] Scène des Voyageurs was also written for the 1928 event, and included a number of French-Canadian folksongs. After Marchand’s death in 1930, O’Brien formed a choral group by the name of Quatuor Alouette, for which he arranged several songs. Some of his other folksong-inspired pieces include the theatrical works Une Noce canadienne-française en 1830 (1929), À Saint-Malo (1930), Dix Danses limousines (1930), Pastorale (1930), and La Passion

(1935), as well as his “Dansons le caracaillou” (nd) for chorus and his three-volume set of piano accompaniments for the folksong collection of Father Anselme and Brother Daniel entitled Chansons d’Acadie (1942-8). O’Brien’s Barbeau-esque position regarding folksong-inspired composition as national music is made clear in his 1944 article “Le folklore source d’inspiration pour les artistes,” which has been quoted from in previous chapters.

Another significant figure here is Hector Gratton (1900-1970), who premiered his Danse canadienne at the 1928 festival. This, his first excursion into folk-inspired composition, was very successful: the piece received many favourable reviews from the festival critics. This success led Gratton to compose six more “Danse canadiennes” in his later career, as well as several other works based on folk music. These include the orchestral works, Fantasia on Two French Canadian Folk Songs (1950), Fantasia sur v’la l’bon vent (1952), Crépuscule (Nocturne) (1952), Dansons le caracaillou (1952), and the symphonic poem Légende (1937), as well as a piano and strings piece entitled Variations libres sur “Isabeau s’y promène” (1954), a Chanson écossaise (1940) for violin and piano, and string orchestra arrangements called L’Ecosaise (nd), Chanson pastorale (nd), Nocturne from “Marie Chapdelaine” (nd) and Berceuse sauvage (nd). His collection of 180 Canadian Folk Songs harmonized for male chorus also attests to his prolific compositional output.

Ernest MacMillan, whose compositional career will be discussed in the next

chapter in relation to his setting of “Dans tous les cantons,” wrote several significant pieces for the Québec CPR festivals, all based on French-Canadian folksongs. His set of French-Canadian Folk Songs for male chorus won the E.W. Beatty prize for that category, and included his setting of the aforementioned folk melody. As we will see, this piece, the first of the seven settings to be discussed, was written at a time when folk-music-inspired composition was beginning to come into its own, and espoused a growing sense of nationalism.

Some of MacMillan’s other prominent compositions based on folksong include his Two Sketches for Strings, which is built around the tunes “Notre seigneur en pauvre,” and “A Saint Malo,” collected by Barbeau and Sapir. It was first performed by the Hart House Quartet at the 1927 festival. Six bergerettes du bas Canada is the sequel to Two Sketches, and was written for the 1928 festival. It is based on the six French-Canadian folksongs “Y’a rien de plus a belle,” “Lisette chantait l’autre jour,” “Bonjour, jolie bergère,” “C’est un jour en me promenant,” “Là-haut sur ces montagnes,” and “C’est la plus belle des céans” collected by Barbeau. The pieces are written for a small group of voices with a chamber ensemble consisting of oboe or violin, viola, ‘cello, and harp or piano. The texts consist of the original French words with English translations by Elaine Ross. MacMillan was primarily responsible for the collaboration of five composers in the composition of 21 Folk Songs for French Canada, which included English translations by Gibbon. Proctor describes the compilation thus:

'21 French-Canadian Folk Songs,' edited by Ernest MacMillan, was one of the volumes of settings for voice and piano which grew out of the Barbeau-inspired folk-song movement of the 1920s. The settings by Achille Fortier, Alfred Laliberte, Ernest MacMillan, Leo Smith, and Oscar O'Brien are generally simple, although the MacMillan accompaniments have more pianistic flourishes than the others. The arrangers attempt to capture the modal flavour of many of the melodies but succumb at times to an inappropriate use of chromatic harmony. Moreover, the thick texture of many of the piano accompaniments tends to interfere with the simple, narrative style of the original songs (20).

In 1927, Barbeau invited Ernest MacMillan to join him on a collecting excursion on the Nass River in British Columbia, where the two produced many transcriptions of First Nations songs. One of the results of this collaboration was MacMillan's Three Indian Songs of the West Coast (1928). MacMillan writes about these compositions and their antecedent songs thus:

The songs are reproduced, as nearly as our musical notation will allow, from records made on the Nass River in the summer of 1927. A few weeks spent on the Nass River with Mr. Barbeau in 1927 were sufficient to convince me that the music of the West Coast Indians was not only an interesting field for ethnomusicological research, but that with some adaptation it was quite capable of interesting and pleasing the average music lover. In making the following arrangements for voice and piano, I have found it unnecessary to make any alteration in the voice part. Doubtless one may urge many legitimate objections to the addition of any accompaniment whatsoever to songs of this nature, but if my arrangements do no more than bring to the attention of our musical public music of an interesting type which would probably not be otherwise heard, they will not be entirely abortive (CMC, 1980: 17).

With this composition, MacMillan attempted to render as accurate a replica of the original song as was possible given the notation and instrumentation of his craft. The piece was a combination of vocables ("meaningless" sounds which are common in First Nations music) and English text. MacMillan used a repeating pattern of open fifths in

the accompaniment to represent drumbeats, a common stereotypical interpretation of this particular sound, introduced in Canada, as discussed earlier, by Gagnon. There is a steady rhythmic pulsation throughout, and the melodic contour is limited to one motif. The concept of both melodic and rhythmic repetition is again common of interpretations of this music. In the first and third pieces, “Outsiders, Behold Geedarantis—A Spirit Song” and “Stop all this Idle Chatter” respectively, a ‘tumbling strain’ (downwards motion of melody) is used, while the second piece, a lullaby, “Na Du-Na Du Du,” consists of a more undulating melodic movement.

Incorporating First Nations music in the European art music tradition has been difficult for most composers who have attempted it. The vast differences in the two musical styles, though fascinating, cannot be accurately bridged by the art music language. However, many composers have ventured to set these pieces with varying degrees of success. Many were encouraged by the early activities of both Gagnon and Barbeau; Gagnon’s attitudes towards this music are described in a 1911 letter to Barbeau:

It has always been my belief that the ‘discovery’ of our roots would help establish a sense of national identity. With particular reference to music, I intended my work on our folksongs and the music of our native Indians to lay a foundation for a musical language based on these repertoires. Perhaps you will continue to encourage Canadian composers to seek out these sources in their musical works (Smith, 1995: 32).

Since Gagnon’s first attempt to set a First Nations song in 1858, others, drawing their inspiration primarily from the Robert/Jenness collection of 1925, have been tempted to attempt this difficult feat. Some early examples of these works include Léo-Pol Morin’s

Three Eskimos (1927) for piano, and his Trois Chants de sacrifice (nd) in Inuit for choir and two pianos, LaLiberté's 1927 Arrangements of Eskimo and Indian Melodies for string quartet, Colin McPhee's Four Iroquois Dances (1944) for orchestra, and Séverin Moisse's Variation sur un thème Huron (1955) for piano. John Weinzwieg's Edge of the World (1946) is another significant example, and consists of a one-movement symphonic poem based on characteristics of Eskimo dance songs. This particular piece was composed for a series of CBC historical-documentary radio dramas on the Canadian north. Proctor tells us that

Leo Smith also made settings of native songs, but the trend towards using such materials did not continue because of the inappropriateness of the piano, problems associated with the equal-tempered scale, and the difficulty of setting monodic songs of native peoples to nineteenth-century harmonies. Composers quickly realized that to clothe the products of an indigenous, oral tradition in the dress of Western European classical music added nothing to the original songs and even detracted from their inherent beauty (23).

Despite the obvious difficulties, the practice of setting these songs is one that has endured, though rather sporadically, through the history of Canadian composition. Many of these works are outlined in the CMC pamphlet, "List of Canadian Music Inspired by the Music, Poetry, Art and Folklore of Native Peoples" (1980) and in Elaine Keillor's article, "Indigenous Music as a Compositional Source: Parallels and Contrasts in Canadian and American Music" (1995).

Other examples of these First Nations-inspired songs are not based on specific folk material of any kind, but reflect the composer's conception of a certain culture or

region. Though somewhat tangential to this study, that composers have found an alternate method of dealing with this fascinating yet difficult material is important. Some examples are Murray Adaskin's Nootka Ritual (1974), which reflects the Nootka ritual experience, as well as his There is my People Sleeping (1970) inspired by ethnic poem-drawings by the Native artist, Sarain Stump, and Keith Bissell's "How the Loon got its Necklace" (1971), based on the Salish tale of the same name.

The European art music tradition in Canada before the 1930s and 1940s had been represented primarily by French and English immigrants. During the middle decades of the century, there appeared for the first time a new group of native-born Canadian composers that began to take control of the music of their homeland. Foreign influence was never eliminated completely however, as most of the new and prominent composers had been trained abroad by influential teachers such as Nadia Boulanger, Cécile Gauthier, Aaron Copland, Bela Bartók, and Paul Hindemith. As a result, these up-and-coming young composers, though still adopting a European view of music, were also learning and beginning to expand new techniques developed on the continent. Thus, a wave of modernism was introduced into compositional styles. The influx of avant-garde techniques to Canada, such as Stravinsky's neo-classicism, Debussy's impressionism including new scale types, Schoenberg's twelve-tone serialist system and his sprechstimme speak-singing techniques, Webern's minimalist theories including devices such as pointillism, the extension of serialism as advocated by Stockhausen, Boulez, and

Messiaen, and Cage's theories of indeterminacy in music, all had a great impact on the development of music in Canada. Electronic music in Canada also began in 1959 with the establishment of the first electroacoustic studio at the University of Toronto. Early work was done in this medium by Hugh Lecaine (1914-77), who constructed, and made compositions for, various electronic instruments. This medium was then explored significantly by other Canadian composers. It was primarily the English immigrants who retained their romantic and classic roots, refusing to adapt to the modernist styles, which resulted in another separate musical literature. Still, it is this expansion of contemporary technique that characterized this latter period in Canadian musical history. However, these same composers did not abandon the concept of the adaptation of folksong, but discovered new ways of reworking the old pieces using these new musical techniques.

Jean Coulthard (1908-2000) was one of the most prolific composers of this period. She was also the first west coast composer to have gained wide recognition (EMC 319). Taught and inspired by Vaughan Williams, Copland, and Bartók, Coulthard's extension of tonality and aleatoric (chance) elements were applied to her settings of various folksongs. These include Canadian Fantasy (Berandol, 1939), based on the three folksongs "Mon doux berger," "Jesous Ahatonia," and "C'est la belle Françoise" for orchestra, Song of the Sea (1942) also for orchestra, Songs of the Haida Indians (1942) for voice and piano, Polish Lullaby (nd), and Three Ballades from the Maritimes (nd) for SATB chorus. Her four-act multimedia opera Return of the Native

based on Hardy's novel and containing many "folk songs [sic], peasant dances, and folk festive celebrations," was composed sometime in the 1950s. An unidentified program note in Coulthard's file at the CMC describes the work as including, "evocative musical descriptions of the heath country and mid-19th century folk life." Another larger work is her Canada Mosaic (Waterloo, 1974), which incorporates Canadian folksongs from across the country, attempting to portray "a musical image of Canada" (CMC, 1980: 7). The third movement of this work, "D'Sonaqua's Song," is a setting of a Coast Salish tribe song, most likely taken from MacMillan and Barbeau's collection. Interesting about Coulthard is that she continued this practice of basing her works on folksong throughout her compositional career, and produced such later pieces as Four Variations on 'Good King Wenceslas' for Piano (1979), and Introduction and Three Folk Songs (1986).

One of the English immigrants who came to folksong arrangement in his later career was W.H. Anderson (1882-1955). Though his prolific compositional output was a part of an expanding and developing field, it was still rooted in what was becoming an outdated romantic style. This was common to the English immigrants to Canada, and can be seen as well in the music of Willan, and of Alfred Whitehead, one of the composers to set "Dans tous les cantons," whose compositions for organ and choir often involved the quotation of folksong using "traditional" compositional techniques. Nonetheless, Anderson's contribution to folksong-inspired composition is profound, and

includes, “a large number of Ukrainian, Czech, and Icelandic folksongs for the Winnipeg choir director Walter Bohonos, using particularly those variants developed among European settlers in Manitoba” (EMC 23). His first compositions to use folksong, many written under the pseudonym of Michael Bilencko, appear in the mid 1940s, including “Good-Night: A Czechoslovak Folk Song” (1943), “Once a Cuckoo Bird: A Ukrainian Folk Song” (1943), “The Scarlet Sarafan: A Russian Folk Song” (1943), “Gay is the Rose” (French-Canadian folksong; 1944), “A Gaelic Croon” (1945), Two Icelandic Folk Songs (1948), “The Sweet Nightingale” (Old English folksong; 1948), and Two Ukrainian Folk Songs (1948). All of these are arranged for mixed-voice chorus with piano accompaniment and have been published by Western. All have also been translated into English. Many of his arrangements were published posthumously, as late as 1990 with “Now the Cold Winter Days,” an Icelandic folksong published by Leslie of Oakville, Ontario.

At mid-century Canadian composers were beginning to evince an interest in internationalism. Though nationalist ideals still remained central to the setting of Canadian folksongs, many native-Canadian composers began to look outside their home country for new and unique material. In addition, ethnic immigrant composers were beginning to take confidence in setting the songs of their own homelands. This practice, begun first with earnest by Anderson, increased steadily throughout the latter decades of the century. Though the first Canadian composer to set a foreign folksong was most

likely Mieczyslaw Kolinski in 1924 with his Sonata for Violin and Piano on a Russian Folk Song, the trend did not become a popular one until the mid 1950s. Other early examples exist, such as Willan and Gibbon's collaboration on the ballad opera Prince Charlie and Flora based on Scottish folk melodies in 1928, and Champagne's Pièce sur un Thème Brésillienne (nd) and Quadrilha Brasileira (nd).

The Polish ethnomusicologist and composer Mieczyslaw Kolinski (1901-1981) was especially prominent in his compositional output of music based on non-Canadian folksong. Educated in Berlin under Erich von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, he collected many folksongs from field trips to the Bavarian Alps and the Sudeten. In the mid-1930s, he also transcribed collections of Surinamese, Dahoman, Togonese, Ashanti, Haitian, and Kwakiutl music. He was a co-founder and president of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1958-9, and taught ethnomusicology at the University of Toronto from 1966-76. He was an exceptionally prolific composer, basing most of his music on folksong. His output for chamber music includes, "45 settings of German, Dutch, Slovak, US, Canadian, Yiddish, Sephardic, [and] Hebrew folksongs," and his settings for voice consist of "numerous songs and song settings, including US, French, German, Yiddish, and Sephardic folksongs" (EMC 693). A small sampling of these include American Suite (1949) based on 12 "Negro spirituals," Dahomey Suite (1953) based on material gathered from Dahomey in West Africa, Music of the Hebrew People (1954; Hargail, 1955) consisting of 20 Jewish folksongs, Six German Folksongs (1957), Six

Yiddish Folksongs (1957), 20 Settings of Czech and Slovak Folksongs (1966; Hargail 1967), 20 Settings of Dutch Folksongs (1966; Berandol, 1977), Encounterpoint (1973) for organ and string quartet which uses a folksong of the Crimean Tatars entitled “The Soldier’s Lament,” and 23 Settings of American, German, Yiddish and Sephardic Folksongs (1976). Kolinski retains the original language of the text in each of his works – a rare practice. As well, much of this music is pedagogical in intent, and is scored for recorders in various ensembles, or for voice with various accompanying instruments.

According to Ford, Canadian composition following the second World War became defined by its eclecticism, partially because of the vast and varied repertoire of material being incorporated by composers. “In Canada, the folk music of both the British Isles and France, the hymnody of the Maritimes and Ontario, and the popular music transplanted from the United States are all ingredients in the traditions which make up the Canadian mosaic” (Ford 217). Many more composers were also attempting to bridge the gap between art and popular styles, which led often to less definite lines between the two. This was especially apparent in the work of Howard Cable, another of the composers to set “Dans tous les cantons.” As an advocate of, and talented performer and composer in both traditions, Cable’s work was unique in that it incorporated elements from each in unified works. His work will be examined in further detail in the subsequent two chapters. Also during this post-war period, Proctor tells us that

the number of arrangements of Canadian folk songs grew significantly in this period (the 1950s and 60s) under the stimulation of an increasing national

awareness of the folk heritage and the growth of music in the schools. Leslie Bell, Richard Johnston, Keith Bissell, Howard Cable, Godfrey Ridout, and Claude Champagne were some of the main contributors to this repertoire; they drew upon the collections of folklorists Marius Barbeau, Kenneth Peacock, Carmen Roy, and Luc Lacourcière (90).

This improvement of music education in the schools, aided by the introduction of the John Adaskin Project in 1961, inspired the creation many of these musical works based on folksong. Proctor explains that this project created “an expansion from the simple arrangements of Canadian folk songs which characterized the 1950s to more stylistically contemporary fare” (129). That these folksongs were both simple and familiar, or were incorporated with the purpose of making them familiar, convinced both composers, and the supporting educators, to include them in school curriculum.

Though this movement was primarily pedagogical in nature, the desire to impart nationalist sentiment to young Canadians was also a goal. The creation of works based on folksong was seen by many as an appropriate manner to convey these sentiments. Most often, these pieces were scored for vocal ensembles for facility of performance by young, untrained musicians. “Choral or solo-voice works utilizing Canadian folk-song [sic] material were characteristic of Canadian nationalism in the 1950s and early 1960s. Such works have dwindled since 1967, but there are some exceptions” (Proctor 177). Simple pieces for standard school instruments were also common, especially those for piano, recorder, violin, and clarinet, though some also exist for more rarely used instruments, such as the accordion. One promoter of music for this latter instrument was

Morris Surdin, who composed a pedagogical setting of “Dans tous les cantons” for it in 1970. This particular piece formed part of a set of graded pieces for the accordion, as Surdin was particularly interested in furthering both the repertoire of this instrument and insuring, for nationalistic reasons, that this repertoire contained works based on Canadian folksong. These considerations in the work of Surdin will be discussed in more detail in the following two chapters.

One of the educators and composers who contributed most to this music education movement of the 1950s and 60s was Keith Bissell (1912-1992). After studying composition with Leo Smith at the University of Toronto, Bissell was greatly involved in music education in the Toronto area. As a teacher, and later supervisor of school music in Scarborough, he introduced the Orff Schulwerk method. This method “involves movement, singing, and playing on suitable instruments (mostly percussive in the early stages) and leads children in a natural way, by means of their own experiences, through a great variety of scales and rhythms to a broadly based understanding of music” (Grout and Palisca 816). Bissell studied with Carl Orff himself in Munich, then “using Canadian folk music and his own compositions Bissell effected the transition from the German idiom to the English, thereby increasing the method’s usefulness to music educators across the country” (EMC 125). With John Adaskin (1908-64), he organized the first Canadian composers’ seminar in music education in 1963. His compositional output, particularly that based on folksong, is both profound and well reputed. Margaret

Drynan says that “his folksong arrangements for voice and piano and for choir are among the simplest and subtlest by a Canadian, recalling those of Britten in a nearness to artsong (sic) that would be risky in a treatment less appreciative of the natural contours and honest expression of the original material” (EMC 125). Many of these pieces were commissioned for school choirs or young community ensembles, and include the works A Folk Song Suite for Woodwinds (1960) for the Scarborough Public School Woodwind Ensemble, “Sweet Nightingale: An English Folk Song” (Waterloo, 1968) commissioned by the Borehamwood Grammar School in England, two sets of Six Maritime Folk Songs (Berandol, 1970) based on songs from Helen Creighton’s Maritime Folksongs, A Canadian Folk Song Suite (1976), Song for Fine Weather (Waterloo, 1976) from a traditional Haida song, commissioned by the Leslie Bell Scholarship through the Canada Council, and Old Grandma (1979) based on a Canadian folksong, commissioned by the Ontario Music Educator’s Association through the Ontario Arts Council. One of his best known works, Six Songs from Eastern Canada for medium voice and piano, was commissioned by the CBC in 1970. For this piece, Bissell adapted songs from both Peacock’s and Creighton’s collections. An unidentified program note in his file at the CMC indicates that these songs have been greatly altered from their originals, but follow the same textual story and rhyme scheme. The reviewer notices that the music is considerably different, as there are unique melodic shapes and time signatures. Bissell also wrote several works under the umbrella of the John Adaskin project, many of which

are still incorporated in the Canadian musical curriculum. These include “The Turtle Dove” (Waterloo, 1963), “Adieu de la mariée a ses parents: Saskatchewan Métis song” (Gordon V. Thompson, 1968), and “Nous étions trois capitaines: French Canadian Folk Song” (Gordon V. Thompson, 1968).

