

**Performing the Canadian “Mosaic”: Juliette Gauthier, Florence Glenn
and the CPR Festivals of Quebec City**

by

Erin Sheedy

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the M.A. degree in
Musicology

School of Music
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

© Erin Sheedy, Ottawa, Canada, 2014

Introduction	1
Chapter One: Intellectual Backgrounds of the CPR Festivals	
1.1 Nationalist Network	9
1.2 The Canadian “Mosaic”	12
1.3 Folk Inspiration	18
1.4 Overview of the Quebec City CPR Festivals	21
1.5 Canadian Composition at the CPR Festivals	26
1.6 Concluding Remarks	31
Chapter Two: CPR Festivals as Exhibitions of Heritage Tourism	
2.1 Heritage Introduction	34
2.2 Performing Canadian (Music) History	35
2.3 <i>Jeu de Robin et de Marion</i>	36
2.4 Three de Montigny Scenarios	43
2.5 Tourism, Authenticity and Expert Opinions	54
2.6 Location in CPR Advertising	58
2.7 French-Canadian Representations at the CPR Festivals	60
2.8 Indigenous Representations at the CPR Festivals	65
2.9 Concluding Remarks	74

Chapter Three: Juliette Gauthier and Florence Glenn: Interpreters of “Canadian Folksongs”

3.1 Gauthier and Glenn Introduction	76
3.2 Glenn in Toronto	77
3.3 Gauthier in New York City	83
3.4 Glenn’s Early Solo Career	86
3.5 Performance Styles	88
3.6 Costumes	93
3.7 Repertoire	96
3.8 Concluding Remarks	98
Conclusion	100
Bibliography	104
Appendix A	112
Appendix B	138
Appendix C	145

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my advisor, Christopher Moore, who has devoted time and energy even while on sabbatical to provide valuable feedback for my work, as well as my committee members, Elaine Keillor and Paul Merkley, for their patience and support. I am also grateful to their colleague Murray Dineen, who has generously provided advice and encouragement over the last two years.

I am grateful to the archivists of the Canadian Museum of History/Musée Canadien de l'Histoire, Jonathan Wise and Benoit Thériault, who granted access to the Glenn papers in advance of their official acceptance, as well as Nick Richbell of the Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives who was a kind and encouraging support over the course of my visits to Montreal.

The University of Ottawa has generously provided financial support for my degree, through a combination of entrance scholarships and teaching-and research-assistantships. In addition, I am also thankful for the support of M. Côté through the Ernest Gagnon Scholarship, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, who provided financially for my last year of study.

Finally, to the amazing group of friends and family who have been a constant source of encouragement and inspiration throughout this process—Your thank-you letters are in the mail.

Abstract

The Quebec City festivals of 1927 and 1928 represent a unique instance of close collaboration between prominent figures in Canadian musical and cultural history, John Murray Gibbon and Marius Barbeau. Based on Anglocentric concerns for a unique Canadian identity and corresponding school of composition, the festivals served as points of contact between many artists and performers, including Juliette Gauthier and Florence Glenn. An analysis of specific performances at the CPR festivals and over the course of Glenn and Gauthier's respective careers showcase how racialized attitudes towards Indigenous populations, and the static conceptualization of French-Canadian folk culture were navigated to perform "Canadian folksong."

Introduction

John Murray Gibbon's professional work in tourism, as publicity agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), and avocational passion for folksongs in Canada inspired the organization of a series of Folksong and Handicraft Festivals at CPR hotels between 1927-1931. The Quebec City festivals of 1927 and 1928 were organized in collaboration with Marius Barbeau, Canadian anthropologist of the National Museum, and modeled after England's folksong revival.¹ In the face of growing concern regarding Canada's perceived lack of culture and distinct national identity in the 1920s, Gibbon and Barbeau designed the Quebec City festivals to encourage a Canadian national school of composition based on French-Canadian folksong. Specific initiatives within the overall festival structure such as the 1927 E.W. Beatty composition contest, and the large-scale musical productions at the 1928 festival illustrated the desired narrative of Canada's past, echoing the desired-for Anglo-centric unified identity, as nascent iterations of Gibbon's cultural fantasy of the "Canadian Mosaic." Performances by Juliette Gauthier and Florence Glenn, two folksong performers active between 1925 and 1950, further illustrated how Gibbon and Barbeau's own ideologies concerning folk culture, race and nation-hood were disseminated to artists, and expressed musically both in and apart from the CPR festivals.

Literature Review

Studies which feature the CPR festivals as the singular topic are rare; the exception being the respective articles of Antonia Smith and Stuart Henderson, which

¹ Currently the Canadian Museum of History/Musée Canadien de l'Histoire, formerly the Canadian Museum of Civilization (1986-2014); The National Museum of Man (1968-1986); National Museum (1927-1968); Museum Branch of the Department of Mines (Geological Survey of Canada) (1843-1927) housed at the Victoria Memorial Museum Building from 1910-1959.

specifically analyse the three CPR “Prairie festivals” of Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary, in terms of how they express Gibbon’s vision of the “Canadian Mosaic.”² More often than not, this period of Canadian (music) history has been relegated to brief asides in works that discuss related themes or Barbeau and/or Gibbon’s work promoting the arts in Canada; examples of such works include Elaine Keillor’s 2006 survey of Canadian music and Gordana Lazarevich’s article on the CPR and arts-sponsorship.³

When compared to the other three subjects of this paper—Gauthier, Gibbon, and Glenn—the work and person of Barbeau has most often been the focus of contemporary scholarship. Of note is Sandra Dyck’s dissertation which analyses Barbeau’s efforts to promote Canadian nationalist arts using Indigenous cultural artifacts.⁴ Andrew Nurse has also produced several works of particular relevance to this study, which investigate the connections Barbeau made between his fieldwork and contemporary arts, including the representation and appropriation of Indigenous cultures.⁵ Florence Glenn’s career, with the exception of a section in Elaine Keillor’s article “Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers,” has been the subject of no scholarship to date; Juliette Gauthier’s career

² Stuart Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time...’: J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931,” in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 139-174. Antonia Smith, “‘Cement for the Canadian Mosaic’: Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon” in *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 1, no. 1 (2007): 37-60. See Appendix C for complete list of CPR festivals.

³ Gordana Lazarevich, “The Role of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Promoting Canadian Culture,” in *Celebrating the Arts in Canada*, ed. by Glen Carruthers and Gordana Lazarevich, Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, Inc. (1996): 3-14. Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006.

⁴ Sandra Dyck, “‘These Things Are Out Totems’: Marius Barbeau & Indigenization of Canadian Art and Culture in the 1920s.” MA Thesis. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1995.

⁵ Andrew Nurse, “‘Their Ancient Customs are Gone’: Anthropology as Cultural Process.” *Around and about Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*. Ed. Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse and Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 13-26. Also, Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau.” PhD dissertation. Kingston, ON: Queen’s University, 1997.

(and that of her sister) was recently the focus of Anita Slominska's dissertation.⁶ Gibbon's life and career was the subject of Gary Kines' 1988 thesis, which relies largely on Gibbon's own unpublished autobiography in order to present what is in essence a biography.⁷ Janet McNaughton's 1982 thesis is specifically devoted to the Quebec City festivals, although a good portion of her work examines the non-musical, handicraft elements incorporated into the festivals.⁸ Kines' and McNaughton's works are the de facto "primary sources" referred to by authors who have not, or were not able to reference archival sources.

This thesis relies on previous scholarship to provide an analysis of the CPR festivals as physical and virtual spaces where a consciously constructed narrative of Canadian identity, designed specifically to encourage a Euro-centric model of culture, was enacted. A diverse group of readings has impacted this thesis, including Rosabelle Boswell's analysis of heritage tourism in Mauritius and Christopher Wingfield's examination of musical performances as part of museum programming.⁹ In addition, since the representation of Indigenous cultures via musical performance is a prominently recurring theme over the course of this thesis, the respective works of Carole Gerson, Eva Mackey and Mariannette Jaimes-Guerrero which all examine the problematic

⁶ Keillor, "Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers," in *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 31 (2004) 29-38; Anita Slominska, "Interpreting success and failure: The eclectic careers of Eva and Juliette Gauthier," PhD Dissertation, Montreal: McGill University, 2009.

⁷ Gary Kines, "'Chief Man-Of-Many-Sides': John Murray Gibbon and his Contributions to the Development of Tourism and the Arts in Canada," MA thesis, Ottawa: Carleton University, 1988.

⁸ Janet McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930," MA Thesis, St. John's: Memorial University, 1982.

⁹ Rosabelle Boswell, "Heritage Tourism and Identity in the Mauritian Villages of Chamarel and Le Morne." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, no. 2 (June 2005): 283-295. Christopher Wingfield, "'Feeling the Vibes: Dealing with Intangible Heritage'—An Introduction," in 'Feeling the Vibes: Dealing with Intangible Heritage': Papers from the Annual Conference of the Museum Ethnographers Group," special issue, *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 19 (March 2007): 9-20.

appropriation and portrayals of Indigenous culture in the nationalist narratives of colonial societies in North American, have been incredibly valuable.¹⁰

Methods

At its core, this thesis is fundamentally based on archival study, and specifically on collections from both the Canadian Museum of History/Musée Canadien de l'Histoire (CMH/MCH) and the Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives. Of particular note is the collection of Glenn's personal papers recently donated to the CMH/MHC, which, though currently awaiting a formal acquisitions and cataloguing processes, have been included (as a preliminary survey) in Appendix B. The essays in the 2008 publication *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling 20th-Century Culture* have provided an excellent model of studies that, while based on archival materials, are both critical and informative. The respective chapters by Keillor, Jessup and Nurse are especially relevant to any study of the CPR festivals and Barbeau's work in particular.¹¹

While based on archival documentation of folksong performances, this thesis relies on contemporary heritage studies and cultural anthropology, thus facilitating a critical examination of these performances as part of the discursive process of national identity-formation. The works of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Laurajane Smith,

¹⁰ Carole Gerson, "Nobler Savage: Representations of Native Women in the Writings of Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill," in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (Été 1997 Summer): 5-21; Eva Mackey, "Becoming Indigenous: Land, Belonging, and the Appropriation of Aboriginality in Canadian Nationalist Narratives," in *Social Analysis* 42, no. 2 (July 1998): 150-178; Marianne Jaimes-Guerrero, "'Savage Erotica Exotica: Media Imagery of Native Women in North America,'" in *Native North America*, edited by Renée Hulan, Toronto: ECW Press (1999): 187-210. M.A. Jaimes*Guerrero, "'Patriarchal Colonialism' and Indigenism: Implications for Native Feminist Spirituality and Native Womanism," in *Hypatia* 18, no. 2, Indigenism Women in the Americas (Spring 2003): 58-69.