Another significant composer mid-century was Robert Fleming (1921-76). Also an organist and a teacher, he studied composition under Willan at the Toronto Conservatory of Music, and was greatly influenced by his teacher’s nineteenth-century romantic style. Elaine Keillor tells us that, “though his music is recognizably of the 20th century, among his contemporaries, Fleming was a moderate. His compositions are basically tonal and use traditional techniques, forms, and media in a personal way” (EMC 468). Proctor describes Fleming’s style as, “close to that of Vaughan Williams, with its many parallel fifths, sevenths, and ninths, frequent ostinati, and simple, folk-like melodies” (165). Fleming was renowned for his adaptations of folksongs. His early Shadow on the Prairie (1951-2), an orchestral ballet suite, based on fiddle tunes and rhythms, received excellent reviews. Four fantasias on Canadian folk themes, composed for the centennial celebrations of 1967, set folksongs from varying regions across Canada. The first movement, “Out of our Indian Heritage,” is based on an Iroquois melody sung to the composer by an aging chief on a visit to Brantford in 1950. His vocal folksong arrangements include “Achill Girl’s Song” (1950) on a poem by Padriac Colum set to the Irish air “I’ll Travel to Mount Nebo,” “Great Big Sea” (1952) based on a

Newfoundland folksong, “A Kangaroo Sat on an Oak” (1954; Western, 1960) from a Nova Scotia folksong and composed as part of the John Adaskin project, “Joshua Fit de Battle” (nd) on a “Negro spiritual,” and Six Folksongs from Prince Edward Island (1973) from Randall and Dorothy Dibblee’s collection. Fleming also composed a Maritime Suite (1962) for chamber ensemble, and three puppet show works; Indian Legend, Laurentian Parade, and Square Dance based on “The Maple Leaf Forever” composed in 1969. Many of these pieces are pedagogical in nature, and stem partially from the music education movement of the 1960s.

In the more advanced compositions of the 1950s and 60s, the new techniques which had been recently introduced in Canada were being explored further. Violet Archer (1913-2000), who was to become one of the most prominent composers in Canadian musical history and whose career will be discussed further in the subsequent chapter in relation to her setting of “Dans tous les cantons,” describes the state of music in Canada at the end of the 1950s thus:

In this music, whether or not the composer consciously intends it, one hears marked colours, broad lines, rhythmic solidity, a certain dignity and at time severity even if the work is lyrical in feeling. Yet these qualities are softened in the work of those composers who have the folk-songs of Canada as a basic influence. Of these last there are not many (12).

Also, discussing trends of modern musical composition she warns us: “Not to be overlooked is this modal influence as derived from national folk music and from the British school which emerged from the revival brought about by a group of composers at

the turn of our century” (12).

The four most prominent Canadian composers of this period were undoubtedly Barbara Pentland (1912-2000), John Weinzwieg, Violet Archer, and Harry Somers (b. 1925). Native-born Canadians, each studied abroad and brought contemporary European musical trends to Canada, where they began to experiment and take these techniques in new directions. All four were also involved in adapting folksongs using these new techniques, and incorporated the folksongs into pedagogical works for children at various stages of musical development.

Barbara Pentland had broad influences as a student of composition. She studied in France with Cécile Gauthier, in the US with Aaron Copland, and in Germany under the influence of Webern and the second Viennese school. Since then, she has experimented greatly with serialism, and has also taken an interest in both pointillism and aleatoric music. As well, she has written several pedagogical works, many based on folksong. These include Two [French-] Canadian Folk Songs (1963), and Arctica (1973), both for juvenile piano. Her five Sung Songs (1964 and 1971) for chorus or single voice and piano show an experiment with exotica, as they are based on Chinese songs with English translations.

John Weinzwieg originally studied with MacMillan and Willan, but eschews his teachers’ grasp on nineteenth century romantic compositional styles, in favour of neoclassicism, serialism, and jazz. He was the first Canadian to adopt Schoenberg’s

twelve-tone system in his Suite for Piano #1 (1939). He has also composed many works on Canadian subjects which contain folk melodies. His ballet suite, The Red Ear of Corn (1949), does not quote any specific folksong directly, but is a “blending of phrases and rhythms of Indian and French-Canadian dance song styles” (CMC file; anonymous program note). Anatol Chujoy, a New York ballet critic, claims in a program note for the New York Ballet that “Mr. Weinzweig’s score will take its place among the most talented compositions based on North American folklore.” One of Weinzweig’s best known works is his To the Lands Over Yonder for SATB chorus (International Music Sales, 1945; Frederick Harris, 1953), which is based on a literal translation of a text from the Coppermine Eskimo found in the Roberts/Jenness collection. The music is an original composition based on a study of Eskimo folk song style (CMC, 1980: 22). His interest in First Nations music is apparent, as he set many other works using First Nations themes, including a film score, North West Frontier (1941), and Improvisations on an Indian Tune (1942) for organ, both based on Dogrib Amerindian material, as well as Edge of the World (1946) for orchestra with songs from the Roberts/Jenness collection, and The Great Flood (nd) for choir and percussion.

Harry Somers’ early studies were with both Weinzweig and Darius Milhaud. He credits his main influences, however, as being Bartók and Copland. His works utilize particularly neoclassicism and serialism. He is also closely connected with the music education movement of the 1960s, and has composed many pieces for young musicians,

several of which are based on folksong. One of these, Little Suite for String Orchestra on Canadian Folk Songs (Berandol, 1956), adapts the tunes of “Lukey’s Boat,” “She’s Like the Swallow,” and “Ah! Si mon moine voulait danser!” Somers’ arrangements of Five Songs of the Newfoundland Outports (Gordon Thompson, 1969) were composed for the John Adaskin Project. These pieces are unique in that they begin with a statement of the original song, then depart into varying musical devices which leave few remnants of the folksong itself. Proctor suggests that “Somers’s arrangements are quite intricate and use the original songs as a point of departure for a rhythmical and contrapuntal display which has caused at least one Newfoundlander to exclaim, ‘we don’t sing them like that!’” (177). Some of Somers’ largest and best known works which incorporate folk song, such as his opera Louis Riel (1967) and his music drama The Shivaree (1978) will be discussed later in the chapter.

Violet Archer was one of the seven composers to set a variant of “Dans tous les cantons” for piano duet in 1953. Though her compositional style was generally experimental and, like that of her contemporaries, followed current European trends, this setting was surprisingly traditional in nature, and preserves a great deal of the original song. That the work was intended primarily for pedagogical use is somewhat related to this; however Archer’s collection of four-hand piano pieces in which this setting is found has also gained acclaim as a concert performance work. This work will be examined in more detail in the subsequent chapters.

With the establishment of the Canadian League of Composers in 1951, young musicians were able to better communicate with each other and share their ideas. Works were still being created based on folksongs of both Canada and foreign nations. Settings for voice and piano, or for choir were still most common, despite the relative availability of larger ensembles for the production of such works. The folk opera medium begun by Willan and O'Brien was continued by Trevor Jones (b. 1899), with such works as The Broken Ring (1953) and Pictou Landing (nd). Other composers who were prolific in the composition of works based on folksong at this time include Chester Duncan (b. 1913), William McCauley (b. 1917), and Godfrey Ridout (1918-84).

In 1967, the centennial year of Canada, all forms of national musical activity reached a high point unequaled before or since. New art music compositions were created dealing with historical events and figures of Canada, as well as with contemporary Canadian situations, many of them involving direct quotations of folksong. Many of these were commissioned by the Canada Council and other institutions or private patrons. The CMC compiled a list of over 130 works which were composed in honour of Canada's birthday, including: 16 stage works (opera and ballet), 34 pieces for orchestra, 23 chamber music pieces, 26 choral works, 14 vocal pieces, 2 film scores, and 7 pieces of keyboard music. These statistics indicate a strong shift in the preferred genres of composition in Canada, as the composers were moving away from smaller solo works for keyboard towards larger-scale ensemble works. Several of the commissions

were written for particular ensembles, and the opening of Expo '67 in Montréal also provided an international venue for performance. Here, many Canadian composers received international recognition for the first time.

One of the largest and most acclaimed pieces of this period was Somers' opera Louis Riel, with its unique quadrilingual text (English, French, Latin, and Cree). Structured on the story of the life of Louis Riel, the Métis "hero" who was hanged for treason in 1885, the opera details historical events of the Red River uprising (1869) and the Northwest Rebellion (1885). The opera also contains one folksong adaptation – a Cree lullaby entitled "Kuyas." The basic motivic ideas in the piece's opening were taken from the song of Skateen, the Wolfhead chief of a Nass River tribe, collected by Barbeau and MacMillan. The text is Cree.

Other centennial compositions which incorporated folksong include Eldon Rathburn's City of Gold, a suite for orchestra, William McCauley's Canadian Folk Song Fantasy for band, Harry Freedman's ballet Rose LaTulippe, Godfrey Ridout's Folk Songs of Eastern Canada, a CBC commission for voice and orchestra, and Richard Johnston's second volume of arrangements of Edith Fowke's More Folk Songs of Canada. Johnston was another of the seven composers to set "Dans tous les cantons" in 1964. Also pedagogical in nature, this work for two equal voices was included in a compilation of Chansons canadiennes-françaises, and will be discussed further in the following chapters.

Particularly active during the centennial year was the Latvian-Canadian

composer, Talivaldis Kenins (b. 1919). Born and trained in Latvia, Kenins was forced to leave the country after the Soviet occupation following the second World War. After a brief sojourn in France where he studied with Messiaen, Kenins emigrated to Canada in 1951. The EMC tells us that “unlike the Latvian composers born before World War I who fled in the 1940s, Kenins did not pursue the Romanticist-nationalist genre. Rather, a creative life formed within the mainstream and influenced by French sensibilities, has evolved” (680). Though the anonymous author of this EMC article feels as though Kenins has not pursued the Romanticist-nationalist genre, Kenins has still adapted many works from the folksongs of his homeland. These include Ai zala lidacina (1960) for SATB chorus, Div’ dzeltni kumelini (1960) and Ta tik vien mes dzivojam (1964) for male chorus, Folk Dance, Variations and Fugue (1963) for two pianos, Two Latvian Folk Dances (1969) for solo piano, Ancient Song on a Latvian Folk Tune (1976) for harp, Chaconne on a Latvian Folk Tune (1978) for violin, and Latvian Dance and variations (1980) for trumpet or cornet and piano. His works for the centennial celebrations include his Fantasy-Variations (On an Eskimo Lullaby), for flute and viola, which is based on an Eskimo lullaby tune collected by D.H. Whitebread at Cape Dorset, on the southern part of Baffinland, and “The Maiden’s Lament,” Land of the Silver Birch,” and “The Carrion-Crow,” based on various Canadian folksongs.

Since the tremendous influx of avant-garde musical techniques during the middle decades of the twentieth century, contemporary art music in Canada has since retreated.

This retrenchment was a response to the perceived overcomplexity and unmusicality of many serialist and electronic works. The 1980s and 1990s have been relatively conservative in terms of art music composition in Canada, but composers still strive to attain new and unique sounds, such as the inclusion of jazz techniques. There have been, however, a few exceptions to this rule. Two electroacoustic composers, Paul Pedersen (b. 1935) and David Keane (b. 1943) still ventured to set folksongs with electronic instrumentations. Pederson's An Old Song of the Sun and the Moon and the Fear of Loneliness (1973) borrows its text from an Eskimo song, translated by Knud Rasmussen, and its opening musical motif from a second Eskimo song. Pedersen chooses to combine yet another element in this piece, by incorporating fragments of the chorale, "Es ist ein Ros' Entsprungen." The piece is scored for amplified soprano, electric flute, and amplified piano. Although Keane indicates in his score that his Folkdance Transform for Orchestra and Conducted Electronics (1995) consists of variations on the Ontario folksong "The Plains of Waterloo," "The *Plain* of Waterloo" is, in its origins, a British broadside found in oral tradition in Eastern Ontario. This might be considered a telling example of the lack of research done by some composers on their original source folksongs. The work was commissioned by the Kingston Symphony through the Canada Council, and is scored for orchestra plus a "Yamaha TX802 and a MIDI baton."

The use of folk music as a base for composition is still a flourishing practice, though it has also receded considerably from its high point at mid-century. However,

several important large-scale musical works based on folksong appeared during the last few decades of the century. Late in his career, Harry Somers was involved in the production of two trilogies of Canadian music dramas; the “Shivaree trilogy” and the “Serinette trilogy.” These dramas, with librettos written by James Reaney, concentrate on incidents and characters in early Ontario history. The Shivaree (1978), takes place in the farming district of Southwestern Ontario in the early years of the twentieth-century. The characters are fictitious, but the custom of the shivaree, a boisterous late night surprise ceremony for newlyweds by the community members, is a widespread and venerable custom. Somers was also the composer of the first production of the second trilogy, Serinette, which describes the story of the founding of the Children of Peace sect which built the Sharon Temple. First produced in 1990, this work was extremely successful, and led to the production of the second part of the trilogy, Taptoo! with music by John Beckwith. Produced in 1994, Taptoo! follows the life of a young Quaker boy, raised during the American revolution as a pacifist. A 1994 Cultural Support Services press release states that Beckwith’s score includes “many actual tunes of this era, making Taptoo!, in the words of the composer, a ‘documentary ballad opera.’”

John Beckwith (b. 1927) has been instrumental in furthering Canadian music in a variety of ways. He has undoubtedly been the most prominent spokesperson for composition in Canada, and is also a prolific composer himself. He has also been interested in pedagogy involving folksong, and composed a Suite on Old Tunes for

Young Pianists based on songs from both Canada and the British Isles in 1967 in honour of the centennial. As well, he experimented with First Nations music, and composed both Arctic Dances (1984) and Sun Dance (1968) based on First Nations themes. His Arctic Dances for oboe and piano are based on dance/song transcriptions in Music of the Netsilik Eskimo by Beverly Cavanagh (1982). Texts from Sun Dance include those translated from traditional Plains Cree Indian. One of Beckwith's most successful works, however, was his documentary cantata The Hector (1990). His own description of his work in a rare undocumented 1993 program note from his CMC file, describes the purpose of his piece as follows:

When asked to compose a new work for Musick Fyne, I thought of relating their eighteenth-century instruments to a topic from eighteenth-century Canada. I read with special interest Donald MacKay's "Scotland Farewell," an account of the 1773 voyage of the sailing vessel the Hector from Ullapool, Scotland, to Pictou, Nova Scotia, inaugurating the first major settlement of Scots in Canada. I gathered other materials—earlier histories, poems, dance music, songs—thinking of a 'documentary cantata' with singing, spoken narrative, and instrumental illustrations (including period quotations). Some of the poems and songs I left in the original Gaelic: only one or two of the 180-odd passengers spoke English. Flute and harp were familiar instruments to the emigrants, and the presence of a piper is well attested: though the first two were fairly easy to suggest in the ensemble, I had to impose on hearers' imaginations in evoking the third. Musik Fyne's instruments are grouped in two tunings, and rather than choose between these I decided to use both—sometimes keeping them apart and sometimes deliberately exploiting their microtonal mixture (as for example in the descriptions of weather conditions at sea or the health hazards of the cramped accommodations on board the little ship).

Beckwith also composed many other works based on various forms of folksong, including Five Songs from Canadian Folk Collections (Waterloo, 1970) for contralto and

piano, Papineau: Deux chansons du Bas-Canada (Gordon V. Thompson, 1978) for two voices as part of the John Adaskin project, and Eight Miniatures from the Allen Ash Manuscript (Frederick Harris, 1993) for violin and piano.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a fair number of compositions based on folksongs emerged, but rarely from any single composer. It seems as if many composers experimented with including a folksong or two in their corpus of works, but did not extend the practice any further. Exceptions include Alfred Kunz (b. 1929), Sid Robinovich (b. 1942), and Nancy Telfer (b. 1950). Robinovich's contributions include several settings of Ladino, Israeli, Sephardic, and Yemenite songs, including his Mosaic of Jewish Folksong (1990), and his Canciones Sefardies (1978; revised 1991).

Telfer's work includes many pedagogical works for piano, such as her collections Old Tales in a New Guise: Canadian Melodies Arranged for Piano (1985), "Land of the Silver Birch" (1996), "She's Like the Swallow" (1996), and My Bark Canoe: Easy Folksongs for Piano (1996), all published by Frederick Harris. She has also produced many vocal works, such as Child's Play (1982), commissioned by the Western Ontario branch of the Kodály Institute, Jumpety Bumpety (Leslie, 1990) on Australian folksongs, When the Outports Sing (1992) based on First Nations music and folksongs from Newfoundland, and Two Canadian Folk Songs (1992). That these pedagogical works are still being commissioned and published is significant in demonstrating that, though the use of folksong in composition has dwindled overall, there still exists an interest and a

market for some new pieces.

The prolific Alfred Kunz has produced a variety of compositions for various vocal and instrumental ensembles. His instrumental works include a Concerto for Percussion and Orchestra: Eight Variations on a Theme “I’se the b’y that builds the boat” (1973), commissioned by the Kitchener-Waterloo Junior Symphony through the Canada Council, Canadian Trilogy (1982), and Land of the Silver Birch: Two Piece Suite, no. II (1982), both for juvenile concert band, and Three Canadian Folk Songs (1983) for string orchestra. His vocal works include “We’ll Rant and We’ll Roar: A Newfoundland Folk Song” (1966) for male chorus, Joy Unconfined: A Medley of Folk Songs from the Maritimes (1989) for SATB chorus and piano, “How Great Thou Art: A Swedish Folk Melody” (1989; published 1995) for solo, chorus, and piano, and “Bendemere’s Stream” (1991), based on an Irish air for SSATB chorus. Most of his works have been published by A. Kunz Music Publications and have been relatively well distributed.

The fascination of Canadian composers with the folk music of foreign nations has grown significantly, and is still continuing to inspire composition at a tremendous rate. The music of Japan has influenced the composition of Elliot Weisgarber’s Ten Japanese Folk-songs (1991) for voice and piano or voice and harp, while Norman Sherman drew his inspiration for his La Bodega (1987) from Latin dance music. Robert Daigneault composed his Eastward #1, op. 139 (1989) on an East Indian folksong, while Michael Conway Baker set a “Ukrainian Folk Song” (1993) for violin and piano. Listen to the

Wind: Suite for Chorus and Orchestra from “Like gods, like gods among them” was composed by Allan Rae in 1973 for SATB chorus and orchestra on the text of a folksong and phonetic sounds of the Kalahari bushmen. Judy Sprechtt composed a String Quartet on Korean themes in 1990, while Leonard Enns set Three German Folksongs (1989-1992) for unaccompanied choir, solo voice, and 6 tuned bottles. Marc Pelletier recently composed his Han no. 5 (1993) for violin duet, inspired by a folk love song from the Kangdin region situated in the west of China.

Many composers have also recently ventured to set folksongs from their respective homelands. Tibor Polgar’s Variations on a Hungarian Folksong (1969) for string orchestra, Rhapsody of Kallo (1970) for violin and harp, and his Notes on Hungary: Suite in Five Movements for Concert Band Based on Hungarian Folk Songs (1971) are all based on the folk music of his native Hungary. George Fiala set music of his own country in his Five Ukrainian Folk Songs (1973) for solo voice and orchestra, and his Four Ukrainian Folk Songs (1981) for bass voice and piano. Bengt Hambræus set several of his native Swedish folksongs, including “Gammalsvensk folkvisa” (1995) for soprano and harp, and Blago Simeonov composed Three Bulgarian Dances (1974; Southern Music, 1983) for clarinet and piano. Several Jewish composers have also set Hebrew and Yiddish folksongs, including Milton Barnes’ Three Israeli Chassidic Songs (1985) with Hebrew text, commissioned by the Canadian Gathering of Holocaust Survivors and their Children for treble voice and string orchestra, Hanukkah Medley

from Chanuka Suite #1 (Frederick Harris, 1987) for orchestra, and Fantasy on Jewish Themes (1993) with Yiddish text for tenor solo, SATB choir and instrumental ensemble, commissioned by the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir through the Toronto Arts Council. Srul Irving Glick has also composed Gut shabas (1970) with Hebrew text for SATB chorus, and Four Yiddish Songs (1986) for solo voice or choir with viola and piano. José Evangelista composed Spanish Garland: 12 Folk Melodies from Spain (1993) for string quartet, while Imant Raminsh created a Suite on Five Latvian Folk Songs (1983) for orchestra. Ka-Nin Chan adapted a Chinese folksong, “Flower Drum Song,” for orchestra in 1984, while Alice Ping Ye Ho composed Three Variations on a Chinese Folksong for SSA recorders in 1982.

Kallmann says that “unity in Canadian music is found less in chronology, locale, and musical repertoire than in the ever present themes of transplantation, assimilation, and the search for identity” (Kallmann, 1960: 132). As a result, song types other than folksong adaptations can be considered “national,” and in the mid to late decades of the twentieth century some of these works began to replace the need for pieces based on a direct quotation of folksong, as described in the conclusions of the previous chapter. Though somewhat tangential to this study, a brief description of the direction of these works is worth mentioning, as it is a direction which is becoming more often followed. It should be noted as well that there is often a combination of these “landscape” pieces with folk music quotations. Schafer believes that it is the context in which the music is

presented that is important, and not the style. His “ideal” performances are those which are taken out of the concert hall, and produced in the natural Canadian landscape, either in a forest or across a lake. He advocates that Canadian music is unique because there is a “feel” in Canadian art unlike anything European, due principally to, he says, the barren terrain. This “landscape” theme is a common one in Canadian music, and several composers have even invented a genre termed “landscape music.” Harry Somers produced North Country in 1948, a piece which evokes images of Northern Ontario. Other composers have combined this genre with the inclusion of folksong in the name of nationalism, such as Champagne with his composition Altitude (1959). This piece is a programmatic description of the Rocky Mountains of Canada for chorus and orchestra which includes the singing of a Huron Indian prayer. Champagne’s work Symphonie gaspésienne (1945), though based on “folk-like idioms which are the invention of the composer” (EMC 483), is also a landscape description of Canada. Musical devices invoke the sounds of “the breaking of water upon the shore... the chiming of the noonday village bells... [and] the flight of seagulls over the Percé Rock, a well-known formation in the Gaspé” (McGee, 1985: 92-3).