¹¹ Keillor, "Marius Barbeau as a Promoter of Folk Music Performance and Composition," in *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*, Ed. Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 137-156; Jessup, "Marius Barbeau and Early Ethnographic Cinema," *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*, Ed. Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 269-304; Nurse, "Their Ancient Customs are Gone," See footnote 4.

and the theorization of heritage as a process rather than an (old) entity in and of itself, have specifically influenced this analysis.¹² Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has identified several propositions which tether her argument of heritage-as-process and which feature in my discussion of the CPR festivals as sites of heritage-production:

“(1) Heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past; (2) Heritage is a “value added” industry; (3) A hallmark of heritage is the problematic relationship of its objects to its instruments; and (4) A key to heritage is its virtuality, whether in the presence or absence of actualities.”¹³

Heritage-production requires an understanding of heritage as more than something that is seen or heard, but rather a negotiated understanding inclusive of the process of going to see and going to hear, the discussions of what to include and what to leave out, as well as the performances, exhibitions or knowledge-product produced. The CPR Quebec City festivals were not just concerts of French-Canadian music, or musical “heritage,” to use the term in its more common connotation of (historical) inheritance. As heritage tourism endeavours, the CPR festivals relied on a politicized and “instrumental use of the past,” both the result of, and with repercussions for, concepts of “identity, representation and preservation.”¹⁴ Tazim Jamal and Hyounggon Kim have compiled various works specifically devoted to examining the interplay between tourism and heritage (as theorized by Smith and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett).¹⁵ A similar study, which has impacted this work, is Katharine Ellis’ examination of how music of the past (“early”

¹² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Theorizing Heritage,” in *Ethnomusicology* 29, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 367-380; Laurajane Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2006.

¹³ *ibid.*, 369.

¹⁴ Tazim Jamal and Hyounggon Kim, “Bridging the interdisciplinary divide: Towards an integrated framework for heritage tourism research,” *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 55 (2005): 58.

¹⁵ Tazim Jamal and Hyounggon Kim, “Bridging the interdisciplinary divide: Towards an integrated framework for heritage tourism research,” *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 55 (2005): 55-83.

music) was politicized in order to make sense of the present, in nineteenth-century Paris.¹⁶

Terminology

Though the literature surrounding the CPR festivals refers to Canada's indigenous inhabitants as "Indian" or "Eskimo," the terms *First Nations* and *Inuit*, respectively, have replaced these dated terms in accepted practice. Throughout this thesis the term "Indigenous," a globally inclusive term that includes respective *Inuit*, *First Nations*, and *Métis* populations, is used. While the cited primary literature often conflates the separate origins and identities of Indigenous peoples in Canada, or uses terms assigned by colonizing settler societies to refer to individual bands or nations within the First Nations, these have been replaced as a general rule here by names by which the given nation has self-identified. For example, Gauthier's performances of Indigenous music included songs collected from Nuuchahnulth, Ktunaxa, and Dakelh communities, which are referred to in the primary literature respectively as "Nootka, Kootenay, and Carrier."¹⁷

Overview of Chapters

Chapter One provides an overview of the Canadian 1920s socio-cultural context and the English-Canadian aspirations for national identity during this same time. Gibbon's publication, *The Canadian Mosaic*, is discussed in some length along with an examination of the problematic assumptions contained within this idealized vision of Canadian society.¹⁸ Since the CPR festivals relied on a grasp of the musical convention of producing nationalist works based on folksong, this chapter outlines the idea of "the

¹⁶ Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

¹⁷ See <https://www.itk.ca/note-terminology-inuit-metis-first-nations-and-aboriginal>

¹⁸ J. Murray Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic, The Making of a Northern Nation*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938.

Folk” as traditionally understood in Europe, and the implications of such an agenda for Canadian society. The last portion of the chapter provides a basic overview of the CPR festival structure, and biographical information for several of the professional performers who participated at the Quebec City festivals, as well as composers whose work was featured at the CPR festivals and in the E.W. Beatty composition contest.

Chapter Two introduces the CPR festivals as heritage tourism endeavours, in that they rely on assumptions made about the past, and a politicized mobilization of those perceptions over the course of the festivals. Themes include the idea of the past as vital for national identity, of the performances and music as “different,” of the performers themselves as representative of “the Folk” and the problems inherent in this static portrayal of a culture. This chapter presents an analysis of four large-scale musical/theatrical productions performed at the festivals: *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, *L’Ordre de bon-temps*, *Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘manufacture,’* and *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs*. These works presented audiences with a certain image of Canadian history, convenient for and compatible with the Anglo-centric desires for a national Canadian identity. Over the course of the festivals, specific performances by Gauthier and Indigenous artists from the Huron-Wendat nation, as well as Florence Glenn (as part of *The Music Makers*) emphasize Barbeau’s role in determining “authenticity” with regards to “the Folk.”