Several other songs are structured around fiddle tunes or fiddling style, such as Champagne’s Danse villageoise (1929). Michale Parker’s Rufus (1989), scored for string quartet, is based on the tunes of a well-known Newfoundland fiddler, Rufus Guinchard. This work was commissioned by the CBC for the fiddler’s ninetieth

birthday. John Beckwith's Blurred Lines (nd) is influenced by his association with Scottish fiddle and bagpipe repertoires, including the slow and solemn pibroch (or lament) tradition, and the hardanger fiddle tradition of Norway.

There are also those songs which take as their nationalist inspiration literature, or visual art. Milton Barnes' Poems from the St. Lawrence and Saguenay (1984), is one such example, as it adapts poetry about Canada by Charles Sangster. Norman Sherman's The Events of Nov. 10, 1812 (nd) is structured on text from Kingston and Québec newspapers, while Patricia Holt's Polar Chrysalis (nd) contains five Haiku poem settings about Canada. Like Willan with his 1928 ballad opera, L'Ordre de bon temps, John Beckwith also took inspiration from accounts of the lives of the first settlers in Champlain's colony. Beckwith's piece, composed in 1986, is Premiers hivers.

Folk-music-inspired composition in Canada, taking its roots from the romantic-nationalist movements of European nations and from the United States, continues in Canada, though much more sparsely and with different motivations than in its beginnings. Gaining popularity through the CPR festivals of the 1920s, the use of folk music in art music compositions waned briefly in the middle decades of the century, then reached a second pinnacle with the advent of the centennial celebrations in 1967. Since, it has been seen as a less effective method for expressing nationalist sentiment and has been abandoned by many Canadian composers. However, the practice still endures, and

its importance in the history of the development of Canadian music is significant. This evolution of both motivations and techniques in the use of folk-music-inspired composition will be examined in detail in the following two chapters, when exploring the settings of the folksong “Dans tous les cantons” over a fifty year period in the history of Canadian music. These latter two chapters will attempt to bring together the points discussed throughout the first three, and delve deeper into specific considerations in the selection and use of this particular song.

CHAPTER FOUR: “DANS TOUS LES CANTONS” COMPOSERS – BACKGROUNDS AND MOTIVATIONS

Read a book on Canada and you will find little in it about music. Read a book on music and you will find even less in it about Canada. A Canadian composer, not wishing to be a human contradiction in terms, tries to locate the ways in which the two concepts 'Canada' and 'music' have evidently influenced his peculiar identity (John Beckwith, 1997: 50).

This chapter will examine in more detail the social and cultural influences exerted both on and by the seven composers who set the French-Canadian folksong “Dans tous les cantons.” These are, in chronological order of the production of their respective compositions, Ernest MacMillan, Alfred Whitehead, Maurice Dela, Violet Archer, Richard Johnston, Morris Surdin, and Howard Cable. General motivations for their beliefs and practices in the utilization of folksong in their art music compositions will be examined in detail here, as well as their affiliations with particular movements, institutions, and events supportive of this practice. This chapter is linked with the one that follows, which presents a detailed analysis of the seven compositions themselves. The purpose of these two chapters is to present an in-depth examination of both the motivations for and the compositional techniques employed in the utilization of a specific folksong in distinct art music compositions. Though it is well nigh impossible to choose an ideal set of corresponding and comparable examples for a demonstration of these practices and motivations, I feel that the seven settings of this folksong present as

wide a set of circumstances, ideas, and time depths as could be demonstrated in any other examples. My specific motivations for my choice of this song are described in the introduction. “Dans tous les cantons” demonstrates a variety of factors for analysis, including: a diversity of composers who have used it; a historical range of composition dates; several different genres; and varying uses of the source material by composers.

The presentation of each of the composers in this chapter will include a brief biographical sketch, as well as a discussion focusing on their motivations for the utilization of folksong in their compositional work. This discussion in a few cases is necessarily limited due to the few writings available either by or about the composer being examined. Indeed, I have discovered through the research for this study that MacMillan was correct in his analysis of musical scholarship in Canada in his 1951 Massey report; that very few specifically Canadian musicological works exist. Sadly, there are still very few published studies of either the works or the philosophies of Canadian composers. Granted, this deficit has been greatly improved with the publication of The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada and other general surveys of Canadian music history. However, there is still much more to be done, particularly with some of the lesser-known, yet nonetheless influential, Canadian composers such as Whitehead, Dela, Surdin, and Cable. What I present in this chapter is based on all relevant sources that I was able to find on each of these seven composers. Consequently, some can be discussed in more detail than others.

Sir Ernest MacMillan

It is appropriate that this cross-section of composers should begin with a study of Ernest MacMillan, undoubtedly the most influential figure in the history of Canadian music. As a versatile and prolific musician, MacMillan was renowned as a conductor, organist, pianist, composer, educator, writer, and administrator. MacMillan was one of the first prolific Canadian-born musicians; most of those before him had emigrated from Europe, bringing with them their own preconceived notions of musical style.

MacMillan's talent was evident from the start. Born in Toronto in 1893, he was a child prodigy who gave his first organ recital at Massey Hall at the age of ten. At fifteen, he became an organist and choir director, then received his Bachelor of Music degree from Oxford at the young age of seventeen. His musical perspective, though still Canadian at heart, was also international as his studies led him to various teachers and universities across Europe. While young, he studied organ at the University of Edinburgh for three years. In 1914, he traveled to Paris to study piano. After his first stint at Oxford, he continued his studies at the University of Toronto, where he received his Bachelor of Arts and became active in the musical community of Toronto. During the first World War, MacMillan made a trip to Bayreuth for the Wagner festival there and became a prisoner of war. He began composing and conducting the other prisoners in various musical performances at the camp, and later received his doctorate from Oxford for one of his most renowned compositions, a setting of Swinburne's ode

“England,” created there. He returned to Canada in 1919, whereupon he embarked on a lecture-recital tour of the west, then became an organist again in Toronto. In 1920, he began teaching organ and piano at the Canadian Academy of Music, which later became amalgamated with the Toronto Conservatory. In 1926, MacMillan was granted the post of Dean at this latter institution. Shortly after this appointment, MacMillan began conducting opera, as well as large scale choral and orchestral works in Toronto.

One of MacMillan’s most influential periods in terms of contributions to folk-music-inspired composition was his support of the Québec CPR festivals of 1927 and 1928. It was at this time that the most important collaboration in the history of the combination of folk and art music occurred – between MacMillan and Marius Barbeau. This relationship began when MacMillan read and wrote a favourable review of Barbeau and Sapir’s Folk Songs of French Canada (1925). The natural working relationship which developed between the two led to a prolific combined output of literature on and recordings and transcriptions of various Canadian folksongs, as well as published philosophies on the validity of their combination with art music. This relationship was valued highly by both, and Barbeau complimented his peer by saying that “in my own work I was fortunate enough in having a man of such stature and such quick-silver appreciation of French-Canadian and Indian folk tunes as my collaborator, Sir Ernest Campbell MacMillan” (Barbeau, 1963: 42). The natural collaboration of this pair was obvious to many, and Peacock comments on their very different but complementary

styles thus:

These meetings [setting up the Canada Folk Music Society] provided a unique opportunity to observe the contrasting personalities of the two men: Barbeau the ebullient visionary whose enthusiasms, one must admit, sometimes went beyond the bounds of practicality, and MacMillan the equally enthusiastic pragmatist whose skillful diplomacy always brought about a workable consensus (1973: 18).

Attracted by two pieces in Barbeau and Sapir's collection, "Notre Seigneur en pauvre" and "A Saint-Malo," MacMillan arranged these as Two Sketches for Strings for performance by the Hart House Quartet at the 1927 festival, at the request of Gibbon. These are probably his most frequently performed works. MacMillan's acute awareness of the nature of these folksongs is apparent in a program note description of these pieces, in which he indicates that although he adapted Barbeau and Sapir's variant of each of these particular songs, these specific tunes were not necessarily the ones always sung by French-Canadians. He reiterates this with the following quote from an anonymous program note, found in his file at the CMC: "Many variants are found [of "A Saint-Malo"], the best known being probably that given in Gagnon's collection, which differs in one or two particulars from the present version [Barbeau & Sapir's]." With this statement, MacMillan proves his deep appreciation and understanding of the nature of the folksong that he employs; one that is not often present in other Canadian composers who have used these works. In 1928, MacMillan wrote a sequel to his first folksong-inspired piece entitled Six Bergerettes du bas Canada for chorus and chamber ensemble, also based on French-Canadian folk music collected by Barbeau. This set of songs,

presented at the 1928 festival, was a staged suite, modeled after the popular French 'tableau.' Thus, the work was performed with the incorporation of sets, eighteenth century costumes, and stylized action. Several of MacMillan's other arrangements of both French and English folksongs were also performed at the 1927 and 1928 festivals, including his Two Christmas Carols (Frederick Harris, 1927) for soprano and string trio.

MacMillan won one of the coveted Beatty prizes for best male voice arrangement at the 1928 festival for his Four French-Canadian Folk Songs, which included settings of "Au Cabaret," "Blanche comme la neige," "C'est la belle Françoise," and the piece being examined here, "Dans tous les cantons," which will be analyzed further in the subsequent chapter. Unfortunately, the performance of this work by an amateur group, the "Chanteurs de Sainte Dominique," received poor reviews, which may account for the fact that two of the four songs are rarely performed today.

After the 1927 festival, MacMillan was invited by Barbeau to join him on a summer folksong collecting trip on the Nass River in British Columbia. The result was approximately seventy transcriptions from recordings, which were later published in The Tsimshian, Their Arts and Music (1951) by V. Garfield, P. Wingert, and Barbeau. That the two chose to record these songs is significant, as this was not a common Canadian practice at the time, though one that had been practiced regularly by Barbeau. Their effort led in part to a later popularity of folksong recordings, both field and commercial, which inevitably furthered the dissemination of these songs and, thus, the practice of

employing them in composition. As well, MacMillan's composition Three Indian Songs from the West Coast (1928) was based on some of these recordings, becoming one of the first major works to incorporate First Nations music to be published in Canada. This set of pieces was influential as many other composers, such as Leo Smith, followed his example. Also important here is that MacMillan was familiar with these songs from their original performance, having collected and transcribed them himself, rather than having borrowed them from a static published source. This latter practice was one that was extremely popular with most Canadian composers who, in composing their new works, had little inkling of how their source work was performed in its original context. In several of his writings, MacMillan describes his difficulty in transcribing the songs' music, due to their many rhythmic and pitch anomalies. Thus, he questions how anyone may be sure that they are interpreting the song correctly from one of these transcriptions. He often states that he hopes that these composers realize this; however, as most composers who set this music never ventured into the field to hear it for themselves, or even listen to the field recordings, this was rarely the case. Thus, MacMillan composed these works based on what he heard, rather than what was read and surmised. MacMillan's biographer, Ezra Schabas, quotes him on this point: "Yes, a real song! Not only for the Indians but for us. The voice of nature crying out! Yet those things can't be written down on our stave, they simply can't!" (122).

Also in 1928, enthralled with French-Canadian folk music, MacMillan edited a

volume of twenty-one songs. Of these, nine were arranged by him, many with modal scalar structures. Schabas describes his arrangements as “particularly inventive, not mere keyboard harmonizations. The piano weaves around the melodies, reinforcing them or suggesting new patterns that juxtaposes well with the singing voice” (129). In 1929, MacMillan completed the anthology A Book of Songs, which was published in Canada as A Canadian Song Book. This work, which contains over 100 selections, was widely used in Canadian schools in the 1930s and 40s. MacMillan himself in the introduction describes the compilation as being “of a comprehensive nature, including the best songs (whatever their origin) that have taken root in Canadian soil” (iii). After this brief prolific period in the setting of both First Nations and French-Canadian music, Schabas tells us that:

by 1930, MacMillan had become something of an expert on Canadian folk and Native music, and, although his active years in this arena were virtually over, he campaigned vigorously, in talks and papers, for their study and dissemination. And, from time to time, he would transcribe and arrange folk-songs, which, thanks to his composing and arranging skills and his ear for style, he did with consummate ease (131).

After conducting one of his works with the TSO, MacMillan was made the conductor of the ensemble in 1931, despite his lack of formal training. In 1935, he was knighted by King George V for services to music in Canada, a controversial yet rewarding point in his career.¹⁵ He began to guest conduct various orchestras in the US,

¹⁵ This controversy stemmed from the opposition of various Canadian scholars who believed this knighting ceremony to be one that no longer applied to Canada: Many considered the country at this point to be completely independent of the British crown.

Britain, Australia, and South America, as well as with the CBC, and became the principal conductor of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir. One of these guest appointments was with the Orchestre Symphonique de Québec, who MacMillan rehearsed “for a special concert at the Palais Montcalm of music based on indigenous folktunes, including his own ‘Trois chansons de la mer’ from Barbeau’s collection” (Peacock, 1973: 18). Shortly after he secured his position with the Mendelssohn Choir, MacMillan was appointed Dean of the faculty of music at the University of Toronto.

MacMillan was instrumental in both establishing and furthering numerous musical societies in Canada. After the Canada Music Council was inaugurated in 1946, MacMillan became its first chairman in 1947. He was also the president of the Composers, Authors and Publishers Association of Canada Limited (CAPAC) from 1947-69. MacMillan also helped found the Canadian Music Centre (CMC), as well as the Canadian Folk Music Society in 1957. Peacock says that Barbeau sought MacMillan’s help in starting the latter group: “It was so typical of Sir Ernest to be a Founding Father of new musical ventures in Canada and to remain involved until they were on their feet” (Peacock, 1973: 18).

After MacMillan’s findings were published with the 1951 Massey Report, generally lamenting the lack of musical resources and scholarship in Canada at the time, MacMillan appointed himself responsible for the amelioration of these conditions. In 1955, he published a compilation of essays entitled Music in Canada, contributing to the

growing field of Canadian musical scholarship. He resigned from the TSO in 1955, having elevated the orchestra's status immensely, and from the Toronto Conservatory of Music in 1957. When Barbeau published his 1961 Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec, MacMillan was so interested that he composed piano accompaniments for the 42 songs. These were unfortunately never published.

Throughout his life, MacMillan traveled extensively through Canada, encouraging young musicians as both a lecturer and an adjudicator of local musical festivals. MacMillan was very interested in pedagogy, but rarely took on any private students. His teaching was done largely through his role as a lecturer and administrator. After his retirement, MacMillan became a commentator on CBC radio, as well as a "classical disc jockey" on other stations. He produced numerous writings on education and on Canadian music, and published books on sight singing and ear training. Many of his works have been recorded and, thus, are known to a wide number of listeners. He died in Toronto in 1973, having received several honorary degrees for his contributions to Canadian music.

MacMillan shared Barbeau's perspective that national music should be based on folksong. He espoused the opinion that the "healthy artistic life of a nation must root itself in popular tradition" (Macmillan, 1925: 79). Thus, many of his compositions included folksongs in some form. As Macmillan was resistant to many of the avant-garde compositional trends, his musical style was very un-experimental, and was often

described as romantic in nature. Most of his folksong-based works adhered to this style, one which MacMillan considered inherent in them. Some of his best known and most often performed works include a medley-arrangement of Christmas Carols (1945) and a Fantasy on Scottish Melodies (1946) based on Scottish folksongs, both for full orchestra. Some piano works exist, including his “D’où viens tu, bergère” (Gordon V. Thompson, 1958) for four hands. His vocal canon of folksong-based works, some of which contain various instrumental accompaniments, is much larger though, and probably best known. His Three French-Canadian Sea Songs (1930) for medium voice and string quartet or string orchestra sets the tunes “Le long de la mer jolie,” “Sept ans sur mer,” and “A Saint-Malo.” Another significant work is MacMillan’s ballad opera on French and Scottish tunes entitled Prince Charming, which premiered in Banff in 1931. With a text by J.E. Middleton, this work was scored for seven soloists, a chorus, and small orchestra. MacMillan’s choice of this form after Willan’s use of it during the 1928 CPR festival shows a continuance of ideas and a silent agreement with the acceptance of new and more profound forms of art music based on folksong. MacMillan also arranged the music for Gibbon’s aforementioned Northland Songs (1938), which again marks an important collaboration between two key figures of this movement. Other prominent vocal works include MacMillan’s “Canadian Boat Song” (1941), an adaptation of Thomas More’s classic for voice and piano, “There was an Old Woman” (1946), a traditional nursery rhyme in the style of J.S. Bach for mezzo-soprano and strings, 2

Ballads of British Columbia (Gordon V. Thompson, 1947) for piano and voice based on Gibbon's collection, and "A toi, belle Hirondelle: French Canadian Folk Song" (1958) for soprano soloists and SSA chorus.

MacMillan's relationship to the folksongs which he set is a complex one. In the case of his Three Indian Songs from the West Coast, he acts, as Coffin's "collector-observer of a folk community" (Grobman 24) in which his own collection and transcription of the songs of the Nass River tribe serve as the base of his "compositions." However, for the remainder of his folksong-based works, he draws his source material from anthologies. His intent here, judging from his writings, is not so much that of Coffin's "fakelorest, who uses folk traditions in a commercial, popular way" (24), but more of Winkelman's "sophisticated artist who skims through anthologies to add an air of authenticity to his writing" (Grobman 23). MacMillan's works, and his understanding and appreciation of folksong, encouraged and inspired many of the composers who followed him.

Alfred Whitehead

Alfred Whitehead was known primarily for his role as an organist and choirmaster, and was a strong advocate for sacred music in Canada. As a composer, his music was most often practically created for his various choirs, and for his instrument, on which he was a renowned performer. Born in England in 1887, Whitehead received

much of his early and most influential training there. On emigrating to Canada in 1912, he joined the ranks of the most prominent and influential group of Canadian composers of the time which are often fondly, and with some reverence, termed “the British organists,” including such greats as W.H. Anderson and Healey Willan. The general compositional style of this group of emigrated Englishmen was very “traditional,” often romantic, and vehemently opposed to avant-garde techniques. Whitehead was no exception to this rule; it was said that “his life is one that still makes a kind of bridge between the Victorian age in British music and the Canadian music world of our own day” (MacRae 14). Although it is indisputable that Whitehead’s greatest contributions were to sacred music, he nevertheless produced a great number of folksong arrangements, many of which are a vital part of the standard Canadian choral repertoire.

Much of the basis for Whitehead’s compositional style came from his early training in England under Haydn Keeton, to whom he referred as, “one of the great cathedral organists—a superb executant, a great choirmaster and a wonderful teacher of theory” (Whitehead in George 19). His training included intensive study of the works of Brahms and Mendelssohn, great Romantic masters whose styles are reflected in Whitehead’s later compositions. Shortly after his arrival in Canada, where he settled in Nova Scotia, he obtained a post as organist and choir director there, and became the first fellow of the Canadian Guild (College) of Organists.¹⁶ During this time, he was also an

¹⁶ Now known as the Royal Canadian College of Organists, and hereafter referred to as RCCO.

instructor of organ and theory at Mount Allison University. He subsequently moved to Sherbrooke, Québec in 1915 to take a position as an organist there. In 1922, he moved again to Montréal, where he became organist and choir director of the prestigious Christ Church Cathedral. While in Montréal, Whitehead became an essential leader in the establishment and furtherance of liturgical music. As part of a larger cultural center, his influence was much greater than it had been in the east, and he became involved musically in several capacities; as a professor of theory and composition at the McGill conservatory, as a participant in the successful “Montréal festivals,” and as a performer. In 1930, he began to focus more on his compositions, and until about 1950 he was well known as a composer and arranger. Many of his works were published in the United States and abroad; eventually his compositions were known better and performed more often outside of Canada. Most of his folksong arrangements date from this Montréal period, including his setting of “In all the Country Round” from 1939. In 1947, Whitehead returned to Mount Allison University because of his poor health, then retired to continue as an organist in Nova Scotia in 1953. From 1971 until his death in 1974, Whitehead was the honorary president of the RCCO. Whitehead’s influence was far-reaching, and he inspired many of his pupils to continue his practice of adapting folksongs. One of his most prominent students in this field was Hector Gratton, who later became very influential in folk-music-inspired composition.

The majority of Whitehead’s compositions were written for liturgical use, and

were most often scored for his choir with piano or organ accompaniment. These sacred pieces, including motets and anthems, are his most well known. Nine of his hymns were also included in the 1938 edition of the Anglican hymnal. Although he was renowned as an excellent organ performer, his compositions for that instrument did not fare as well as those for choir. This may, however, be due to his philosophy which viewed the organ chiefly as an accompaniment instrument; again, a practical view common for a Canadian composer. Several of his choral anthems and organ works were based on existing material, such as Bach chorales or Christmas carols, as Whitehead was known for his ability as an arranger as well as a composer. He utilized material both sacred and secular, including folksong, in many of his works.

Whitehead's first attempt at the arrangement of folksong was in 1928 with the mixed-voice (a cappella) choral settings of four French-Canadian pieces. "Gai lon la, gai le rosier" is probably the best known of these. Proctor describes them as "employ[ing] a thick and heavy texture reminiscent of Brahms' arrangements of folk songs" (20). These pieces were composed for the E.W. Beatty competition at the 1928 CPR festival in Québec, and were one of eight song cycles to be published from the festival corpus by Boston Music Company. Surprisingly, the adjudicators of the Beatty competition were disappointed with the quality of the entries in the "mixed voices" segment in which Whitehead was entered. Believing his pieces to be insufficiently well composed to receive the full prize of \$250, they awarded him only \$150, allotting the rest to a

composer from McGill University, Irvine Cooper. Both the text and the melody of his choral “arrangement” of “Gay is the Rose” were taken from Gagnon’s collected variant in his Chansons populaires du Canada, with the English translation found in Gibbon’s Canadian Folk Songs Old and New. That Whitehead was familiar with these sources is significant, as these are also the two that he employed as his source material for his setting of “Dans tous les cantons.”

His introduction to composition based on folksong was quickly followed by a steady stream of similar works. Especially striking about Whitehead’s repertoire of compositions and arrangements is the diversity of the folksongs that he chose. Several other arrangements of French-Canadian songs exist, as well as English, Irish, Welsh, Czech, German, Scottish, Russian, and Norwegian examples. Whitehead also wrote over eighty Christmas and Easter carols, many of which were arrangements of existing songs. All of Whitehead’s compositions based on folksongs are scored for choir, with or without piano accompaniment. He did not attempt to write an organ composition in this manner, but kept his pieces simple, preserving not only the essence of each song, but often its complete components. Thus, each of his “arrangements,” as they may be thus termed (and were so by him), preserve the folksong as a whole, in rhythm, tune, and text. His idea of the function of the organ as an accompanying instrument also led to simple piano accompaniments which adhere to the implied harmonies of the original song, if these were present at all. This is an approach which diverges from that of some of the later

Canadian composers such as Violet Archer, whose practices of fragmenting and developing these songs, often omitting key components, will be discussed later in this chapter.

Though Whitehead composed many pieces based on folksongs of various nations, all have been translated into English. Following his “Gay is the Rose” arrangement, Whitehead went on to use other French-Canadian folksongs in his work. These songs include “D’ou viens-tu, bergère” (Boston, 1935), “Isabeau s’y promène” (Carl Fischer, 1939), and “Dans tous les cantons” (Carl Fischer, 1939). Pieces based on folksongs from his native England include “Song of the London Watchman”¹⁷ (Carl Fischer, 1934), “Early One Morning” (Arthur P. Schmidt, 1935), “Flowers in the Valley” (1939), and “King Arthur” (Western, 1937). Settings of Irish songs consist of “The Minstrel Boy” (Carl Fischer, 1934), with a text by Thomas More; “Cockles and Mussels” (Curwen, 1939); and “A Patriot Flame” based on the melody “The Flight of the Earls.” “Oh, Where Art Thou?” (Carl Fischer, 1934), “The Piper o’ Dundee” (Carl Fischer, 1938), and “Turn Ye to Me” (Carl Fischer, 1938) are Scottish, while “The Rising of the Lark” (Carl Fischer, 1934) is Welsh. Experimenting in what appears to be a somewhat random fashion with exotica, Whitehead also arranged the Czech “Danny, Danny, Dando” (H.W. Gray, 1942), the Russian “The Eagle” (Carl Fischer, 1932), the Norwegian “We Sit at the Open Window: A Mother to her Baby” (1941), and the German carol “The Croon Carol:

¹⁷ This work is based on a seventeenth century song entitled “The London Waits.”

Joseph Dearest, Joseph Mine” (nd). Whitehead also arranged several traditional carols, including “The Carol of the Good Thief” (Western, 1938). All of these pieces were composed within a ten-year time span, and are scored for various choral groups. While some are for men’s or women’s chorus with or without soloist, others are for unison voices, sometimes with descant. These choral works were scored for the choir which he had available to him at any given time, as the practical need for these works arose immediately.

Unfortunately, Whitehead left few indications as to his motives in his compositional methods. No documented statements as sweeping as MacMillan’s exist. Whitehead was not a writer – his only significant published work consists of a book on philately, a field in which he was considered an expert. His sole surviving indications of why or how he adapted these folksongs remains with the scores themselves.

Maurice Dela

Born in Montréal in 1919 as Albert Phaneuf, Maurice Dela was prominent in Canada as a composer, arranger, organist, and pianist. Known primarily for his numerous compositions created for CBC radio, Dela was instrumental in furthering folk-music-inspired composition in Canada. His first musical experiences arose from playing the organ; through its study, Dela became fascinated by tonal qualities. He earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in Montréal, where he studied composition, organ, theory, and

orchestration with Claude Champagne. This working relationship was influential in shaping Dela's future works, particularly in his use of folksong. He freely admits this influence, though he also admits that this was primarily of his own volition: "Claude Champagne never exercised any visible control over what I did; first and foremost he was an expert guide. This is very unusual—most teachers attempt to influence their pupils directly" (Theriault np).

Dela's first attempts at composition were little pieces for piano, such as his "Lullaby." In 1947, during further study with Champagne, Dela received the CAPAC prize for his Petite Suite Maritime et Ballade, which he recalls as his favourite piece, in MacMillan's first year as general manager of the society. The work was composed for woodwind quintet, and was later published by Berandol in 1979. This marked an early recognition of his work based on folksong, and inspired his adaptation of numerous later songs using the same practice. His rendition of "Dans tous les cantons!" was composed a scant two years later, in 1949. His Ballade for piano and orchestra also won a CAPAC award, and was later performed by the TSO under MacMillan.

In 1951, Dela began composing and arranging music freelance for CBC radio, a job which he continued until 1965. Many of the works that he created there used various types of folksong as their inspiration and, as background to different radio dramas, were often never heard more than once. Despite its drawbacks, Dela recalled this job fondly, remembering that;

I had to do my work very quickly, but it was good training. Besides, I just regarded it as a job and not as an end in itself. Most Canadian composers are obliged to do this kind of work at some time or another. I did derive a certain satisfaction from this work however—I was able to hear what I had written the very same day or a few days later, instead of six years later! (Theriault np).

While at CBC, Dela was working particularly for the programs Serenade pour cordes and Les belles melodies francaises, both of which allowed him to compose many works based on folksong. It is important to note here that, like several other Canadian composers of his time, Dela was required to compose practical pieces; ones that could be sold and performed quickly and easily, in order to earn his living. Dela, like many of his contemporaries, felt that his shorter pieces were “just by the way,” and did not hold as much interest for him as the larger works. However, these larger works, if the time could be found to create them, were hardly ever played. Instead, he had to content himself with writing radio arrangements and similar forms.

In 1965, after his time at the CBC had ended, Dela became director and supervisor of music teaching at a secondary school in Montréal, where he remained until 1978. He also taught orchestration at the Université du Québec à Montréal from 1973-78, and became a church organist in his home city. He wrote several articles for the periodical Les Carnets viatoriens, and was also an active member of the Canadian League of Composers. He died in Montréal, the city in which he had spent his life, in 1978. A collection of his papers is held by National Library of Canada.

Dela’s compositions gained some international recognition throughout his life,

from a few of his works which were performed abroad. His earlier works are tonal, while his later style becomes increasingly dissonant. Dela's form could be described as "classical," though he sometimes experimented with newer elements such as polytonality and jazz techniques. He says that "I have never followed any particular doctrine. I have always been able to rely on instinct as far as composition is concerned" (Theriault np). Theriault also describes his works as being "directly influenced by his emotions and experiences." His main compositional output includes six works for string orchestra (including his "Dans tous les cantons!"), and seven for symphony orchestra. Among these latter compositions is his *Symphonie no. 1* (1970) which Dela feels is the most representative of his musical development. "This is the form which interests me the most at the moment. I wanted this first symphony to be full of rhythm" (Theriault np).

Dela was a teacher in a secondary school in his later career. Much like Bartók and Kodály, he was interested in teaching music to children through the folksongs of their homeland. Dela composed many of these pieces himself, including graded works for recorder, organ, and piano. One such example is his 20 Duos facile sur des airs de folklore (1970) for 2 recorders, composed for the John Adaskin project. Published by Berandol, the work incorporates folk tunes such as "Ah! Si mon moine voulait danser," "Gai lon la," "Alberta Homesteader," and "Un canadien errant." Several of Dela's collections of songs for children, as well as many of his folksong arrangements, were published by Arch, the Alliance des chorales du Québec, J.C.L. Cartier, Editions

enfantines, and Mustantiqua. Some of these arrangements were also recorded.

Dela was concerned with the new avant garde compositional styles which he considered to be too difficult to understand by the average musical audience. He then wrote Tryptique, a piece for orchestra, as a protest against the complexity of contemporary music. Dela wanted music to be simple, understood and enjoyed by everyone, including children. This was his principal philosophy, though he was often regarded by his peers as not making full use of his compositional talents because of it. This specific piece incorporates several French- and English-Canadian folk melodies, including “Quand on part pour les chantiers,” “A la claire fontaine,” and “What Shall we do With a Drunken Sailor?” In an anonymous program note from his file at the CMC, Dela describes his Tryptique as follows: “In an age when contemporary music is becoming more and more serious and complex, and therefore often directed towards an initiated few, the ideal come [sic] to me of writing something simple and gay, accessible to a great number of music lovers through its expressive and folkloric character.” What Dela considers to be “folkloric character” is unclear, though most likely based on what was probably his view of the then “popular” French-Canadian folksong. His assumption that this music can be understood and related to by most listeners is also a common perception of composers of the time; with the popularity of the CPR festivals, French-Canadian folk music was most widely regarded as being most representative of Canadian “national” music as a whole.

Among Dela's compositions are numerous folksongs and popular songs, as well as harmonizations of the songs of Gilles Vigneault, a composer in a French-Canadian folksong style. Dela was recognized internationally for these latter works, due to the fact that many of them were performed abroad to favourable reviews. His other instrumental folk-inspired pieces include his popular Danse No. 2 based on the French-Canadian folk tune "Nous étions trois capitaines." Three versions of this piece exist; one for full orchestra, another for a small orchestra, and a third for string orchestra. His best known vocal works using folksong include his 1947 lullaby "Berceuse béarnaise" for mezzo-soprano and piano. Dela's sources for his folkloric material are, unfortunately, unknown, though it might be assumed that he consulted anthologies due to the fact that no collecting trips are mentioned in his writings or in any of his biographical articles. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain his intent in the composition of many of these works.

Violet Archer

Violet Archer is probably the most well known and most prolific musician in Canada at the present time. She has been extremely influential in expanding musical activity in the west and throughout the country. Born as Violet Balestreri in Montréal in 1913, Archer's reputation as a composer and teacher are unparalleled, and her performance abilities as both a pianist and organist are also renowned. Her compositional style was always cutting-edge, as she was often the first in both Canada

and internationally to experiment with and adopt new avant-garde techniques. She has been described as “a methodical composer, working efficiently and comfortably in the Western tradition, absorbing serial procedures, parallelism, and folk influence into her music” (Keillor and Kallmann 36). Pedagogical works were also her forté, and she was instrumental in continuing the work of Bartók and Kodály in Canada.

Although born in Canada, Archer spent her early childhood in Italy. She began her musical studies with lessons in both piano and organ. She first studied composition with Claude Champagne, and her earlier compositions reflect his interest in folk melodies and rhythms. Her list of degrees and diplomas is extensive, and includes a Licentiate in Music and a Bachelor of Music from McGill, an Associate of the Royal Canadian College of Organists, as well as a second Bachelor of Music and a Masters in Music from Yale, where she studied with Paul Hindemith. In her later life, she also received several honorary doctorates. While young, she worked as a piano accompanist and teacher of piano and theory, the latter of which is still one of her primary occupations.

In 1942, Archer moved to New York to study composition with Bartók, who had just moved to the US. These lessons marked a turning point for the young Archer, and built upon her already established interest from Champagne’s influence in folksong-inspired compositions. She was enthralled by how Bartók incorporated folksongs into his works by weaving them through the texture of his own personal musical style, a

technique which she adopted in her own compositions. She recalls that “it was the colour of his music, the persistent and dynamic rhythm that made a big impression on me” (Rose 39). He first gave her many Hungarian folk tunes to harmonize, and Archer recalled this as “challenging because I had not previously been subjected to the kinds of scales found in these tunes and the harmonies they imply” (Weber 15). However, these also inspired her, and challenged her to seek similar songs from her own home country. Archer was also influenced by Bartók’s pedagogical theories, and took much inspiration from his Mikrokosmos, whose techniques she later attempted to imitate. The most valuable of these, in Archer’s eyes, was his emphasis on economy of means. Archer’s biographer, Linda Hartig, states that Bartók “stressed musical clarity and economy of expression. He helped her to develop the capability to have a vision of the overall work, to cultivate a sense of what to use and how much of it. Study with this master left her with an ongoing interest in incorporating folk music into her work” (Hartig 14).

Before venturing to Yale to complete her studies, Archer first taught from 1944-47 at the McGill Conservatory. At this time, she was already beginning to establish a small corpus of works, and performed her compositions for piano while on a tour of Europe. She began teaching at various universities across Canada and the US, then joined the faculty at the University of Alberta in 1962. She was head of the theory and composition department there until 1978, during which time she composed her setting of “Music Everywhere=Dans tous les cantons” (1953). Archer was also instrumental as a

council member for the Canadian League of Composers. Throughout her life, she has published several writings on Canadian music, on the need for educational music, and on Alberta and its folklore. She continued to teach and to compose until her recent death in February of 2000.

Archer's compositional style varied significantly throughout her career. Her early works utilize modal scalar structures similar to those of Vaughan Williams. Her use of chromaticism after 1950 demonstrates Hindemith's influence on her work. Archer later ventured into experimentation with Schoenbergian techniques, such as serialism and Sprechstimme. She also examined neoclassicism, as well as electroacoustic music. Her works always kept abreast of changing trends in art music. She was also innovative in her techniques, attempting to employ devices such as ancient harmonies, and new electronic sound combinations. Her output includes works for orchestra, piano, other solo instruments, opera, stage, chamber ensembles, solo voice, organ, and choir.

Archer's use of folksong in her compositions was profound, in both her pedagogical works, and in her concert compositions. Unlike most of the other composers discussed in this chapter, and in the history of Canadian music as a whole, Archer was principally a true "composer," and not an "arranger" of these songs. Choosing to adopt Bartók's method of including fragmented statements of original tunes and transforming them through various compositional devices, Archer rarely, except in a few of her pedagogical pieces, retained most of the elements of the original songs. Most of these

adaptations are large-form works as opposed to shorter, direct statements of the tune in vocal or instrumental form so common in most folksong-based works. Her compositions emphasize and usually retain the original rhythms and modality, if present, of her chosen songs, but most other elements such as melodic and textual structure are freely adapted.

Very much influenced by Bartók's pedagogical use of folksong in learning pieces for children, Archer wrote many pedagogical pieces of her own. She emphasized the importance of the piano for any musician, but also devoted much time to writing for other instruments. Like Morris Surdin, who will be discussed later in this chapter, she lamented the lack of literature for young performers on wind and brass, especially Canadian and twentieth century works in general. Hindemith's influence is evident in her desire to write for every instrument and for various combinations of chamber ensembles. That she had been commissioned to write pieces such as her Concerto for Accordion and Orchestra emphasizes her focus on pedagogical composition, by teaching children not only about folk music, but also about new instruments, and tuning their ears to new twentieth century sounds for which she was an advocate.

Archer's interest in folksong extended to many regions of Canada and to diverse forms of music. Though she was a great advocate of the preservation of these songs, she never collected a single one. Assumedly, all of the tunes in her folksong-based works stem from published collections, many from folksong traditions that Archer herself was not at all familiar with. As well, several of the collections from which she drew her

source material had been collected years, or even decades, earlier. This practice of armchair folksong-based composition was highly criticized by many composers, both European and Canadian. What is interesting is that it was perhaps Bartók himself who spoke most strongly against this practice, as can be seen from his comments in chapter one of this thesis. However, this fact did not dim Archer's interest or resolve, despite the fact that she was undoubtedly aware of her teacher's stance on this issue. Throughout her life she continued to compose with folksongs in this manner. In a 1978 article from the Calgary Herald, she discusses her motivations:

Bartok gave me a start in this direction [an interest in folk song] which I've followed for the rest of my professional life. I began with the folk songs of Quebec, of course, because that is where I was born. From there, I went on to Nova Scotia folk music, Eskimo folk music, and others... It would take me ten lifetimes to do all the work in this area that I would like to accomplish. Someone has to do it. Pretty soon these cultures will find themselves absorbed into ours and the musical heritage will be lost (Dawson np).

Archer's antiquarian preservationist statements here are somewhat contradictory to her practices, having never attempted to preserve folksong either through her own collection, or through direct quotation of it in her adaptive works.

Barbara Harbach, after an interview with Archer in 1998, gives an important account of Archer's philosophies concerning folksong in her works, which she describes as follows:

Ever since her study of folk music with Bartok, her interest in setting folk tunes is evident in all stages of her compositional development... She believes that folk music is a great resource and the uses for folk tunes in composition are endless. In a folk tune, she searches for a particular interval or a motive and then she

becomes inspired to write a piece based on it. Her analyses of Canadian Folk tunes has led her to several interesting conclusions. She feels that Tsimshian Indian tunes are complex rhythmically, but the folk songs of Nova Scotia and the French Canadian songs are more straightforward rhythmically. She has a special fondness for the French Canadian tunes, and considers them lyrical and graceful (4).

Archer's overwhelming enthusiasm for folk music did not diminish over the length of her seventy year experience in working with it. In this 1998 article, she seems as much of an advocate of its utilization, if not more so, as when she first encountered it in her studies with Champagne in 1928. "Studying folk songs, she says, gave her 'a greater insight with different harmonies, and the understanding of the implications of melody.' This insight, coupled with her devotion to serial music, has remained a trademark of her work" (Baker np).

Archer's intent in the use of these works, then, seemed to stem principally from an interest in the unique scalar structures and rhythms which many possess, rather than from a genuine interest in the heritage of the songs themselves and the cultures from which they came. In terms of classification of the "validity" of her work as a whole, Archer lies between Winkelman's "sophisticated artist who skims through anthologies to add an air of authenticity to his writing" and Coffin's "mis-user of folklore or a fakelorest, who uses folk traditions in a commercial, popular way" (Grobman 23-4). Yet, Archer really fits neither of these, being fascinated primarily with the structure of the songs rather than their cultural background. In Archer's case, it becomes necessary to refine these schema to include many more classifications of motives.

One of Archer's earliest works, Three Scenes for Piano (Habitant Sketches) (1939), draws its inspiration from French-Canadian folksong, of which she was especially fond, as do her Three French-Canadian Folk Songs (1953; Berandol, 1962) for SATB chorus and her Four Canadian Folk Songs (nd) for solo voice and piano. Several of her larger-scale compositions also include fragments of French-Canadian tunes, such as her 10 Folksongs for Four Hands (1953) of which her "Music Everywhere=Dans tous les cantons" forms a part. This compilation, one of her most often performed works, uses as its source Gagnon's collection, which was first published almost a hundred years earlier. It is also one of several of her pedagogical works for piano, others of which include her Theme and Variations (1952) based on the Canadian folksong "La-bas sur ces montagnes," her Two Canadian Folk Songs for Young Pianists (1991) which quote from Maritime folk tunes, and her Dancing on the Seashore (Alberta Keys, 1992) from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia folksongs.

Archer's larger-scale instrumental concert works are probably her best known, most of which incorporated folk music. Her patriotic Three Sketches for Orchestra (1961), was one of her first to include the quotation of a First Nations song. She describes the second movement of this work in an anonymous program note from her file at the CMC as follows:

The 'Dance' is based entirely on an authentic Eskimo tune found in Songs of the Copper Eskimos, compiled by Roberts and Jenness, Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, volume 14. The rhythmic aspect of the tune has prompted a lively rhythmic treatment. The tune unfolds bit by bit then finally is quoted in its

entirety. In order to create a feeling of the extensive and austere Arctic landscape the composer has chosen to make use of transparent harmonies and open sounds which aim to convey the great out-of-doors.

Archer's own description of her compositional techniques here is rare and, thus, significant. That she chose not only to adopt folksong in this work, but also to attempt a vast landscape description indicates her adherence to, and integration of, various techniques which were being exploited in Canada at the time. Archer's Evocations (1988), commissioned by the CBC for two pianos and orchestra, is another one of her more prominent works, and is also a landscape piece based on the Canadian North. The work also includes several folksong quotations, and is valuably described in detail by the composer in another CMC-filed program note:

"Evocations" is in three movements: Fantasy, Nocturne, and Primeval Dance. The composer has drawn her inspiration from two Inuit tunes and one tune from the Tsimshian Indians of the west coast of British Columbia. These originate in the distant past and offer a wide number of possibilities to the composer, both rhythmic and melodic. Throughout the three movements the two pianos are woven into the orchestral texture. However, they in turn, and both together, express some of the fantasy evoked by the composer's variety of treatment of fragments of the original tune... The first movement [contains] a three note rhythm which is one of several Inuit drum rhythms. This rhythm is first heard after the atmospheric beginning of the movement, which evokes images of the great outdoors... [In "Nocturne," the two pianos] move with a swaying rhythm gradually leading to the statement of the first phrase of the authentic melody which is stated by the first piano, then followed by a re-statement by the English Horn. (The first three notes of the melody are basically the material on which the movement is constructed melodically and/or harmonically)... ["Primeval Dance"] refers to an Inuit Dance Song which is rhythmic and melodically simple. As in the first movement, it makes use of very small fragments of the song and makes use of continuous variation.