Chapter Three presents a comparison of Glenn and Gauthier’s respective careers as folksong interpreters in the decade surrounding the CPR festivals at Quebec City. Parallels are drawn between the festivals and Glenn’s early study and performances in Toronto in the early 1920s, and Gauthier’s folksong performance, including the Town

Hall recital designed specifically to advertise for the CPR festival of 1927. As each artist made decisions about their repertoire and performance style, this reveals an understanding of French-Canadian and Indigenous cultures largely compatible with the model of the CPR festivals, and in particular, Barbeau's scholarship on the subject.

Preliminary Conclusions

The Quebec City festivals of 1927 and 1928 represent a unique instance of close collaboration between prominent figures in Canadian musical and cultural history, John Murray Gibbon and Marius Barbeau. Based on Anglocentric concerns for a unique Canadian identity and corresponding school of composition, the festivals served as points of contact between many artists and performers, including Juliette Gauthier and Florence Glenn. An analysis of specific performances over the course of Glenn and Gauthier's respective careers, as well as at the CPR festivals showcase how racialized attitudes towards Indigenous populations, and the static conceptualization of French-Canadian folk culture were navigated to perform "Canadian folksong."

Chapter One: Intellectual Backgrounds of the CPR Festivals

1.1 Nationalist Network

The efforts of Gibbon and Barbeau to represent and unite Canada through music at the CPR festivals (and over the course of their careers) stemmed from a broader, nationalist campaign to identify and promote Canada's identity to the international stage as a mature and independent nation. Antonia Smith describes the interwar years as a period when Canada "inhabited a shifting space between nation and colony," just as "Canadian citizens occupied a fluid space between legal British subjecthood and discursive Canadian citizenship."¹ The prevailing attitude amongst Anglo-Canadians, as David Pearson explains, was such that "settlers viewed themselves as part of a transnational British kin group, bound together by ties of 'race' and national origin."²

Several contemporary authors, including Mary Vipond and Sandra Dyck, have used the term "nationalist network," to describe the mutually-beneficial relationships between Anglophone cultural and social leaders in Eastern Canada in the 1920s. This informal network of upper-middle class businessmen, politicians and artists furthered the nationalist interests of Eastern Anglophone Canada, in pursuit of the "common vision of a cultured, autonomous nation."³ In addition to Gibbon and Barbeau this "nationalist network" included, among others, composer Ernest MacMillan, artist Arthur Lismer of

¹ Antonia Smith, "'Cement for the Canadian Mosaic': Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon," in *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 1, no. 1 (2007): 40. Mackenzie King (Prime Minister from 1921-30, 1935-48) advocated for a decentralized British Empire, and Canada's independence as a dominion within the Empire. Several Imperial Conferences (1923, 1926) and the Statute of Westminster (1931) granted Canada control of its foreign policy.

² David Pearson, "Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 6 (2002): 994.

³ Mary Vipond, "The National Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 32-52; Sandra Dyck, "These Things Are Our Totems," 8.

the Group of Seven, Duncan Campbell Scott of the Department of Indian Affairs, Graham Spry of the Association of Canadian Clubs and Toronto politician, Vincent Massey.⁴ Barbeau, Dyck writes, was “literally singular” as a “Francophone who supported the Anglophone nationalist agenda” and was “a fully integrated member of its ‘network.’”⁵ To quote Thompson and Seager, “the English-Canadian goal of building a “Canadian national spirit” was the antithesis of French-Canadian resolve to survive as a French Catholic nation” that is, as a linguistically, culturally and religiously unique society.⁶

This “nationalist network” endeavoured to “[build] a Canadian national spirit,” which generally employed a rhetoric that proposed “‘winning a background’ for Canada in terms of cultural history and nationalism.”⁷ The notion that a “background” is something that could be “won,” however, relies on the assumption that a nation’s fully formed historical narrative exists in some a priori sense, waiting to be found. A national identity imagined as coherent depends on a retrospective gaze, and a memory at once collective and selective, which serves to unite a people around a carefully constructed narrative of shared history and traditions. Since a nation, a people, are not monoliths, the nature (story) of a nation, as Homi Bhabha writes, is ambivalent, comprised of “competing dispositions of human association,” an amalgamation of and interplay between private and public spheres of interest.⁸ Further, the nation functions, as Benedict

⁴ Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 8.

⁵ *ibid.*, 9.

⁶ John Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord*, Toronto: MacMillan and Stewart, 1985; Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 9.

⁷ Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 11.

⁸ Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge (1990): 2.