Archer's comments here tell us much of her attitudes and philosophies. Most likely

having never heard a First Nations song of any tribal origin performed live for her, she adopted what was a popular romantic view of the Canadian “Indian” of the “distant past,” a view which was mirrored in her compositional treatment of this work. A close listening and analysis of the piece reveals that many of these musical devices, though treated in original ways, still portray a very stereotypical “Indian” sound reproduced by most Canadian composers who have attempted to set these complex songs. Obviously not concerned with preserving the original song, despite her objections to the contrary, Archer used very few of its original elements, such as small rhythmic and melodic incipits which are exploited nonetheless, in an orchestral structure which “evokes images of the ‘great outdoors’.” Some of Archer’s other instrumental concert works include her String Trio No. 2 (1961) on folk themes, Fantasy on “Blanche comme la neige” for guitar (1978) based on a song from Peacock’s Newfoundland collection, Divertimento for Piano and Strings (1985) which uses a song of the Tsimshian tribe, and Ikpakhuaq (nd) commissioned by Luba Zuk for violin, piano, and ‘cello on a weather incantation of the Copper Eskimos, again taken from the Roberts and Jenness collection.

Archer’s immense corpus of vocal works based on folksong employs many diverse sources, all from printed collections. These range from simple short compositions for solo voice and piano, such as her “Cradle Song” (1950; Harris, 1959) inspired by an English folksong, to more elaborate choral works like Four Newfoundland Folk Songs (1975) for a capella TTBarB chorus with tenor solo. This work is based on

the four folksongs “Drill ye Heros, Drill!,” “The Fisher Who Died in his Bed,” “The Foggy Dew,” and “Olden Days,” again from Peacock’s collection of Newfoundland songs. Some of Archer’s other best known works for solo voice and piano include her “Life in a Prairie Shack: An Alberta Folk Song” (1966) with text from “An Englishman in Alberta” by H.A. McGusty, Alberta Historical Review, Winter, 1966, and melody from “A Life on the Ocean Wave,” a mid-nineteenth century English popular tune, her Three Folk Songs of Old Manitoba (1966) from MacLeod’s Songs of Old Manitoba, and her Primeval (1980) based on Canadian First Nations songs, translated by Densmore and Neihardt. Some of her folksong-inspired works for chorus with piano accompaniment include “A la clair fontaine” (Berandol, 1970) from Folksongs of Old Québec collected by Marius Barbeau, “Où vas-tu, mon p’tit garçon” (1968) with melody and text from the collection Alouette, compiled by Marius Barbeau, and “Three Sailors from Groix=Les trois marin de Groix” (1975; Alliance, 1995) on a French sea shanty.

We are very fortunate to have so many writings by Archer about her philosophies on her use of folk music. This provides us with much insight into her work rarely available in the examination of other composers. Her reasons for her extended enthusiasm in working with folksong are summed up in the following statement which she made in 1995:

There is so much ethnic diversity in Canada. All my music I consider Canadian – the instrumental, orchestral and chamber music – because the fact is, I feel a great rapport with my surroundings and I’m influenced by my surroundings, the variable landscape that we have in our country. Folk music comes right out of the

people. Folk songs are about so many things, about everyday life (Rose 39).

Richard Johnston

Richard Johnston, born in Chicago in 1917, was an important force in Canada in the promotion of pedagogical folksong. He was primarily a teacher, though was also known for his roles as an administrator, composer, editor, and critic. Completing his entire university education, including his Bachelor of Music, Masters of Music, and Doctorate, at Eastman in Rochester, New York, Johnston studied there with Nadia Boulanger who was a principal influence in his work. After his graduation, he obtained a post teaching theory at the University of Toronto which he held from 1947-68. He also composed, arranged, conducted, and commented on CBC radio. Here, he was remembered especially for his program “Folk Music, A Living Canadian Art” (1958).

Johnston became a naturalized Canadian in 1957, and spent most of the remainder of his life there. Though an US immigrant, he adopted many Canadian folksongs in his compositions. He also collaborated with Edith Fowke in editing and arranging Folk Songs of Canada (Waterloo 1954), Folk Songs of Quebec (Waterloo 1957), and More Folk Songs of Canada (Waterloo 1967). He supervised the recording of two Canadian folksong collections, and had several of his own folksong-based compositions recorded, such as his arrangement of “J’ai cueilli la belle rose.”

Johnston was also a prolific folksong collector, under the sponsorship of the

National Museum of Human History (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) and the Saskatchewan Arts Board. In 1957, he collected over 200 folksongs and Métis fiddle music tunes in Saskatchewan. This was a pioneering collection, as few documented songs from the prairies existed at this time. Johnston encouraged the expansion of folksong collecting in western Canada, a region which had been regarded as relatively barren. Johnston, however, did not limit his collecting to the west; he also compiled a collection of music from Mennonites in Ontario. Many of these songs are now stored at the archives of the University of Calgary. Although he never completed any collecting himself in eastern Canada, Johnston was inspired by Maritimes music, and by the work of Helen Creighton, about whom he wrote an adulatory article. He describes that “when one comes to this part of Canada – or when one thinks about this part of Canada – it doesn’t take long before one turns to folklore in general, and/or folk music in particular (especially if one is a musician)” (1974: 99). He also speaks highly of Creighton’s work, and of its perceived inherent adaptability for use in art music, thus: “The thousands of songs which Helen Creighton has collected have helped to swell our National cultural holdings; they are there for everyone to sing; they are there for the professionals to perform in their way and for our composers to use in many more ways” (1974: 100). That Johnston himself perceived these songs that he, and his contemporaries, were collecting as foundation material for larger works, both pedagogical and artistic, indicates an attitude which was held by a number of Canadian collectors at the time.

Believing this to be the primary purpose for the collection of these folksongs, rather than that of preservation, led many collectors to transcribe and publish songs that would be easily adaptable, rather than those that would become historically significant. This is an important point in the analysis of his intent, as Johnston fits rather well into Coffin's category of the collector-observer, yet with the purpose of using the material collected for what Winkelman suggests as adding "local color and an air of realism to his work" (Grobman 23).

Johnston was also particularly active in the formation and furthering of several Canadian musical societies. Along with MacMillan and Barbeau, Johnston was a founding member of the Canadian Folk Music Society (now the Canadian Society for Traditional Music) in 1956, and of the Canadian Music Educators Association. As well, Johnston became president of the Ontario Music Educators Association from 1958-59. At one point, he was also the vice-president of the Canada Music Council.

Johnston's intense interest in pedagogy led him to Eastern Europe, where he undertook extensive studies of the musical education systems there, including those of Orff and Kodály. While director of the Royal Conservatory Summer School from 1962-68, he supported these teaching techniques. It was during this time, in 1964, that he composed his setting of "Dans tous les cantons." Afterwards, he became Dean of Fine Arts (1968-73) and professor of music (1973-82) at the University of Calgary. Throughout this period, Johnston also edited the nine volume collection of Songs for

Today (Waterloo, 1954-70) for schools, the Western Board of Music series Horizons (Waterloo, 1973), Folk Songs North America Sings (Caveat, 1984) and three volumes of Kodály and Education (Avondale, 1986). Johnston also wrote an interesting and informative paper on North American children's folklore, "North American Children's Folklore as it relates to the 'Schulwerk' of Carl Orff" (1962), demonstrating his interest in the use of folklore in pedagogy.

Johnston's compositions are performed and recognized internationally, and many have been commissioned. Bissell tells us that "his style is marked by elements of romanticism tempered by a certain astringency resulting from a disciplined use of twentieth-century compositional devices" (663). This was especially apparent in his folksong settings, of which he composed several. An anonymous program note from Johnston's file at the CMC states that "although he composed in most genres, Richard Johnston is perhaps best known for his choral music, particularly his settings of Canadian folk song." This note goes on to describe his musical style as a strong and viable one: "Although written for school age choirs, these works are by no means simple or pedantic, and place many musical demands on the singers. The robust style and harmonies are very typical of Richard Johnston's choral style, and show the strong influence of Zoltan Kodály." These pieces, many of which are relatively well renowned, include his Chansons canadiennes-françaises arrangées pour deux voix (1964), a collection of 31 songs arranged for two voices, composed for the John Adaskin project, of which "Dans

tous les cantons” forms a part. Others include a group of arrangements of Nova Scotian folksongs published by Waterloo in 1962, Canada is Singing: A Medley of Canadian Folk Songs (Waterloo, 1965) for SATB chorus and piano, Folk-Love–Canadian Style: A Group of Settings of Canadian Folk-Songs (1973; rev. 1990) for medium voice and piano, and Answer Back: Canadian Folk Songs for Two (CBC commission, 1973) for soprano, baritone, and piano. Johnston also composed and arranged numerous “single” folksongs for various vocal scorings with or without accompaniment. Some of these are enumerated as follows: “I See You Through the Window” (Waterloo, 1951), based on the traditional Norwegian folk song “Eg seer deg ut for gluggjiin,” “Paul on the Hill” (Waterloo, 1951) from the Norwegian folk song “Paal paa hougje,” “Jack was Every Inch a Sailor “ (Waterloo, 1959), “The Day Columbus Landed Here” (Waterloo, 1969), “She’s Like the Swallow” (1970; rev. 1988), “J’ai cueilli la belle rose” (1974), and “The Huron Carol” (nd). Johnston also composed several instrumental works which adapted various folk tunes, such as his Duo Concertante #3 (1983) for flute and piano based on the Newfoundland folk melody “The Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle,” Sextette (1988) based on the Newfoundland folk song “She’s Like the Swallow,” A Quodlibet for 4 Hands at One Piano (nd), and Duo Concertante No. 4 (nd) for trumpet and piano which quotes from Laurent Eduard Rivard’s hymn “Confie auphis tendre des pères.”

Richard Johnston died recently, in 1997, leaving behind an important collection of these works based on folksongs. These contributions to the folk-music-inspired

repertoire are significant, because they are some of the few based on actual hearings of the original source song, and not solely on printed collections. Johnston's pedagogical works are also important in relation to teaching children to play their instrument or train their voice through use of folksong from their home country, a concept which has been explored by many, if not all of the composers studied in this chapter.

Morris Surdin

Born in Toronto in 1914, Morris Surdin was a prominent composer, arranger, and conductor. Like Dela, he is probably best known for his incidental music for radio which he composed for the CBC and CBS, now stored in the archives of the University of Calgary, more than 2000 pieces strong. Growing up in a Jewish community in Toronto, Surdin took violin, counterpoint, and harmony lessons. He wrote several arrangements for his highschool band, and learned to play many different instruments; a talent which would aid him in his later unique compositional style. Surdin studied composition and conducting in both Toronto and New York, then took his first position as an arranger for the Philadelphia Pops Orchestra, a job which taught him valuable skills for his later folksong arrangements.

In 1939 Surdin returned to Toronto to become the "house composer" for the CBC. He was on payroll until 1941, then returned to compose freelance after 1947. He wrote and conducted many works for CBS between 1949 and 1954. Surdin composed a

significant amount of music during this time, and collaborated on several CBC radio plays and other productions. His talents were well suited to this work, and he consistently received positive feedback on his compositions. “He had a keen sense of relationship between ‘dialogue time’ and ‘musical time’ and was adept at underlining humour and suspense with supportive sound. Avoiding ‘modern’ or 12-tone music, he wrote in a traditional style, often drawing on folk tunes for inspiration” (McGregor 1266). Although Surdin admitted that his radio jobs limited what he could write due to lack of both time and money, and that his scores were often unintelligible under the actors’ speeches, he still enjoyed his radio work, stating that “it has been the one place where the composer has been supported” (Schulman 10). Surdin also wrote many folksong-based works for the National Film Board, including The Settler in 1952.

Although Surdin somewhat reluctantly joined the Canadian League of Composers, he never felt as if he were a part of the “Conservatory group,” or the perceived elitist group of composers who centered themselves around the Toronto Conservatory. Surdin, like Dela, felt a certain ostracization from the rest of his peers for his unwillingness to adopt, as a rule, new avant-garde compositional techniques. Surdin wrote extensively on the state of musical resources in Toronto, compiling his own miniature version of the Massey Report some twenty years later. His book A Sense of Priority (1973) describes the lack of adequate facilities for musical study and performance in Toronto, as did his study of community-based support for music in his

own municipality of York. These works demonstrate Surdin's concern with ensuring that a stimulating musical environment was provided for both youth and adults in Canada. Surdin remained a prolific composer and writer until his death in 1979.

Many Canadians have heard his music as background to radio shows, yet Surdin has remained virtually anonymous. Still, his business was a lucrative one, and he was fortunate to have enjoyed it as much as he did. He conceded that he would rather have heard his music played, especially as often as it was, rather than compose works that would never be used. His time was, inevitably, limited for composition for his own enjoyment, though he did admit that he wrote about one piece a year for himself because he had to "get it out of [his] gut" (Surdin and Agostini 20). Some of these works became quite successful, such as his Four X Strings (1947) which was premiered by MacMillan with the TSO. Due to the broad range of work to which he was accustomed, Surdin adopted a variety of styles "from Ancient Greek up to the completely atonal and avant-garde" (Schulman 8).

Much of Surdin's other music was composed for the theatre or for the ballet, and was almost always dramatic in style. His compositional output contains several works for choir with various instrumentations, many of which are also based on folksong. These include his "Sea Song" (1971) for TTBB chorus and orchestra. Many of his compositions were commissioned, and he received some international exposure, particularly from his six-movement suite entitled Suite Canadienne which was toured to

the Ukraine in 1970 by Toronto's Shevchenko Ensemble. This monumental work is based on several folksongs from different regions and ethnic groups from across Canada. Surdin was especially prolific at this period of his life, and his composition "Dans tous les cantons" for juvenile accordion also stems from the same year.

Another of Surdin's greatest contributions was to pedagogical music in Canada, particularly that based on folksong. Like most of the other composers discussed in this chapter, Surdin felt as though the best means of teaching children the music of their homeland was to include folksongs in their graded learning pieces. Surdin's works composed in this vein include several accordion pieces, such as his Serious series, volumes one to sixteen. The first eight of these were published in 1969 by Boosey and Hawkes, the last eight by Surdin himself in 1976. Surdin was especially interested in setting works for less common instruments, as he felt that there was a general lack of repertoire available for these. "In the past year [1969] I have written several things for concert band, and right now I am working on a series of pieces for accordion because there is a good chance of the accordion being put into the Royal Conservatory syllabus" (Surdin, 1969: 20). These latter works included his 1970 setting of "Dans tous les cantons." His "scoring for instruments traditionally considered 'folk' and not generally accepted as 'classical'—mandolin, accordion, kazoo—has been a barrier to his being accepted by the classical world, even in his concert pieces" (Schulman 10). As a result, "when my serious pieces are played at a concert, the first thing that happens is that

someone like Harry Freedman comes up to me and says, ‘Hey, I never knew you could write like that.’ This actually happened after Harry heard Joe Macerollo play my set of “Serious Pieces” for free-bass accordion” (10). Surdin also wrote many other concert works for these instruments, including two accordion concertos as well as one for mandolin. These were performed internationally, particularly in Russia where Surdin emphasizes that “these instruments are regarded much more seriously” (6). Surdin was incredibly versatile and prolific with his instrumentations, and also wrote works for brass, orchestra, voice (solo and choral), violin, guitar, woodwind quintet, piano, trombones, and ‘cello.

Assumedly, Surdin’s principal motivation in writing these pieces, particularly the pedagogical ones, was to teach youngsters to play classically on instruments not normally considered as such. As he mentions little of his pedagogical philosophies in any of his writings, this is difficult to ascertain. His Eine Kleine Hammerklappermusik, commissioned for a children’s concert by the TSO, demonstrates sounds of percussion to children. He also wrote music for children to play, including three suites for youthful string ensembles, two suites for two trombones, and 45 pieces for piano or free-bass accordion, many of which employ various folksongs. These include his graded Canadian Folk Songs for accordion, published in 1970 by Boosey and Hawkes, of which “Dans tous les cantons” forms a part. His Heritage: British Isles is a suite for juvenile brass quartet, incorporating variations on four folksongs from each of Scotland, Ireland, Wales,

and England.

Surdin's case is unique, as it is difficult to ascertain whether the bulk of the pieces he composed for radio accurately represent his own philosophies on the integration of folksong with art music, or those of the CBC. That he admits to being ostracized by the "Conservatory" group of composers and continued to adopt his own compositional style suggests more of the former. Yet those "serious" works which he produced also rank highly in the corpus of Canadian art music. His interest in pedagogy and the use of folksongs in teaching youngsters both the possibilities of their instrument in conjunction with the music of their heritage is reminiscent of Bartók and Kodály, and of several of his other contemporaries. Although his contribution to Canadian music was not as significant as some, an analysis of his compositional practices is nonetheless important to determine Canadian trends in pedagogical composition based on folksong. Thus, it can be seen that Surdin was either Winkelman's "sophisticated artist" or, though perhaps not so harshly, Coffin's "fakelolist," who borrows from anthologies, yet whose intents are primarily pedagogical or necessary within his position at the CBC. Again, more categories concerning motive must be developed in further schema to accommodate reasonings such as Surdin's.

Howard Cable

Howard Cable, born in Toronto in 1920, is an amazingly versatile musician. He is especially known as a conductor, arranger, and composer. However, he is also a highly-respected performer on several instruments, including clarinet, oboe, and piano. Cable has often bridged the gap between popular and art music, participating in many varied musical activities. He describes himself and his path as a composer mid-career thus: "I'm quite interested in changing the complexion of my reputation. All my activity in the popular field has been very good for me, but I was schooled in classical music and through the years I've tried to straddle the fence between the two" ("Howard Cable," 44). In high school, he studied piano and oboe under Leslie Bell. Later, he studied at the Toronto Conservatory with MacMillan and Willan, and also with Weinzweig in 1945; each were prominent advocates for the use of folksong in art composition. These teacher-student relationships are especially significant, as they lay the framework for a network of a succession of composers finding new ways to adopt folk music in the manner of their predecessors. Cable received no formal degree – only an ATCM (Associate of the Toronto Conservatory of Music; now termed an ARCT) in conducting and band mastership in 1939.

Cable began his performing by heading up a Toronto-based dance band, for which he also wrote many arrangements. He started a radio career in 1936 on CFRB Toronto, as programmer and scriptwriter, then began working for CBC in 1941 as

Toronto's leading composer of incidental music. There, he directed over 1000 radio broadcasts, where his concert band also played frequently. In addition, Cable put together an orchestra at the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) Grandstand where he was music director from 1953-67. He also became the conductor of many other prominent bands and a studio conductor. During a brief stay in New York from 1964-67, Cable became an arranger on Broadway for Rogers and Willson, and conducted some other musicals there.

Cable was known primarily as a conductor. In 1986 he began guest conducting for various Canadian orchestras and featured his own arrangements, many of which were derived from folk tunes. He was also the principal conductor of a number of other Canadian orchestras throughout his life. During the centennial celebrations of 1967, Cable became the executive producer of on-site entertainment at Expo '67 in Montréal. He was awarded this post because of his wealth of experience promoting Canadian music, both popular and art, in the public domain. Following in the footsteps of his teacher, MacMillan, he became president of CAPAC from 1969-71. He also became music director at the Banff Centre for the Arts from 1975-83, as well as program head of the Summer Musical Theatre training program there from 1984-86. Despite his lack of a formal degree, he was appointed head of music at Humber College in Toronto (1983-85), a post which led to a later job at Dalhousie University in Halifax, where he taught a course in musical theatre. He became music director at the CPR Royal York hotel in

Toronto, from 1974-86. In 1977, Cable began working with the Canadian Brass as their arranger. This position was especially significant as it helped him to develop techniques and find uses for his folksong-based works. It was during this period, while working at both the Banff Centre and at the Royal York, and while arranging for the Canadian Brass, that he composed his setting of “Dans tous les cantons” (1979).

What is most significant about Cable’s work as a composer and an arranger of folksongs is that he himself is a collector. In 1947, he embarked on a folksong collecting trip to Newfoundland with his teacher, Leslie Bell. This trip was prompted by their publisher who wanted them to collect some “new” folksongs that could be used on the radio. Its results anticipated the larger Newfoundland collections, such as that of Peacock in 1965. The trip also predates Newfoundland’s joining of Canada, which occurred in 1949. Cable based three works on folksongs which he collected on this trip, much the same as MacMillan with his Three Indian Songs of the West Coast. These include his Newfoundland Sketches for strings (1948), Newfoundland Rhapsody for band (1956), and Newfoundland Sketch for brass quintet (1978).

This collection, and its motivation, are telling concerning Cable’s attitudes towards these songs as a composer. Similar to Johnston, the songs were collected for the sake of having new material available for compositional purposes, yet, Cable would still be classified as a collector-observer in the setting of these particular Newfoundland songs. For his others, in which he draws extensively from various anthologies, he might

best be classified as Coffin's "fakelorest" for his attitudes thereof.

Cable's compositional output is quite broad as well as prolific, though many of his works are "arrangements" or are quite small in scope. He has arranged music from Broadway shows, commercial jingles, popular songs for various instruments, and works for television. He has also composed many scores for film, particularly for the National Film Board (NFB), several of which were inspired by or quoted directly from folk music. These include his Inside Newfoundland (NFB, 1951) and his Alberta Family (NFB, 1950). Cable's reputation extends internationally, more so than those of Surdin or Dela, and as he has done much of his work in the US; his compositions are probably better known there than in Canada. He is of great importance in having shaped how Canadians and foreigners perceive Canada's music, particularly through his work at the CNE and at Expo '67. He was instrumental in taking the musical productions at the CNE away from the typical "imported American Star" image, by calling for the staging of a Canadian historical pageant. Though they demonstrate what could be considered a stereotypical portrayal of the Canadian people, his shows were, as a whole, well received. He describes his original ideas for this pageant thus:

[It will be] complete with snow-capped mountains, poplar trees, a barn-raising scene, an Indian village and the North West Mounted Police. The climax to the historical show will be a real train coming through artificial mountains across an illuminated map of Canada, the historic CPR line, completed at last. We have decided to call the show Sea to Sea. We'll have a cast of about 200 performers from all parts of the nation and people will see history presented in a new way ("Howard Cable," 44).

Though demonstrating an idealistic perspective of Canadian culture, one with which he was not completely familiar in many ways, these works were significant in that they were presented to international audiences. It is ironic that Cable, though somewhat familiar with the songs of the Newfoundland people, and an advocate of the concept that one must hear a folksong to truly understand it before it is adapted, did not venture to gain the same degree of (albeit vague) familiarity with the folk musics of other diverse Canadian peoples before representing them in this way.

Though his focus was in other areas, Cable produced a few pedagogical works for children, including a children's oratorio and a juvenile musical about ecology. Some of his best known works, three suites based on Canadian folksongs for chorus entitled Pastiche Quebecois (1979), Sing, Sea to Sea! (1984), and Noel canadien (1984), could be sung by children; Sing, Sea to Sea was commissioned and recorded by the Toronto Children's Chorus, though it has also been recorded by adult choirs. This ensemble also recorded some of Cable's other folksong arrangements, such as his setting of "D'ou viens-tu bergère."

Cable has composed several prominent folksong-based works during his career, some of which constituted his few larger-scale and best known compositions. Of these, his most often performed instrumental works are his Ontario Pictures (Northdale, 1950) for band, Quebec Folk Fantasy (1956; Chappell, 1969), also for band based on Québec folk melodies, and St. David's Day for Brass Quintet (1986), which is a medley of Welsh

folksongs. His vocal compositions constitute a much larger canon, and include a setting of Thomas More's famous "Canadian Boat Song" (1957) for SSA chorus, On the Grand Banks: Traditional Songs from Canada's Atlantic Coast (Chappell, 1957) for TTBarB chorus, Pastiche Québécois (Gordon V. Thompson, 1979) for divisi SATB chorus and piano or brass quintet, of which "Dans tous les cantons" forms a part, and "Vive la canadienne" (Chappell, nd) for mixed chorus. These works utilize many different types of folksong from various regions across Canada, a reflection, perhaps, of the many national festivals at which they were performed. Most likely their sources were drawn from published collections, despite Cable's sole experience at getting into the field in Newfoundland in his earlier career.

Conclusions

An examination of the philosophies and works of these seven composers points out both distinct similarities and differences among them. Common to all was the practical need to compose for the ensembles which were available to them in their paying jobs. Composition has never been an activity that was able to fully support a Canadian composer, let alone any of these seven. Thus, what was written was inevitably influenced by what was required by a set of external forces, whether these were the limitations and expectations of a church choir, radio show, film, piano student, or, most rarely, a commissioning institution or ensemble. Also common is that each of these

composers was also a teacher in some capacity, and composed pedagogical works based on folksong. This practice was not only inspired by the work of Bartók and Kodály, and supported by such programs as the John Adaskin project, but was a part of a growing interest in promoting musical education in Canada, particularly that based on folksong.

Several other common themes arise in the examination of these composers and their works. First, five of the seven are native-born Canadians (MacMillan, Dela, Archer, Surdin, and Cable), a figure which is relatively high in comparison to the overall ratio of immigrant to native composers in Canada. However, since the song chosen for this study is French-Canadian, and therefore native to Canada, this is not particularly surprising. Only one of the seven, though, Dela, is French-Canadian, with the exception of Archer who retains a vague connection with her native Montréal. Though all of these composers adapted numerous folksongs other than their setting of “Dans tous les cantons,” only three of the seven (MacMillan, Johnston, and Cable) did any collecting. Even of these three, none actually collected the variant for the song being analyzed – all took it from a published collection. In terms of possible career inspirations and limitations on these composers, four (MacMillan, Dela, Surdin, and Cable) worked for the radio, while three (MacMillan, Whitehead, and Dela) were also church organists and choir directors.

In analyzing the intents and “validity” of each composer in the utilization of folksong in their works, some similarities are noticeable, as are some stark differences. Three of the composers (MacMillan, Johnston, and Cable) might be considered collector-

observers for some of their works, having collected and transcribed folksongs on which some few of their compositions are based. However, most of their folksong-based works drew their inspiration from anthologies, placing them in either Winkelman or Coffin's third categories. MacMillan, though, might be considered closer to Winkelman's "sophisticated artist" while Johnston and Cable lean towards Coffin's "fakelorist."

Three other composers (Whitehead, Archer, and Surdin) draw their source folksongs only from published anthologies, but with varying intents. Though it is obvious that most, if not all of the seven, have set these songs from necessity within job commitments, both Whitehead and Surdin seem to have this as their primary intents. Archer's case is somewhat unique in that her prime motivation seems to stem from the utilization of the rare scalar structures and rhythms presented by many of the songs which she has set. Dela's case is different again, having written or preserved nothing of his sources or intents, which are difficult to ascertain from the presence of his scores alone.

This analysis of these seven composers has made it very clear that a new schema is needed, much more detailed than that of Winkelman or Coffin, outlining not only the background of the composer in terms of their association with the folklore being adapted, but also in their *intent* in their adaptation. This latter will, obviously, be most difficult to ascertain, but both Winkelman and Coffin have lumped the two together in what has proven here to be some mistaken assumptions.

This chapter has then provided a background for the motivations of each of these

seven composers in adopting the practice of using folksong in their compositions. The following chapter will examine in detail the seven individual settings of “Dans tous les cantons,” which may now be better understood and appreciated.

CHAPTER FIVE: “DANS TOUS LES CANTONS” – A MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF SEVEN SETTINGS

Some people still think the reason Canada has no national school of music which would distinguish us in the world's ears is because no Canadian composer has been bright enough to utilize Canada's folk music properly. They might as well give up the idea at once. Canada may not have produced her Beethoven yet, but she will certainly never produce her Smetana (R. Murray Schafer 9).

Many people think that it is comparatively easy to write a composition round folk melodies. A lesser achievement at least than a composition on 'original' themes... This way of thinking is completely erroneous. To handle folk melodies is one of the most difficult tasks; equally difficult if not more so than to write a major original composition (Bartók 345).

This chapter presents an analysis of seven art music settings of the French-Canadian folksong “Dans tous les cantons.” Compositional techniques employed by the seven composers in these pieces written from 1928 to 1979 will be examined in detail, in conjunction with discernible motives in the creation of these works. Factors such as the degree of preservation of the original song, possible pedagogical intent, the use of modality or abandonment of tonality, instrumentation, and source of the original song will be examined. Again, primary sources have often been difficult to find, thus what is presented here is a compilation of comments from those that do exist as well as conclusions drawn from a thorough analysis of each of the scores. These scores, which could not be reproduced here due to copyright concerns, may all be found at the CMC

library in Toronto.

Why was this particular piece, “Dans tous les cantons,” chosen by so many of these composers/arrangers over such a lengthy period of time? This may be due in large part to the popularity of Ernest Gagnon’s published collection of French-Canadian folksongs which led to many of his transcriptions being adapted by composers of both art and popular music. As this song is a particularly upbeat and rhythmically active one, it is one that no doubt caught the interest of the composers that perused it. The text is light, with a satirical moral message, reminiscent, perhaps, of the perceived carefree attitudes and lifestyles of the early French Canadians. That such a prominent composer as Sir Ernest MacMillan first set this piece, and that the result received significant acclaim by winning the Beatty prize, may have encouraged later composers to set the same song. That more and more significant works based on this song appeared undoubtedly encouraged the composition of subsequent pieces.

Published collections which have included a variant of “Dans tous les cantons” include those of Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), Gibbon (Canadian Folk Songs Old and New), and Gauthier (Dans tous les cantons). Surprisingly, this song is not present in any of Barbeau’s published collections, which constitute a major part of the French-Canadian folksong repertoire. Of the aforementioned three, Gagnon’s is the only one which presents a transcription of a song heard and recorded without the addition of embellishment or accompaniment by the collector. Though first published in 1865, it is

the source most often used by those composers who wish to set the song, or is at least consulted in conjunction with Gibbon's. Its melody and first verse of text are presented as follows:

- Dans tous les can- tons Ya des
 fill's et des gar- cons Qui ven't se ma- ri-
 er, C'est la pu- re ve- ri- te. Les
 gar- cons vont les voir, Le plus sou- vent le
 soir; Les fill's sont re- jou- iss'nt Quand
 ell's voi'nt leurs a- mis; Ell's se dis'nt
 en sou- riant; Le voi- la mon a-
 mant!

Ex. 1: Ernest Gagnon, collector, "Dans tous les cantons," Chansons Populaires du Canada, 1880, (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1918), first verse.

The song goes on to describe, in a satirical and sometimes comedic way, the perils of becoming involved in the institution of marriage, both from a man's and from a woman's perspective. The song is presented with little commentary, although Gagnon does give the name of his informant, M.J.A. Malouin, along with his transcription, and a brief description of the moral of the piece thus:

L'auteur de ces couplets, après avoir énuméré les viscissitudes du ménage, nous apprend que lui en a été exempt, qu'il est tombé sur un bon "gibier." Cela prouve deux choses: 1- que les femmes peuvent être bonnes quelquefois (elles le sont même très-souvent); 2- que les poètes de tous les calibres ne peuvent que difficilement se taire sur leurs avantages. Cette chanson, au reste, est, dans son genre, un petit chef-d'oeuvre. La morale en est toute pratique: savoir bien choisir son "gibier" (Gagnon 295).

This "original" source song includes ten stanzas, the first of which is set to a transcribed tune. Each stanza consists of five lines of text, each line of which is split into two parts, with the rhyme scheme ABCDE or aabbccdee. The melodic structure is similar as little direct repetition is apparent: it has the form AA'BCA" It is set in a major, and thus tonal, key and has a steady 2/4 rhythm.

Though Gibbon's primary purpose in compiling his 1927 edition of Canadian Folk Songs Old and New was to provide singable English translations of popular French-Canadian folksongs, the work has been generally considered both by him and by composers to be a source one rather than a set of compositions in itself. Marchand sings its praises by accounting the following:

Glancing over the present selection—which may be regarded as the expression of the French-Canadian soul—it will be seen that in the character and distinction of

the harmonizations, and in the preciseness of the English version, is preserved all the elements necessary to preserve the sane and virile gaiety bequeathed to us by our ancestors (Gibbon 103).

Gibbon's selection of songs includes ones from various collections available at the time, though the bulk come from Gagnon's collection, including "Dans tous les cantons." The original tunes are retained, but are harmonized for piano by O'Hara and O'Brien, whose own reputations as prominent composers of folksong-based music are well established. The result, though they are adaptations as musically sound as some of the seven compositions being examined in detail in this chapter, are still classified as "harmonizations." Here, the pieces are intended to be source songs. This intent then detracts from their reputation as viable compositions, capable of surviving on their own merit in the art music corpus. In a postscript to Gibbon's collection, Marchand reiterates that "the songs contained in this collection are of such quality that they provide the singer with an actual stage-setting, and this setting will enable the singer to give the most vivid and faithful expression to the intention of the poet and composer" (Gibbon 104). Yet, Gibbon still encouraged other composers to use these works as source materials for their new compositions, a practice which removes these new works even further from the original songs with the addition of a third intermediary stage of editing. However, many composers were enthralled by Gibbon's collection and utilized it nonetheless. Reasons for this may be twofold: Firstly, Anglophone composers interested in setting the folk music of French Canada were finally able to adapt a source version with translated texts

in their own language, and secondly because the harmonizations themselves were well written and brought new interest to these previously monophonic songs.

O'Brien's "harmonization" of "Dans tous les cantons" in Gibbon's collection, in keeping with the definitions examined at the beginning of the third chapter of this thesis, shows little artistic invention in terms of the original melody or text. Both are preserved virtually intact from Gagnon's transcription, with most of the ingenuity lying in the piano part itself. Other, albeit smaller, details of the original are changed, such as the key of the piece which is lowered an interval of a minor third from B-flat to G major for facility of range in singing, two slight rhythmical variations, including the removal of the 3/8 bar between the fourth and fifth line of each stanza (D and E of the textual ABCDE structure) as well as the altering of the rhythmic pattern at the end of the second line of text, or the B section, both of which allow for a smoother rhythmic flow, the addition of the word "C'est" at the start of the first stanza of French text, and the addition of a metronome marking, not indicated in the original, of 128 beats per minute (designated "allegretto"). These changes may be seen in the reproduction of the melody line and first stanza of text as presented by Gibbon and O'Brien here:

C'est dans tous les can- tons Ya des
 fil's et des gar- cons Qui veul'nt se ma- ri-
 er, C'est la pu- re ve- ri- te. Les gar- cons
 vont les voir, Le plus sou- vent le
 soir; Les fill's sont re- jou- iss'nt Quand
 ell's voi'nt leurs a- mis; EH's se dis'nt en sou-
 riant; 'Le voi- la mon a- mant!'

Ex. 2. John Murray Gibbon, transcriber, "Dans tous les cantons," Canadian Folk Songs (Old and New) (London; Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927), first verse.

Only five of the ten verses transcribed in Gagnon's variant are reproduced with translations in Gibbon's. These changes may have been either O'Brien's or Gibbon's and, although they alter relatively little, they are still significant as they do not accurately represent Gagnon's original transcription.

O'Brien's harmonization is relatively simple. It does not dramatically clutter the texture and overshadow the original melodic line. It consists of sets of broken chords in Alberti bass style¹⁸ in both right and left hands, which changes briefly in the middle section to a single note chromatic descending bass line. For the most part, O'Brien utilizes tonal harmonies which are inherent, in terms of basic art music theory, in the original melody. These harmonies are most often root or first inversion chords and demonstrate basic tonal progressions. This piece as a whole is significant in that it has acted as both a concert composition on its own terms as well as a source for later art music works.

"Dans tous les cantons," like many other folksongs, has also been adapted into compositions in what is considered to be a "popular" style. The lines between these broad categories -- folk, art, and popular, as mentioned in the introduction -- are vague and often cross over into each other. Thus, it is difficult to categorize pieces such as the "Dans tous les cantons" settings. However, as this thesis focuses on perception rather than on inherent qualities, those pieces which have been given a designation by the

¹⁸ This style consists of an undulating melodic pattern with a steady and consistent rhythm.

composer will be placed without further question into those categories here. One such work to be termed “popular” is Conrad Gauthier’s (1885-1964) adaptation of “Dans tous les cantons.”

Gauthier, a prominent folklorist, singer, and actor was known particularly for his role in the founding of the second set of the Veillées du bon vieux temps concerts, which he organized after the success of Barbeau and Massicotte’s productions. These concerts, staged in Montréal from 1921 to 1941, showcased various performers, both professional and amateur, of French-Canadian folk music. Gauthier himself regularly appeared on the program, and enjoyed a fruitful career through the popularity of French-Canadian folksong in the middle decades of the century. In the 1920s, Gauthier was also a pioneer in the recording of the folk music of Québec, making 78s for both Victor and Columbia of over 100 songs and monologues. He has been described as a “keen re-creator of old customs,” and an “irresistible dispenser of good old-fashioned happiness” (LaFramboise 517). Gauthier was also a composer of sorts, and set in a “popular” style several French-Canadian folksongs which may be found in his two collections 40 Chansons d’autrefois (Therien Frères, 1930 and 1932) and 40 Autres Chansons d’autrefois (Archambeault, 1947) combined in his 1963 compilation entitled “Dans tous les cantons” (Archambeault), which includes a setting of the folksong of the same title. An analysis and discussion of the compositional style and motivations for this piece goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, it is necessary to mention the existence of this setting

in the popular tradition of the same song analyzed here. It is doubtful that Gauthier's version was used as a source by the seven art music composers who adapted the song, as it had already been significantly altered, and presented in a popular style to which many of these art music composers were averse.

It should also be noted here that commercial recordings were made of "Dans tous les cantons." Due to the difficulties in obtaining copies of these rare resources, it has not been possible to determine which versions of the song were recorded; whether they were variants of the "original" folksong, performances of one of the art or popular music adaptations, or new versions composed or arranged by the singer. Many of these recordings are listed in Les Pionniers du disque folklorique québécois 1920-1950 and in Roll Back the Years, and include versions recorded by "La Bonne Chanson," a French-Canadian institution devoted to the preservation and promotion of folk music, as well as by Marchand (Columbia 34023: 1924; Columbia 4039F; 1926) and Albert Viau (Bluebird B-1228: 1952). Again, it is unlikely that these particular settings would have served as inspiration for the seven art music composers discussed here. However, this possibility cannot be ruled out, and thus deserves mention.

Before embarking on the analysis of these songs, I give here a brief outline of various standard compositional techniques which have been used in the art music settings of folksong, and the evolution of their use both in Europe and in Canada. Those techniques which have been utilized by the seven composers examined here may then be

better understood. Most likely the biggest question in the history of the adaptation of folksong is how much of the original song should be retained. While some, both composers and musicologists alike, agree that a complete preservation of all elements or, at least, as many as possible, is truest to the inherent nature of the song, others, particularly in recent decades in Canada, are employing much more artistic freedom, as did Bartók. This forms an important part of my reasoning in determining the split between my four suggested categories of folksong-based composition which I introduce in the introduction of this thesis, and by which I will analyze the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons.” Marchand fondly recalls, though in a very antiquarian fashion, what was an intermediary stage in this process, after the original folksongs were preserved in full in harmonizations, and at the beginnings of experimentation in folksong-based composition in Canada thus:

The time has long passed since, standing behind his chair, the singer sang the old melodies to an accompaniment of banging spoons and of bones beaten together in the manner of castanets. Popular taste has become more refined, and to-day the demand is for interpretations which, while being new, do not destroy the atmosphere of the performances of days gone by (Gibbon 103).

Others believe that any change to the original song will ultimately detract from it, as Schafer articulates: “Folk music is a genuine expression of sentiment, perhaps the most genuine to be encountered in the entire sphere of music. For this reason it is, in itself, perfect. The serious composer who employs it scarcely hopes to improve it; he hopes rather to set it circulating among a wider, international audience” (13). However others,

such as Barbeau and Gibbon, agreed in the early years of this movement in Canada that these songs were rough source elements which could realize their full artistic potential once taken into the hands of a master composer. These latter sentiments have all but died out, but in recent years composers have taken to experimenting with the source folk material using avant-garde techniques, motivated by compositional rather than nationalistic concerns. This has offended some of the preservationist school, who believe that a large change in the original music means that the folksong is destroyed, and its heritage mocked or invalidated.

In his 1931 article "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music," Bartók suggests three methods of the utilization of folk melodies by the art music composer. First, the simplest way is to not change the melody but to write a piece based upon it. The original melody can be presented in any manner: through voice, instrument or orchestra. Second, the composer may create tunes similar to the folk melodies of his native land. To do this, the composer/collector (as Bartók assumes that the composer must also be intimate with, and thus himself collect source material) must spend time studying the music he wishes to imitate, in order to obtain a profound knowledge of it. Lastly, the composer may make use of certain elements of folksong in his works, such as the vocal range, rhythm, form (such as Chopin's Polonaises and Mazurkas), and performance style to make his new work imitative of his native folk music. This latter category inevitably leads to questions of how far this can be stretched and still be

considered a folk music adaptation.

Kremenliev adds to these three categories by stating that the composer, in employing folk elements, “may use subject matter inspired by national legend or history; he may express in sound the sentiments which the beauty of his homeland arouses” (1323); however, these definitions of folk-inspired composition go beyond the scope of the works being studied here. He also suggests that “another method of using folk melodies is to make them a part of a work in the variation form, in which the tune is announced at the outset and later undergoes various technical changes: rhythmic, melodic, formal, and textual” (1324). This variation technique is a common one, and one that often satisfies both the composer aiming to preserve the original source song, as well as the one who wishes to experiment with it, as the original tune is still present in its entirety at the beginning, then adapted through various compositional devices.

In considering the combination of tonal or modal folk melodies with atonal writing, a recently common practice in both Canada and Europe, Bartók is adamant on his position:

Let us say frankly that this is not possible. Why not? Because folk melodies are always tonal. Folk music of atonality is completely inconceivable. Consequently, music on twelve tones cannot be based on folk music. The fact that some twentieth-century composers went back for inspiration to old folk music acted as an impediment to the development of twelve-tone music (345).

Whatever the specific technique employed in adapting these songs, “even the obstinate clinging to a tone or group of tones borrowed from folk motives seems to be a precious

foothold: it offers a solid framework... and prevents wandering about at random” (Bartók 318).

In examining the use of “*Dans tous les cantons*” by these composers, an investigation must be made into how each composition utilizes its source material. Bartók suggests that “the influence [of folk music] is most effective for the musician if he acquaints himself with folk music in the form in which it lives, in unbridled strength, amidst the lower people, and not by means of inanimate collections of folk music which anyway lack adequate diatonic symbols capable of restoring their minute nuances and throbbing life” (318). As well,

just as the poet cannot come to understand Nature from written descriptions, so the composer cannot hope to learn the nature of peasant music from dead collections of musical preserves... He who has never heard the actual melodies or similar ones from the mouths of the peasants themselves will never obtain a true idea of them by the mere reading of the score (324-5).

Insinuating that each composer must hear the original variant of the song that is being set before he or she may set it with any great authority, Bartók sets high expectations, ones which are rarely followed by the common armchair composer. Vaughan Williams, in confronting this difficulty, suggests that the reasons composers consult collections is their tendency to be too apt to mistrust memory. Many would rather rely on something that is written rather than their own recollection of the material. He suggests that this is why the folksong collections are so important, for even though they are not close to being a true indication of the songs, especially in some cases where details have been changed,

they are the most reliable and tangible source for many.