Anderson memorably described, only as an “imagined political community,” relying on tenuous connections and affirmations of shared-ness to survive.⁹

The selective narration of Canadian identity by the nationalist network in which Barbeau and Gibbon circulated crafted the very background it sought to “win.” In addition to the tensions between English-nationalism and what Dyck refers to as the “inward-looking Quebec nationalism” that developed through the 1920s,¹⁰ it was uncomfortably obvious that neither (French nor English) were the land’s original inhabitants. Terry Goldie describes this anxiety as it relates to the concept of ‘belonging’ in/to Canada:

“The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?”¹¹

In addition to the fraught dynamic between colonizers (French and English) and colonized, British-Canadians were also unsettled by the rapid changes in Canadian demographics in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Between 1901 and 1931, the number of European-born immigrants rose from 125,000 to 714,000, and although immigration peaked in 1913 (at over 400,000), the continued acceptance of large numbers of “foreign-born,” alternately called “New Canadians,” persisted until 1931.¹²

As A. Smith writes, British-Canadians were suspicious of new immigrants, and specifically concerned with whether they were capable of “[subsuming] previous forms of allegiance, so-called ‘deep identities’ such as religious, ethnic, and regional affiliations

⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition. London: Verso (2006): 6.

¹⁰ Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 8.

¹¹ Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literature*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press (1989): 12.

¹² K.G. Basavarajappa and Bali Ram, “Historical statistics of Canada, Section A: Population and Migration,” *Statistics Canada*, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm#1>.

in favour of the universal status of citizen.”¹³ The state of citizenship in Canada, however, was part of this fluid identity; Canadians were British citizens by law until the Citizenship Act of 1947.¹⁴ The fluid nature of Canadian identity during this period exacerbated concerns over immigration, since there was a lack of consensus as to what these immigrants should be assimilated into.

1.2 The Canadian “Mosaic”

The narrative of Canadian identity that ultimately emerged during the interwar period was that of the “mosaic”: an idealist (fantastical) rendering of Canadian society iterated in John Murray Gibbon’s influential volume, *The Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*.¹⁵ Published in 1938, the 400-plus-page volume consisted of essentialist descriptions of several dozen European immigrant groups present in Canada, and was indebted to Gibbon’s earlier work with the CPR festivals, subsequent radio programs, and intellectual engagement with European ideologies of empire, race and folk culture.¹⁶

A critical evaluation of this model will prove integral for an understanding of how the CPR festivals in Quebec City were approached intellectually. Recently Antonia Smith and Stuart Henderson have deftly disassembled the myth of the mosaic, specifically in

¹³ Smith, “Cement for the Canadian Mosaic,” 40; Janine Brodie, “Three Stories of Canadian Citizenship,” in *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings*, ed. Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn, Robert Menzies, Peterborough: Broadview Press, Ltd. (2002): 43-68.

¹⁴ Valerie Knowles, *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000), 65. To the present day Canadian citizens remain citizens of the British Commonwealth.

¹⁵ John Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, *The Canadian Mosaic*, 1938.

connection with the CPR festivals that took place in Calgary, Regina and Winnipeg, and their work informs much of the ensuing analysis.¹⁷

Several usages of the term “mosaic” used in reference to the variety of immigrant communities in Canada predate the publication of *The Canadian Mosaic*.¹⁸ Gibbon’s imperialist appropriation of the term, however, presented the mosaic as both a metaphor and template for his idealist fantasy of Canadian society, which maintained the British-Canadians majority as status quo, while (benevolently) managing diversity. Gibbon’s imperialist intentions are clear early on in the text, where he provides a succinct outline of the “Canadian mosaic.”

“The Canadian people today presents itself as a decorated surface, bright with inlays of separate coloured pieces, not painted in colours blended with brush on palette. The original background in which the inlays are set is still visible, but these inlays cover more space than that background, and so the ensemble may truly be called a mosaic.”¹⁹

Pearson interprets the background of Gibbon’s mosaic as the “Family of Empire,” the imperialist relationship between Britain and her colonizing citizens across the globe, while Antonia Smith reads the background as inclusive of the first four “races” identified in *The Canadian Mosaic*, namely the French, English, Scottish and Irish.²⁰ Both contemporary interpretations affirm the British-centred nature of the mosaic, reflective of Gibbon’s status as a core member of imperialist British society, as well as of the Canadian, Anglocentric “nationalist network.”

¹⁷ Antonia Smith, “Cement for the Canadian Mosaic”: Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon,” in *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 1, no. 1, Transnational Migration, Race and Citizenship (Autumn, 2007): 37-60; Stuart Henderson, “‘While there is Still Time...’: J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931,” in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 139-174.

¹⁸ Victoria Hayward, *Romantic Canada*, Toronto: MacMillan & Co., 1922; Kate Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic*, Toronto: Dominion Council of Y.W.C.A., 1926.

¹⁹ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, viii.

²⁰ A. Smith, “Cement for the Canadian Mosaic,” 51.