In the use of songs from these collections, however, many other problems arise. Firstly, each song transcribed in a collection represents only one singing of a particular version by one informant in one location at one particular moment in time. Whether or not this specific example is one that is an appropriate representation of the song in question is a point that must be contested.

It is also conceivable that composers of the later adaptations of “Dans tous les cantons” may have used ideas or fragments of the art music treatments which came before. As each of these works, apart from Surdin’s and Dela’s, was relatively well known and circulated, this suggestion deserves consideration.

Ernest MacMillan

MacMillan’s setting of “Dans tous les cantons=In all the Country Round” for TTBB chorus and rehearsal piano is the first in his compilation of Four French-Canadian Folk Songs which he composed for the 1928 CPR festival. Winning the Beatty prize for best composition for male chorus based on French-Canadian folk song, the work was premiered at the festival by an amateur group whose performance received poor reviews. Nevertheless, the work was one of eight from the festival to be published by the Boston Music Company. Of the four pieces, “Blanche comme la neige” is most well known, while current performances of “Dans tous les cantons” are rarer.

MacMillan tells us in his score that he used Gagnon's collected variant of "Dans tous les cantons" as his primary source, as well as Gibbon's English translation. However, the slight changes adopted by Gibbon and O'Brien in their adaptation of Gagnon's variant, such as the aforementioned rhythmic variations, and the beginning of the first verse with the word "c'est" to aid in the correspondence of the French and English texts with the new translation, are also adopted by MacMillan. Though MacMillan only set the first two verses of the song (albeit identically in terms of musical construction), he suggests the continuance of the performance of the other three verses translated and printed by Gibbon, and does not mention the remaining five in Gagnon's transcription. As MacMillan presents both the French and the translated English text as an option for performance, this is not surprising. MacMillan places his piece in the key of B major, different than both the B-flat major and G major settings of Gagnon and Gibbon respectively. His metronome marking, designated "allegretto" like Gibbon's, slows the pace to 108 beats per minute.

Though MacMillan won the Beatty prize in composition, he still considered his piece an "arrangement," as he indicates in his score, most likely because he retains the "original" melody, rhythm, and text in their entirety. Thus, this piece most closely approximates what I suggest in the introduction to this thesis to be the third category of folksong-based composition, or the "direct transcription of a folkloric item with some, though minute, embellishments in order for the new work to be considered of a different

form with a distinct authorship.” Here, the melody is sung by Tenor I, while the bottom three voices act as accompaniment. The work opens with three bars of this “accompaniment” by the lower voices, similar to O’Brien’s three-bar piano opening, who articulate the notes with vocables. These vocable undertones continue through the first two lines of the five-line stanza, then begin to imitate in a very basic contrapuntal and canonic fashion the text sung in the melody for the remainder of the piece. This texture is then repeated identically in the second verse; a verse which MacMillan has no doubt included for the sole purpose of fitting words with notes. MacMillan’s melody throughout is an exact replica of Gagnon’s, with the exception of the bar of rest at the end of line four.

Harmonically, this work is quite simple and preserves for the most part the harmonies which could be considered obvious in the original melodic line. MacMillan’s main innovations in this work appear in his brief use of counterpoint, as well as in his unique rhythmic and dynamic accents. The counterpoint begins with the solo entrance of Tenor I for a single bar before the melody is joined by the two middle voices in relative rhythmic synchronicity and melodic independence. Gradually, these two middle voices drift apart rhythmically, and are then joined by Bass II four bars from the end, with all four voices in relative melodic and rhythmic independence. MacMillan’s use of rhythmic and dynamic accents further livens this already exuberant piece with attacked and diminished vocable accents in the first two lines by the bottom three voices. These

accents are identical in the middle two voices, resulting in an overall pointillistic texture with the addition of varying accents in Bass II. The rehearsal accompaniment for piano¹⁹ does little more than reiterate harmonies and rhythms already apparent in the vocal lines.

MacMillan intended this piece for concert performance by an adult choir and, thus, it has no pedagogical undertones. Though out of print, it is still occasionally found in the current choral repertoire, and holds an important place in the history of folk-music-inspired composition in Canada.

Alfred Whitehead

Whitehead's setting of "Dans tous les cantons" in his 1939 composition entitled "In all the County 'Round" (Carl Fischer) is for unison chorus with descant and piano accompaniment. As Whitehead was an organist by profession, and produced many compositions for that instrument, it is somewhat surprising that his accompaniment in this piece was not intended for the organ. However, this is a common characteristic of most of his folksong "arrangements," which he wrote for whichever choir he was working with at the time of its composition. The piece then had an immediate practical application, especially because of the simplicity of its unison setting which could be quickly and easily learned by his choir. Like MacMillan's adaptation, this piece was also meant for an adult choir, and was therefore not pedagogical in intent. He, like

¹⁹ As this piece is meant to be sung 'a capella,' the piano accompaniment is intended for rehearsal purposes only.

MacMillan, also considered this work an arrangement, likely again because of its direct quotation of its source song, again fitting within my third suggested category of folksong-based composition.

Whitehead tells us in his score that he uses Gagnon's transcription as his source for the melody and French text. The English translation is, surprisingly, not Gibbon's but by Whitehead himself ("W.E.A."). This translation differs greatly from both Gibbon's and from the original French, describing events which are almost completely unrelated. Both French and English text are presented; however the English words are placed above, and the piece is titled only in English, unlike MacMillan's which emphasized the original French first. The first verse of translated text, with Gagnon's original French as quoted by Whitehead, follows:

In all the country 'round Jolly girls and boys are found;
(C'est) dans tous les cantons Ya des fill's et des garçons

They like to play and sing, Why that's the very thing!
Qui veil'nt [sic] se marier, C'est la pure vérité.

Some boys come home from school With books and pen and rule,
Les garçons vont les voir Le plus souvent le soir;

But cast them all aside, And with them goes their pride.
Les fill's se rejouissent Quand ell's voi'nt leurs amis;

They let the girls succeed Because they take no heed.
Ell's se dis'nt en souriant: "Le voilà mon amant!" (Whitehead 3-4).

In Whitehead's version, two verses of text are printed and set, differing in musical construction, which imitate Gagnon's texts exactly, except for the addition of the word

“c’est” in the French text at the beginning of the stanza, an innovation adopted by both Gibbon and MacMillan. It is likely that Whitehead was influenced somewhat in his selection and his composition of this piece by MacMillan’s. He was undoubtedly aware of it, as he was also a winner of the Beatty competition with one of his earlier choral arrangements of French-Canadian folksong. As well, his rhythmic treatment of the piano part is reminiscent of the accents demonstrated in MacMillan’s work.

The piece, which is also marked with an “allegretto” tempo of 112 beats per minute, opens with a duet between piano and unison voices. The chorus sings the first stanza, which is practically identical in melody, rhythm, and text to that of Gagnon. The only exception is that, as with MacMillan’s arrangement, the rhythmic variations are retained. This indicates definitively the effect that either Gibbon’s or MacMillan’s version, or both, had on Whitehead’s composition. This is also apparent in the three bar piano introduction, which contains elements of both O’Brien’s and MacMillan’s techniques -- the use of an Alberti bass style broken chord configuration in the right hand from O’Brien’s, and the syncopated rhythmic accents which mirror MacMillan’s. In addition, the piece is in G major, the same key as O’Brien’s harmonization.

The piano part throughout the piece is relatively simple, though more complex than either O’Brien’s harmonization or MacMillan’s rehearsal piano part. It is obviously meant for performance as it indicates specific fingerings in one particular difficult passage, and gives alternate chord configurations in another section. The piano part

utilizes a variety of rhythmic techniques that avoid what is typically perceived in art music to be the ennui of repetition -- Alberti bass alternates with both block and staccato broken chords. The work also includes consistent, and frequent, dynamic markings for both the piano and vocal parts.

The descant, introduced at the start of the second stanza, follows the original melody in a consistent later canonic entry at the beginning of each line. The two parts usually finish each section together. The counterpoint here is simple with basic harmonies which could be said to follow those inherent in the melody. A short two-bar section introduces a brief chromatic segment, the extent of Whitehead's most radical artistic ingenuity. The piece closes with a brief three bar conclusion by the piano.

Whitehead's piece, though simple, is significant in that it preserves the original song, to which the piano and descant accompaniment are subordinated throughout. This is indicative of his style in most of his folksong "arrangements," and of the general style adopted by most composers arranging folk music during this period.

Maurice Dela

Dela's composition "Dans tous les cantons!" was first written in 1949 for string orchestra. The work was revised the following year with the inclusion of a new part for the harp, and was then published by Berandol in Toronto. The original scoring is for standard string orchestra -- first and second violins, violas, 'cellos, and bass. Dela is

vague in his description of his source for this work, indicating in the score that it has been “arr. folklore” (arranged from folklore). Whether or not this omission is purposeful or simply an oversight is unknown, though certain assumptions regarding the source(s) may be made from the melodic line and general texture. The piece, though short, employs many substantial compositional techniques within a multi-layered score, but Dela still terms it an “arrangement.”

This piece was designed for concert performance by a group of accomplished players and has no pedagogical intent. Since it probably involved a fairly significant amount of time and effort to compose a piece of this scale, Dela most likely originally composed it for his own compositional interest rather than for one of his CBC programs. However, the work was premiered on CBC in 1950, which may have been the purpose for his revising of it that year. Though he dedicates it to “L’orchestre a cordes Salvettia et son chef Marc Fortier,” it does not appear to have been commissioned. It has received a fair amount of attention and reputé, and has been performed by the Hart House Orchestra.

Here, the original 1949 work scored for standard string orchestra will be examined. Though a short piece (only two minutes twenty seconds in length), it is nonetheless a significant one. Its five to seven part texture (with violin divisi) is primarily homophonic, with few instances of contrapuntal writing. The rhythm is a steady 2/4, as are all of the works to this point, and Dela indicates a very quick

metronome marking of 150 beats per minute. The piece is set in A major, thus different from all of the other earlier versions, including Gagnon's. Dela exploits the abilities of the selected instruments in portraying this song, alternating between pizzicato and arco strings, using tremolo accompaniment in one section, and exploring the upper and lower registers of most of the instruments. The piece is also made very expressive through frequent changes in dynamics, similar to those of Whitehead, with several crescendo and diminuendo passages.

The work begins with a fairly extensive eight bar introduction before the melody is introduced in the first violins. This melodic line is similar to that of Gagnon and the others which ensued. However, the tune at what would be the C section of the AA'BCA" melodic structure is varied significantly, though does not break with the inherent harmonic structure. As well, the final section of the first statement of the melody is doubled at the higher octave with the first violins' divisi. There is a short two bar interlude, then the melody is restated in the first violins in its altered form.

What follows is a lengthy section which is freely composed, using only a few rhythmic and melodic motives from the original tune. Included in this section are two solo passages, the first by the second violins and the second by the violas, on a second folklike theme composed by Dela. This theme has elements of the syncopated rhythm first used by MacMillan in his setting of the song in 1928, a setting which was likely familiar to Dela. The first statement of this theme is subtle, with pianissimo dynamics

and arco string accompaniment. The second statement in the violas is more boisterous, as the accompaniment reverts back to pizzicato with a mezzo forte dynamic and tremolo in the divisi second violins. A short transitional passage ensues, which modulates into the dominant key of D major and includes several dramatic dynamic changes over the course of a scant ten bars. The original melody is then restated in the first violins in the new key.

Another new folklike theme is then introduced in the first violins, which employs some melodic and harmonic motifs from the original melody. This theme is then presented in parallel thirds in the violas and 'cellos, having modulated once more to the key of F minor. This introduction of a new tonality takes the piece further from its roots. Another short transitional sequence modulates the piece once more into its original key of A major. The principal melody is then presented in the second violins, followed by a brief coda of five bars to conclude the work.

Dela demonstrates several techniques of varying the original melody as well as basing other folklike themes on its motifs. This piece then fits into the fourth category I suggest in my introduction; that of “the use of a direct quote of an item of folklore within a tapestry of artistic creativity not related to the original item or its culture – in essence, a work of fiction using the folkloric item as a jumping-off point.” His accompaniment techniques are also varied, through the use of idiomatic devices for the strings, as well as through rhythmic variation. Dela’s use of harmony is also unique, as he includes several

short chromatic and harmonically ingenious passages. As the melody varies significantly from Gagnon's and of the others that followed him, it would be safe to assume that Dela based this work upon his own hearing of the piece. This is most likely as Dela, who was deeply involved in folksong with his radio programming, was probably exposed to many variations of it. This could also be the reason for his reluctance to mention his source in the score. The work as a whole is a significant one, though not as highly developed in terms of compositional techniques as many other composers of Dela's time or even within his own corpus of works.

Violet Archer

Archer's piece "Music Everywhere=Dans tous les cantons" is included in her first of two volumes of Ten Folk Songs for Four Hands, for one piano written in 1953 and published by Berandol of Toronto in 1960. The collection as a whole could be considered pedagogical in nature. However, these pieces have also been performed and recorded widely by concert pianists. Archer herself describes these pieces in a 1990 CBC interview, which has been transcribed in her file at the CMC. Though her description and commentary are lengthy, they are extremely rare and valuable, and merit reproduction in full here:

Oh yes, it was Don McGill who prompted me to write some four-handed music for one piano and I decided to make use of some Canadian folk songs. My idea was that they should be playable by fairly advanced young pianists, in grade 8 or 9. The first five are French-Canadian. Four of them are Nova Scotia folk songs

because I had been studying those, having met Helen Craten [sic] who did so much to collect Nova Scotia folk songs. The fifth in that particular group of duets was an Eskimo weather incantation. It was fun. I so much enjoyed doing those duets. It was great fun. They've been played a lot. They're published and recorded... I found them inside of Helen Craten's [sic] book. I have so many books of folk songs. See, I was for a few years on the executive Canadian Folk Music Society [sic], and I met all these ethnomusicologists who were collecting Canadian folk tunes. I have another book of Helen Craten's [sic] songs, and then I have three books on Newfoundland folk songs, of which I have set some for 2 tenors, baritones, and bass. The texts are a scream in some of them, terribly funny. It's three thick volumes. I'd say they're more than an inch thick and they're all beautifully transcribed with the story and everything. I also have songs of the Copper Eskimos, Eskimos of the Coppermine River to the north of Alberta. I've had that book for so long. My sister brought my attention to it. She used to be working as a civil servant and she'd come across it, published by the department of Northern Affairs in 1925. And they were collected between 1913 and 1916. Can you imagine? With wax cylinders. That's how they collected them. Bartok was collecting at that time, but there were no tape recorders and no record or cassette players then. And it's a wonderful book in the way they are transcribed. There's a long preface telling all the different types of songs that the Eskimos sing. That has nothing to do with the throat noises that they make. They're all songs - dance songs, weather incantations, hunting songs, working songs, and so on and so forth. There are no love songs, strangely enough. I think it's simply because they commit their children for marriage in their early childhood. So I guess that means that there aren't love songs. But anyway, I have used some of those.

Archer's description of her perception of these songs is very telling of her attitude towards their merit. That she termed Newfoundland folksongs "a scream" says much about her shallow appreciation of the songs, and her lack of appreciation for their qualities. It is obvious that she regarded them as being useful only in certain ways to her, again for their unique rhythmic and scalar structures, or for the perceived validity and/or authenticity they might lend to her "compositions."

This group of songs is an excellent demonstration of the direct effect of Bartok's

work on Archer. Attempting to produce a Canadian Mikrokosmos, after Bartók's compilation of graded pedagogical pieces for piano based on folksongs, Archer adopted her teacher's philosophies in the use of folksong in pedagogical composition, "to make use of their implied scales and the harmonies derived from them, and to maintain the character and charm of the melodies" (Anthology of Canadian Music vol. 17, liner notes). These pieces have been well received, and were reviewed in a 1993 program note in Archer's file at the CMC by Jim Whittle as "displaying much humour and character, these pieces for young people are tuneful and enjoyable to learn and to hear." They were first performed on the CBC national network from Montréal in 1954 by duo-pianists Pierre Beaudet and Guy Bourassa, who also later recorded these pieces on volume seventeen of the Anthology of Canadian Music.

Volume One of Archer's collection of ten folksongs demonstrates her fondness for French-Canadian folksong. Born in Montréal, Archer often indicated in interviews that this music was especially familiar to her. However, instead of drawing upon her own experience with these folksongs, she chose to use as her source Gagnon's collection, compiled a century before. Unlike MacMillan and Whitehead, however, she was careful to preserve the original melody, maintaining the original rhythms which had been changed somewhat in Gibbon's and subsequent settings. However, she did set the piece in G major, like O'Brien's harmonization, and suggested a tempo of "Allegro gioioso" and a quick metronome marking of 152 beats per minute. She also retained the original

duple meter.

The primo part is a direct transcription of Gagnon's original melody, with the notes divided between the right and left hands. Archer's only additions to this part are the doubling at the octave of the last melodic section, the A" of the AA'BCA" structure, and the addition of a quick flourish as a finish. The part is marked as forte and fortissimo throughout, indicating Archer's desire to accentuate and not bury the original melody.

The secondo part constitutes the accompaniment and, although still quite simple, is significantly more difficult than the primo. This secondo part begins with a forte four bar introduction, then quickly drops to a pianissimo for the entrance of the melody in the primo. Throughout, Archer exploits the use of a one bar rhythmic motif in the right hand consisting of a staccato eighth followed by two legato sixteenths and two more staccato eighth notes. The left hand bass is a simple "bouncing" eighth note pattern. Neither part has any rhythmic variation throughout – the only innovations come from gradual changes in dynamics. Harmonically, this part has little more interest than the rhythm, as it repeats itself consistently in two distinct one-bar patterns. The first pattern continues for thirteen bars, then changes to the second pattern which continues until a brief two bar coda at the end of the piece.

The piece as a whole, then, fits into my suggested third category by employing a direct quotation of the original song with some small embellishments. Though Archer

suggests in her comments that these pieces were written for students of moderate to advanced accomplishment, they are simple enough to be played by children much earlier in their musical development. They have been recorded and widely recognized, and are often used by teachers both in the demonstration of piano technique and of the folksongs of Canada.

Richard Johnston

Richard Johnston's setting of "Dans tous les cantons" comes from his 1964 compilation of 31 Chansons canadiennes-françaises (Waterloo). "Arranged" for two voices or SA choir, these pieces are pedagogical in nature. Intended for children from elementary to secondary levels, these pieces are also suggested for use by youth groups such as the Scouts. They were originally written as part of the John Adaskin project. Gerald Lessard, in his preface to the scores, says that Johnston proposes that the songs should encourage students and render school song programs attractive to them.

Johnston himself gives an introduction to the collection in French. Due to his prolific work in both the collection and arrangement of folksongs from Québec, often with the collaboration of Fowke, this is not unusual. As this introduction is significant here, I will reproduce it in full:

Quoi de plus agréable que d'entendre chanter une mélodie de chez-nous!
Toutefois le plaisir peut être doublé si, par surcroît, elle est enjolivée par une
seconde ligne mélodique. Chantées simultanément, elles invitent à la
collaboration tout en respectant l'individualité. De plus, elles contribuent à

éduquer l'oreille et, sans contredit, servent mieux la musicalité. Le présent recueil contient les plus belles chansons folkloriques du Canada français: richesse faisant partie de l'héritage culturel de notre pays. A ce titre, chacune d'elles, reflète une histoire vivante, très proche de nous. Rares sont les personnes qui ne ressentent pas un certain plaisir à les chanter; surtout lorsqu'elles sont harmonisées. Elles deviennent en quelque sorte, comme deux flots de musique coulant ensemble. Puissiez-vous les chanter de même, avec joie et fierté! (Johnston, 1964: 4).

A few of these comments merit a brief discussion here. Firstly, his sweeping statement that this collection contains "les plus belles chansons folkloriques du Canada français" indicates a misplaced value judgement for a scholar of his stature. It is also strange that Johnston, an eminent musicologist, suggests here that the singing of these harmonizations is one that will be more enjoyable than the singing of the original song. That Johnston adopted both Barbeau's philosophy that a folksong can be improved through adaptation, as well as his intense nationalist fervour some forty years later indicates the lingering, and thus strength, of such sentiments. His overgeneralizations here also include the statement that his choice of songs is limited to those which have the most "musical qualities" and were especially known in the past, two factors which are well nigh impossible to determine.

Lessard compliments Johnston here on the treatment of the folksongs, apparently sharing Johnston's opinion that the harmonizations only serve to improve them. He continues by saying that Johnston's contrapuntal skills are finely honed, and that his composition of the second voice to accompany the original tune in the first, which could be sung separately, is very melodic and musical.

It is again strange that Johnston makes no mention of his source in this work. As he was also a prominent collector, it is possible that he collected the tune himself. However, his melodic line in this piece suggests otherwise. Almost an exact replica of Gagnon's, the melody only varies in the fact that the same rhythmic variations occur as are first presented in Gibbon's version. Coupled with the fact that the piece is set in the key of G major, it is likely that Johnston used Gibbon and O'Brien's harmonization as his principal melodic source. However, that he also reprints all ten stanzas exactly from Gagnon's transcription, makes the connection obvious.