The Canadian Mosaic relied implicitly on popular eugenicist readings of racial and ethnic identities, and the idea that shared racial traits and characteristics were passed genetically from generation to generation. (Gibbon generally conflated ethnicity and nationality, referring often to “racial stocks,” or “types,” as in “German-type.”) The “Canadian race of the future,” according to Gibbon, was in the process of 1) being formed, or “made up of over thirty European racial groups, each of which has its own history, customs and traditions,” and 2) being “superimposed on the original native Indian races.”²¹

By Gibbon’s own admission *The Canadian Mosaic* was influenced by his observations of what he referred to as “England’s composite character,” one that he viewed as being enriched by each “new element.”²² In order to mimic what he characterized as a positive method of assimilation and incorporation of these “new elements,” Gibbon’s survey of immigrant communities outlined his opinions as to the strengths and weaknesses of each “race” according to what he believed they could, as a people, offer the “Family of Empire.”²³ This belief that there were qualities worth preserving amongst each of these “thirty European” groups was benevolent in contrast to what Henderson refers to as “the ubiquitous Canadian racism which Gibbon sought to overcome, or, at least, to transform.”²⁴

Gibbon opted to confine his survey to the “European racial groups in Canada,” and of those, only the “white-skinned Europeans known as Caucasians.”²⁵ No

²¹ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, vii.

²² J. Murray Gibbon, “Canadian Letters and the New Canadian,” in *The Empire Club of Canada Addresses*, Toronto: Empire Club of Canada (1924) speech delivered November 22, 1923.

²³ Pearson, “Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies,” 994; Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, viii.

²⁴ Henderson, “While there is still time,” 147.

²⁵ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, xi & 2.

justification is provided for this approach, but as A. Smith claims, Gibbon's decision was likely influenced by John Woodsworth's book, *Strangers Within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians* (1909), wherein the latter reiterated the widely held belief that "Orientals, and others who are not white-skinned, simply cannot be assimilated."²⁶ (It should also be noted that Gibbon believed Canada's immigrant communities had "left Europe because they were glad to get out," after finding themselves "without a country—or at least without a country that they loved—transformed overnight by some Treaty from one allegiance to another."²⁷)

In contrast to comparative American policies, described as "hurrying to make every citizen a 100 per cent American," Gibbon believed the Canadian assimilation process should proceed carefully and with intentionality—"to collect and separate and perhaps ourselves fabricate the tesserae or little slabs of colour required"—for the creation of the mosaic.²⁸ Gibbon's writing continually mobilizes a rhetoric of collecting and separating to describe the subjective identification of "worthwhile qualities and traditions" of each ethnic community, with the goal of "preserving" these qualities for the "future Canadian race."²⁹ These carefully selected "worthwhile" traits, or "inlays of separate coloured pieces" could then be incorporated into society, and encouraged, as new immigrants became "New Canadians."

The Canadian Mosaic showcased a feminized, domesticated version of ethnicity, one easily assimilated into the broader Canadian society through intermarriage. Gibbon's writing was in keeping with the 1931 Canadian census, which defined "origin in the case

²⁶ A. Smith, "Cement for the Canadian Mosaic," 56. The "Hebrew type" is the last group surveyed, and would seem to represent the limits of Gibbon's "mosaic."

²⁷ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, 414.

²⁸ *ibid.*, vii & 413.

²⁹ *ibid.*, vii.

of those of European descent... through the father.”³⁰ Women were more desirable as immigrants since their ethnic identities could be subsumed into those of their Canadian husbands’. Families of “mixed-origin” were classified wholly in accordance with the father’s ethnicity, allowing for the disappearance of “negative” qualities according to Gibbon’s model, in one generation.³¹

The majority of illustrations in Gibbon’s book were of demure women in traditional folk costumes, the exception being a grandfatherly “French-Canadian type” with pipe in hand, and the noble “Scots-Canadian type” of the “Family of Empire.” Male sketches of “Norwegian- and Swedish-Canadian types” were also included. This inclusion, combined with the preferential treatment of Scandinavian immigrants at the Prairie festivals, has lead A. Smith to the conclusion that immigrants from Scandinavia were viewed as allies, and granted a level of respect in light of a shared “whiteness.”³²

Gibbon’s description of “a decorated surface, bright with inlays of separate coloured pieces” lends itself well to one of the essential purposes of the mosaic—the management of difference within the nation, to the maintenance of an Anglo-centric superiority. The primacy of British-Canada as the background to Gibbon’s social and cultural fantasy of the “Canadian mosaic” served as a plumb line against which the suitability of all Others/others was evaluated. To borrow from Bhabha, cultural boundaries as expressed in Gibbon’s mosaic, present “containing thresholds of meaning,” or the “limits of acceptability” for a nation.”³³

³⁰ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, viii.

³¹ *ibid.*, viii.

³² A. Smith, “Cement for the Canadian Mosaic,” 55.

³³ Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, 4.

The final chapter of Gibbon's monograph examined the various institutions responsible for creating what he referred to as "cement for the Canadian Mosaic" which "held together such varying racial elements as the conditions of the world have brought to settle in what is now known as the Dominion of Canada."³⁴ In addition to a variety of religious and community organizations as well as social clubs, such as the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A. and the Red Cross, educational institutions played a key role in creating the "cement" for Gibbon's mosaic. The chapter included quotes from several organizations describing their work to "promote tolerance and understanding between Native [ie. of the British-centered background] and New Canadians."³⁵ In order to "hold together" the various "elements" in Canada, these institutions conveyed the cultural boundaries of the nation and disseminated assimilationist education, enacting the transformative work of "creating" "New Canadians."