In this "arrangement," Johnston places the melody line in the bottom voice, and composes a second melodic line above it. This second line is relatively simple: however it does have a fairly broad range of an eleventh. Containing varied rhythms, the second line demonstrates basic counterpoint in two sections of canonic imitation, as well as presenting sustained harmonic notes over the florid melody. Harmonies are again ones that are both simple and tonal, with no chromaticisms. Johnston describes the piece as "gai," though he gives no indication of tempo. The piece is altered, then, only very slightly and still retains a full quotation of its source song. Thus, it also fits into my third suggested category for folksong-based composition.

The importance of this piece in the pedagogical canon is apparent because of its inclusion in the John Adaskin project. Presented entirely in French with no translations, and with the rousing introduction given by Johnston, the compilation as a whole is

significant in its purpose of teaching young French-Canadian music students about the songs of “their heritage.”

Morris Surdin

Surdin’s Canadian Folk Songs: Grade 1 (1968; Boosey and Hawkes, 1970) for juvenile accordion solo is unique in that it presents some of the first pedagogical repertoire for this instrument. Anticipating the introduction of the accordion into the syllabus of the Royal Conservatory of Music, Surdin attempted with these pieces to increase the almost nonexistent corpus of works for this instrument. His devotion to the accordion, both from a pedagogical and a concert performance point of view, is apparent, as he has also written various other works for the instrument. One example of these are his Eight Serious Pieces, which are a sort of Mikrokosmos for the accordion after Bartók, and were intended mainly for use in classes at the Conservatory. This was also true of his Canadian Folk Songs. Surdin also found it important to base these pedagogical pieces on folk music, as is seen in this example. This grade one collection, the first of three graded compilations for the accordion, contains songs from both Québec and Newfoundland. His setting of “Dans tous les cantons” is the sixth of ten songs in this work.

Surdin, like most of the other composers discussed here, considers his setting an “arrangement.” This could be because of its extreme simplicity in this case.

Unfortunately, no introduction is included with his score, and no indication of his original source is made. His melodic line, however, presents the now-common rhythmic variations not present in Gagnon's transcription, and sets the piece firmly in the key of G major, indicating a closer affinity with Gibbon and O'Brien's work, or of their subsidiaries. Only one other small difference is apparent in Surdin's melody, with the change of one particular quarter note in the final line to two eighth notes. Thus, this piece again fits into my third suggested category of a folksong-based composition which quotes its source song in its entirety, with some few embellishments.

Surdin indicates a tempo of "allegro moderato" in this piece and suggests a metronome marking of 126 beats per minute. The original duple meter is also maintained. The piece begins with a direct statement of the original melody in the right hand, accompanied by various sustained drone notes underneath. Afterwards, the right hand flows directly into a variation of the first part of the melody, namely the A section of the AA'BCA" structure. Here, Surdin presents an elongated statement of the first theme in notes of twice the original duration. This elongation is then passed on to the left hand, where the final A" theme is played with some minor melodic variation. The piece is then a very simple version of the variation technique discussed earlier by Kremenliev (refer to p. 225 of this chapter), as it presents first a direct statement of the original song followed by a single variation.

Along with the rest of his Canadian Folk Songs, Surdin's version of "Dans tous

les cantons” is significant as a pedagogical piece which attempts to explore the capabilities of an instrument which has been largely ignored in the art music tradition, but which is also closer to the musical traditions of the original folksong being adapted. This displacement of context signifies a more recent technique of exploitation of tone colours with, perhaps, a greater regard for the roots of the original work. The inherent simplicity of this melody is also what has made it appealing for inclusion in a pedagogical work for such an early training level.

Howard Cable

Howard Cable’s setting of “Dans tous les cantons” appeared in his 1979 compilation of three French-Canadian folksongs entitled Pastiche Quebecois (Gordon V. Thompson). “Dans tous les cantons” is the third of these, preceded by settings of “Un canadien errant” and “Les raftsmen.” The work is scored for SATB chorus (divisi) and piano or brass quintet. This work was probably intended for concert performance, as it is too difficult to be considered a pedagogical piece. Unfortunately, very little is known of Cable’s motivations for writing this piece. He includes no introduction to the work, and also does not divulge his original source. Though the melodic line does follow that of Gagnon, it still adopts the latter rhythmic variations introduced by Gibbon and O’Brien. That the piece is also set in G major indicates Gibbon and O’Brien’s influence. Cable also sets four of the five text stanzas presented by Gibbon, though the “original” French

versions of these only. Cable does include English translations here, though they are written by Jill Frappier, who in many ways ignores the natural rhyme scheme of the original song.

The piano or brass quintet is given quite a bit of attention throughout this work, as the instruments provide a brief interlude or “break” between each vocal stanza, as well as substantial accompaniment during the singing of each verse. The fastest of all the seven pieces, Cable’s setting indicates a tempo of “vivace” and a metronome marking of 160 beats per minute. The piece opens with an short seven bar introduction by the instrument(s), which leads into the first stanza sung in unison by the choir. This first statement of the theme is a direct one with no alteration of any sort in the vocal line. After a brief instrumental interlude, the choir returns with a restatement of the last line of the first stanza, sung in four part harmony. This is followed directly by the second stanza, which has modulated into the key of B flat major, the original key of Gagnon’s transcription. This second verse is sung by the tenors and basses alone, in two part harmony with each other. This is an excellent example of word-painting, with the men singing to the women as is indicated in the text.

A difficult ascending chromatic passage provides the instrumental transition into the third stanza, which has again modulated to the key of E flat major. The full choir returns in this third stanza, singing divisi in six part harmony. This section is much more dramatic at first, and is marked fortissimo, but at the start of the third line of text the

texture is suddenly diminished as the altos and basses take over the melody in unison.

What follows is a short banter between various part couplings, first with the women singing, then with the men. The next transition is a sparsely scored one for the instruments, and leads into another modulation to the key of D major. At this point, the tempo also slows to an “andante” of 72 beats per minute as the choir enters in four parts for the fourth stanza. They are abandoned briefly by the instrument(s), which return at the beginning of the third line of text as the tenors and basses begin singing divisi.

The final instrumental transition returns the piece to its original tempo and key, as the choir sings one last direct statement of the first stanza in unison, having come full circle. A coda consisting of a restatement of the last line of the stanza in four part harmony, followed by a building chromatic instrumental segueway to a concluding unison statement of the words “Dans tous les cantons” by the choir concludes the piece.

This work is richly scored by Cable, and employs inventive harmonies; however, he is careful to preserve both the text and the melody of the original song, despite its frequent modulation. Though the piece might be seen to fall between my third and fourth suggested categories, because it still retains a direct quote of the original source song, which is consistently repeated, the work would best fit into the third. Undoubtedly, the piece demonstrates a fairly high level of compositional innovation in dealing with the “original” folksong. However, Gagnon’s version is still easily recognizable in its entirety. Dynamic indications are also frequent, reminiscent of both Whitehead’s and

Dela's settings. What is most unique about Cable's adaptation, however, is the inventiveness of the piano/brass part. This work is one that is well known and forms an important part of the Canadian choral repertoire.

Conclusions

The motivations for the composition of and the specific compositional devices employed in these seven compositions are varied, but contain many similar elements. Unfortunately, only a few writings exist detailing the actual intent of the composers -- these are both rare and valuable. Most often, this intent must be discerned from an analysis of the scores themselves. The analysis presented here, though brief, has still discovered some important elements about these compositions, including probable source materials, how these source materials have been adapted, some common compositional techniques used, and some possible motivations.

While the majority, if not all of these composers drew their source material from a very limited number of printed collections, in this case, probably all of the settings discussed have stemmed directly or indirectly from the transcription of one variant of this song; that of Gagnon. That even 115 years after the first publishing of his collection, composers were still adapting its songs collected in one region from a limited group of singers, puts an interesting slant on the perception of "Canadian" music. What is most telling here, however, is that each of these seven composers (with the exception, perhaps,

of Dela) undoubtedly knew of and borrowed most extensively from both Gibbon and O'Brien's "harmonization" as well as from MacMillan's original "arrangement." That the utilization of an adapted version of a collected version, or elements thereof, rather than a complete consultation of Gagnon's "original" song seems paramount here.

Questions then arise here as to why composers, some of which outwardly claim to be interested in the preservation of "pure" folksongs, choose to then set an already adapted version. Availability of published editions of Gagnon's collection would certainly not be a factor, as several reprinted versions have been widely distributed. Ignorance of Gagnon's original version is also not an issue, as both MacMillan and Gibbon indicate quite clearly the source of the original song. Speculation might be made into the usage of more familiar versions which indicate what might be perceived as "implied" harmonies or "appropriate" accompaniments for the style of song. However, this *is* mere speculation only. Again, without the existence of primary source writings from the composers themselves, this is a motivation which is difficult to ascertain, but would also be an important one to discover.

In looking at these seven compositions as a whole, all are composed tonally, with a great degree of preservation of the "original" source song, in melody, rhythm, and in text where appropriate. Three of these are pedagogical (Archer, Johnston, Surdin), while four are intended primarily for concert use. Of the seven, six fit within my suggested third category, which indicates that they preserve almost reverently the source song

which they have set, adding some variations and embellishments. Here, the exception is Cable's setting which, though it preserves the original song, adds a fairly substantial amount of variation and embellishment. Only one of the seven works, that of Dela, can be described as falling within the fourth category, which uses the original source song as a jumping off point for a composition which later employs various themes and compositional devices independent of the musical traditions of the original folksong. From this sample, it might be surmised that Canadian composers reserve their larger-scale works, or those which are more detailed and are multi-textured, for "original" works which do not employ folksong quotations. This statement can be seen as generally true through an examination of the list which I compiled of folk-inspired compositions by Canadian composers which I divulge in part, and discuss in the third chapter of this thesis. This examination of these seven settings of "Dans tous les cantons," however, helps this argument to ring true.

It is difficult here to make many broad and sweeping statements based on the comparison of these few examples about the state of folk-inspired-composition in Canada – these compositions, are both a product of "Canadian" nationality and of individuality. Though this set of examples is only a very small indication of the immense repertoire of Canadian music based on folksong, such a specific study is good for encouraging further research in this field, and in Canadian music as a whole.

CONCLUSION

We played them all: the Sinfonia Eratico Fantachia, The Indian Festival of Dreams – whatever the hell they were called... But Papa Heinrich did use Indian music... Manitou Mysteries, or The Voice of the Great Spirit: Gran Sinfonia Misteriosa Indiana – or some goddamn thing. It wouldn't have been the first time a real artist took a bank clerk's idea and turned it into a masterpiece... The tortured pianoforte groaned and his shrill voice occasionally broke through the outlandish clusters of sound to explain some especially obscure passage meant to conjure up Comanches hunting buffalo (Josef Skvorecky, Dvorak in Love, 42-3).

All great musicians have borrowed music from simple people (Josef Skvorecky 45).

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to answer three main questions: What reasons do composers give for the utilization of folk materials? What source musics have they used in this process? How have they musically manipulated these materials? These have been answered both generally and specifically through an analysis of the practice of using folk music in art music composition in Europe, in Canada, and through the examination of seven settings of one particular French-Canadian folksong, “Dans tous les cantons.” Each of these “answers” has varied significantly over time and region and, inevitably, with individual composers, though many common trends are apparent.

Let us regard the first question: What reasons do composers give for the utilization of folk materials? The earliest motivations were primarily those of a need for a more expansive and unique form of music, different from the then common plainsong

adaptations. With early nationalistic sentiment, and the later advent of Herder and the romantic-nationalist movement, composers began to adopt these songs as a “pure and natural” expression of the music of their homeland. Made more potent through the use of the perceived songs of the people, this “nationalist music” became extremely popular, but later fell from favour emphasizing instead, most recently, individualist rather than collective expression. In this way, the songs were then later used as a jumping-off point for larger scale works which changed dramatically the original song being borrowed, rather than attempting to preserve it. Reasons for continued use of these songs in this manner are speculative, but include pedagogical concerns, as well as the inherent simplicity of these source materials. Earlier preservationist sentiments are also another reason why composers wished to set these songs – to enable them to be heard and learned by a greater audience.

In Canada, nationalist sentiments arrived much later, inspired by the earlier movements from Europe and the United States. Encouraged by Barbeau and Gibbon in the CPR festivals of the 1920s and 30s, and by the *Movement littéraire du Québec*, many composers sought to create folk-music-inspired pieces. This movement however, like its predecessors in Europe, waned rather quickly, and individualist expression became the precedent. Many pedagogical works have been created through the use of folksong, particularly through such programs as the John Adaskin Project, and reasons for this are most likely twofold: Firstly, the composers have been interested in encouraging young

players to learn and recognize folk music from their own homeland, and secondly, that these pieces are perceived as being relatively simple, yet have a significant amount of both melodic and rhythmic interest. This has consistently been a common perception by composers who have adapted folksong, since some of the earliest European antecedents; that “folk” equals “simple” equals “for children and students.” These pedagogical pieces vary significantly from non-pedagogical ones, in that the former show a much greater degree of the preservation of the original source song. The latter, especially recently, often utilize the folksong as very sketchy base material, which is frequently altered to the state of non-recognition. However, as was earlier reiterated by Bartók, “even the obstinate clinging to a tone or group of tones borrowed from folk motives seems to be a precious foothold: it offers a solid framework... and prevents wandering about at random” (318).

Reasons for the use of the specific folksong discussed in detail here, “Dans tous les cantons,” must in many cases be speculative due to the unfortunate lack of writings by these composers on their works. Of the writings of these seven composers, there exist no direct accounts describing motivations for the use of this particular song. Some express an interest in French-Canadian folksong as a whole, but few other indications are given. However, it is safe to assume that the popularity of Ernest Gagnon’s collection of Chansons populaires du Canada was such that many pieces from it have been adapted by various composers from its publication in 1865 to today. The assumption that this

compilation contained an exhaustive collection of all French and French-Canadian folksongs sung in Canada, though an erroneous one, nonetheless encouraged the consistent use of this volume. That this particular song, “Dans tous les cantons,” was selected is not surprising, due to its lighthearted nature and rhythmic vitality. That it was Ernest MacMillan who selected it first, and with it won the coveted Beatty prize at the renowned Quebec CPR festivals also, no doubt, contributed to the enthusiasm of later composers to attempt to utilize the same base song.

Let us next address the second question: What source musics have the composers used in this process of utilizing folk music in art music composition? Though many of the earlier European composers to adopt this practice were intent on collecting the folksongs that they utilized, this ambition has fallen largely out of practice, especially in Canada. Various folksong collections, of music both familiar and, more recently, exotic, have been most often consulted. In the early examples of this practice in Canada, due to the lack of printed collections, it is most likely that composers adapted the songs which they themselves had heard around them. However, since the increase in the number of collections being published and made widely available, most composers have ceased relying on their own ear, preferring instead to adhere to these printed transcriptions. It is even true that now, in Canada, most composers have not only not heard the version of the songs they are setting but, often, not even any of the songs from the particular culture of the songs being set, having never been “in the field.” This armchair composition,

frowned upon by earlier pioneers of this practice such as Bartók, Grainger, and Vaughan Williams who emphasize that one must intimately understand a folksong tradition before attempting to emulate it, is most common in this type of composition in Canada today. Of the seven composers examined in detail in this thesis, only three did any sort of collecting throughout their careers, and none actually collected their source song of “Dans tous les cantons.”

The question of perception is another that arises here: Perceived opinions about how these songs, both the original and the “transformed,” should be categorized, by the composers themselves, as well as by the collectors and the historians/musicologists, have been telling to trace. In categorizing a piece as either folksong, artsong, or popular song, as well as terming adaptations of these works as harmonizations, arrangements, or compositions, has been a process which has relied most heavily on intent, decided through the song’s placement in a particular publication, performance venue (if any), and the instrumentation of the work, rather than on the relative merit of the resultant work itself. That these unspoken categorizations have been largely undebated, and consistently followed by composers and musicologists alike, is somewhat surprising, and a phenomenon that merits further discussion in later works.

The third question to be addressed here is: How have the composers musically manipulated these materials? A thorough description of both earlier and more recent methods of adapting these songs is given at the beginning of the fifth chapter, while the

remainder of this same chapter describes in some detail the specific devices used by the composers of the seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons.” Adaptation methods are numerous and diverse, and can include compositions in various forms (variation, through-composed, strophic), and various instrumentations and textures (solo instrument or voice to full orchestra). The source song can also be preserved in various degrees, from a full restatement of the original melody and lyrics to fragmentation and development of motives from the song. These degrees of difference are embodied in the four categories of classification outlined in my introduction. Generally, these songs are categorized as either arrangements or compositions depending on both their instrumentation and their degree of preservation of the original song.

It is not surprising that many of the adaptation processes used by the composers in setting these songs are akin to similar processes which occur in the transformation of these original folksongs during their oral transmission. Thomas Burns, in his 1970 article “A Model of Textual Variation in Folk Song,” outlines some of the specific processes which folksongs in the oral tradition are subject to. Many of these may be directly applied to these art music adaptations, in terms of both text and melody. Examples of relevant categories suggested by Burns include “contraction,” which refers to the deletion of any type of material, usually considered peripheral, at any level, and can be broken down further into processes such as, “expulsion,” or the deletion of specific materials from the song due to their bawdy or obscene nature, as well as

“dramatization,” where one particular aspect of the song is emphasized. “Localization” is sometimes utilized, in which the details of a particular song are changed to be made relevant to the location in which it is to be performed. Another category which is frequently employed, particularly in recent composition, is that of “fragmentation,” where the piece is contracted to such an extent that the original song is barely recognizable. All of these songs may be said to fall under the umbrella of “rationalization,” which is the imposition of “reason or probability” on a song through the addition, subtraction, or alteration of original elements, as well as that of “recomposition,” which speaks for itself. As well, the Schafer school may say that all of these works also are encompassed in the category of “degeneration,” where the changes that have been made are regarded as detrimental or negative. This comparison helps to demonstrate, perhaps, that the art music adaptation of the songs is another step in the process of their transformation and transmission.

It can be seen throughout the usage of these folksongs by Canadian composers that the perceived “pure and natural” songs are still romanticized, and even regarded today in an antiquarian fashion, as being the epitome of nationalist expression. And yet, there has been little real desire to “go into the field.” Only a scant few did this – musicians were either collectors or composers, and rarely both. Many who popularized the use of folksong in Canadian art music, such as Archer, had little to no regard for the background and “authenticity” of the original folksongs. Armchair composers reigned

(and reign) supreme, and those that did collect often did so with the perception that the songs being transcribed were those that would translate best to a concert performance (ie art music) form. As I have stated earlier in chapter four, “that Johnston himself perceived these songs that he, and his contemporaries, were collecting as foundation material for larger works, both pedagogical and artistic, indicates an attitude which was held by a number of Canadian collectors at the time. Believing this to be the primary purpose for the collection of these folksongs, rather than that of preservation, led many collectors to transcribe and publish songs that would be easily adaptable, rather than those that would become historically significant.” Even the most revered and prolific of our collectors, Helen Creighton, adopted this attitude. She admits that, “I saw how our beautiful tunes could be applied to this classical form... Much more could and should be done, and I trust that composers will turn to this new volume and do all sorts of wonderful things with its contents” (Creighton, 1962: vii).

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, these discussions of the use of folksong in art music are very much akin to previous scholarship in the already established field of folklore in/as literature. As can be seen from the various folklore and literature theories which have been discussed and utilized for analysis throughout this thesis, these two fields have much to offer each other, and connections between the two should be examined in further detail. Folklore in/as literature scholars have gradually evolved, naturally along the lines of concurrent folklore research, into questioning

whether the scholarship should not place such high value on evidence, but on process. Yet, these original perceptions still remain within the field, so that it has become almost necessary for a literary author to connect themselves strongly, or to become connected by a literary scholar, to the folklore which they utilize. Though unwritten in any direct connection between the two fields of folklore and art music, this striving for authenticity and personal linking to the original source folklore and, thus, culture from which it came was paramount to the composers who originally began to adapt this material. However, as the process of utilizing folksong in art music composition evolved and migrated to North America, this direct connection between the composer and the folksong became less and less important. Now, it has become almost admissible for composers, particularly in Canada, to employ folksong in ways which Dorson himself might have termed “fakelore” (Dorson, 1971, 1972a), through adapting folksongs as a means of adding validity or a sense of national pride to a new art music piece, with little or no connection on the composer’s part to the original song. There are, naturally, some exceptions to this rule, but as a whole, Canadian composers employing this practice have been successful at distancing themselves greatly from the folksongs which they adapt.

In his 1948 article, Taylor suggests that “writers have imitated folklore... literary imitation[s] of folk genres [are] conscious imitations of folk style and folk matter” (41). This has also been a procedure practiced by composers, particularly European, for many centuries. Emulating the style of folklore or folksong is easier to do when one is more

familiar with a particular folksong tradition – to emulate its qualities indicates that the composer is eminently familiar with them. However, to “arrange” or “compose” a piece using a pre-collected folksong might often be a simple matter of cut-and-paste or, in debates of authenticity, adapted in such a way that the final composition does not reflect the qualities which are inherent within the source song’s culture – qualities which must be studied within the culture itself in order to be completely understood and properly emulated. This is something which is rarely practiced by the Canadian composers studied here.

In all, the use of folk music in art music composition is an important process as it is one that has taken place through all musical periods from the Middle Ages, all regions, and all genres. Most art music composers have also become fascinated with this process and attempted it, at least at some point in their respective careers. Remarkably, this practice is one that has been studied relatively little, and merits much further discussion. The use of the practice in Canada is vast and varied, and has been one which has helped Canadian music as a whole to come into its own. The analysis of these seven settings of “Dans tous les cantons” has helped to demonstrate a small cross-section of these combined traditions and, hopefully, to shed some light on the motivations for and specific uses of this practice.

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