The emphasis throughout the chapter was placed on educating children, since, as Gibbon wrote, their "minds readily accept the life and thought of the country their parents have chosen for their home."³⁶ To this end, the Canadian public school system was considered the "finest and strongest cement," teaching "foreign children...to become good Canadians."³⁷ This articulation of "foreigners" who became "Canadians" was an important distinction. The work of one organization in particular, the Imperial Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.), clearly resonated with Gibbon, as he devoted an entire page to the extended description of their "Immigration and Canadianization" work, which included ceremonies that were held throughout the Dominion to welcome and "impress

³⁴ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, 413.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 417.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 425.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 417 & 419.

upon New Canadians of foreign birth the privileges and duties of British citizenship.³⁸ The ceremonies included a reminder to these “New Canadians” that though their papers “entitle them to citizenship in the Dominion of Canada, true citizenship belongs in their own hearts.”³⁹ As these “New Canadians” were welcomed to the societal masterpiece of the mosaic, they were reminded of their carefully managed and contained status as “colour” (for the Family of Empire background.)

1.3 Folk Inspiration

The inaugural *Folk Song and Handicrafts Festival* took place at the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City, from May 20-22, 1927. As Chief Publicity Agent of the CPR, Gibbon designed the Quebec City festivals in collaboration with Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau of the National Museum. Both Gibbon and Barbeau were particularly concerned with creating a narrative of Canadian musical identity by mobilizing French-Canadian folk culture, and forging an explicit cultural connection to Europe through the appropriation of French art music; the Quebec City festivals of 1927 and 1928 were intended to have broad applications as nationalist models for a burgeoning musical culture. Sponsored by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and presented under the auspices of the National Museum of Canada, the 1927 Quebec City festival was first in a Canada-wide series of sixteen festivals hosted by and at CPR hotels between 1927 and 1931.⁴⁰ In *The Canadian Mosaic*, Gibbon retrospectively identified the CPR festivals, which aimed to showcase a particular region’s local communities, as forerunners of a tradition that

³⁸ *ibid.*, 415-416. Gibbon cited from *Echoes*, publication of the IODE since 1912. See www.iode.ca/echoes.html.

³⁹ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, 416.

⁴⁰ A complete list of festivals will be in Appendix C.

served to remind a “younger generation of New Canadians that they have a heritage of music and handicraft which is worth preserving.”⁴¹

As they organized the Quebec City festivals to promote a national school of composition for Canada, Gibbon and Barbeau took their cue from European classical traditions. The renewed interest in English folksong for education and composition, at times referred to as the “English folk revival,” as well as Barbeau and Gibbon’s respective study in Europe (primarily at Oxford University) influenced both men’s plans for Canadian classical composition. Kines describes Gibbon’s efforts promoting Canadian music, particularly the CPR festivals, as being motivated by “the possibility of Canada experiencing a folk revival similar to England.”⁴² As McNaughton summarizes, the “hoped for results of [the festivals] was to be a folk revival for Canada similar to the revival experienced in England, and a parallel emergence of a national school of music compositions based on folk music themes.”⁴³

Both Gibbon and Barbeau were in England in the years following what Janet McNaughton refers to as Cecil Sharp’s “vigorous reorganization,” of the Folk-Song Society in England (from 1904).⁴⁴ Song-collectors had travelled the English countryside for the better part of the 1800s to catalogue their nation’s folksongs, often broadly defined to include parlour songs in addition to those songs passed on via oral tradition.

⁴¹ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, 424. The festival tradition was carried on, according to Gibbon, by organizations such as the Kiwanis Club.

⁴² Gary Kines, “‘Chief Man-Of-Many-Sides:’ John Murray Gibbon and his Contributions to the Development of Tourism and the Arts in Canada,” MA thesis, Carleton University: Ottawa (April 1988): 108. See also Francis Slaney, “Artistic Labour and the Embodiment of Culture: Marius Barbeau’s Canadian Anthropology of Art as a Vision from Oxford and Paris,” in *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modeling Twentieth-Century Culture*, ed. Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse and Gordon Smith. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation (2008): 27-64.

⁴³ McNaughton, “Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals,” 21.

⁴⁴ McNaughton, “Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals,” 17. Gibbon worked as a journalist in London prior to being hired by the CPR in 1907. Barbeau studied at Oxford, and in Paris at La Sorbonne between 1907-1910.

Sharp's reforms included the redefinition of folksong as those transmitted orally from one generation to the next, as well as educational initiatives to encourage classical composition based on a familiarity with folksong.⁴⁵

This renewed emphasis on folksong in England followed an established pattern wherein many European nations collected songs and stories of their "Folk" populations in an effort to identify and promote their respective "national spirit."⁴⁶ These nationalist endeavours were informed by the philosophy of Johann Herder, and his conceptualization of "the Folk" and corresponding folk traditions as expressions of the "national spirit," or "collective soul" of a society. Yet, since the word Folk (or *Volk*, in Herder's original German) was used to describe both the peasants living in traditional fashion, and the people of a nation as a whole, this linguistic bridge facilitated the claim that the Folk traditions could embody the nation as a collective.⁴⁷

However productive the European model of basing a national school of composition on "the Folk," and corresponding folk traditions was, it became increasingly problematic when applied to Canada. The so-called 'founding nations' of Canada—Britain and France—were themselves immigrants to a land long-populated by Indigenous communities. Due to the perceived superiority of the European settlers, and much like the model of *The Canadian Mosaic* which advocated the "superimposition" of the "Canadian race" over the lands' original inhabitants, the national school of Canadian music

⁴⁵ E. David Gregory, *The Late Victorian Folksong Revival: The Persistence of English Melody, 1878-1903*, Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press (2010): 4. See also: Christopher J. Bearman, "The English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914," PhD. Diss. Kingston upon Hull: University of Hull, 2001.

⁴⁶ Jane Alden, *Songs, Scribes & Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010): 16.

⁴⁷ Ian McKay, *The quest of the folk: antimodernism and cultural selection in twentieth-century Nova Scotia*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press (1994): 12.

promoted by the CPR festivals of Quebec City would not be based on Indigenous music traditions.

Ian Mackay describes “the Folk” in this tradition as (representing) “the essential and unchanging solidarity of traditional society.”⁴⁸ Since French settlers had continuously occupied (Canadian) territory for more than a century before the Treaty of Paris transferred Canada to British rule in 1763, French-Canadian traditional culture was identified as “the Folk” for Canada, and its music as the basis for a national music. The added benefit of this strategy was that “Canadian music history,” one based on French-Canadian folksong as a means of providing further legitimacy, could then be incorporated into the well-established European tradition, by highlighting its links to French music of the seventeenth century. As Stefan Berger writes in the introduction to his monograph, *Writing the Nation*, “nation-builders everywhere agreed: their nation had to have a history- the longer and the prouder the better.”⁴⁹ This approach was taken quite seriously with regards to Canadian music history, and emphasized throughout the Quebec City festivals whether in the literature that accompanied the performances or in the repertoire featured there.

1.4 Overview of the Quebec City CPR Festivals

The format of both Quebec City festivals was roughly the same—ticketed matinee and evening performances each full day of the festival either at the Chateau Frontenac, or Auditorium Theatre, as well as free, informal concerts at Dufferin Terrace, where a backdrop of a cabin had been constructed near the Chateau Frontenac.⁵⁰ Each years’ program also included a special concert at the Basilica (the Cathedral-Basilica of Notre-

⁴⁸ McKay, *The quest of the folk*, 12.

⁴⁹ Stefan Berger, *Writing the Nation: a Global Perspective*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2007): 1.

⁵⁰ For a complete list of performers and concerts, according to the festival programs, see Appendix A.

Dame du Québec), which was described in the respective programs as a “fully choral High Mass... followed by Canticles sung by La Petite Maitrise” (1927) and “Gregorian music and folk canticles” (1928).⁵¹ In addition to the musical components, the Chateau Frontenac hosted demonstrations and static displays of handicrafts (weaving, spinning etc.) over the course of the festivals, a model adhered to by many of the subsequent CPR festivals. The Quebec City festivals also featured visual arts on loan from collections of the National Gallery of Canada, Victoria National Museum and Public Archives of Canada.⁵²

All-inclusive travel packages in 1927 were advertised from Montreal starting at \$39.50 including transportation to and from Quebec City, concert admission, accommodation and meals at the Chateau for the duration of the festival.⁵³ Dedicated festival trains and similar all-inclusive packages were also arranged from New York City, Boston, and Toronto.⁵⁴ Individual concert tickets were sold for \$1, or \$3 for all five of the 1927 concerts, whereas subscription prices for various combinations of ticketed performances ranging from \$3.30 to \$14.85 are listed on the 1928 general program.⁵⁵ As Marc Charpentier examines in his thesis concerning musical theatre productions in Montreal in the 1920s, working class Quebecers made less than \$20.00 a week, box seats for musical theatre productions were between \$2.00-3.00, while some theatres offered general admission at \$0.50—double the cost of a movie ticket, \$0.25.⁵⁶ The Quebec City

⁵¹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 20-22, 1927); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928). See Appendix A.

⁵² CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 20-22, 1927); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928).

⁵³ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Promotional pamphlet (May 20-22, 1927).

⁵⁴ Kines, “Chief-Man-of-Many-Sides,” 113.

⁵⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 4: Promotional program (May 24-28, 1928).

⁵⁶ Marc Charpentier, “Broadway North: Musical Theatre in Montreal in the 1920s,” PhD Thesis, McGill University: Montreal (July 1999): 90.

festivals were pricey for the average resident, but from all accounts the festivals were well attended. The CP Bulletin of June 1927 reported:

“...five concerts with programmes varied so as to give examples of everything in the national folklore and folksong, beginning Friday evening, May 20, after special Canadian Pacific trains had brought in their load of visitors, when all available seat and standing-room in the big Chateau Frontenac ballroom was occupied—the same thing occurred at the two following evening concerts, and at the matinees there were no vacant seats.”⁵⁷

Gibbon distinguished between two types of performers at the Quebec City CPR festivals, “Folk Singers and Crafts Workers” and “Artists and Composers.”⁵⁸ The latter designated classically trained, professional performers, while the former included amateur musicians, dancers and singers, many of whom Barbeau knew from his ethnographic fieldwork. Many of the professional artists performed arrangements of collected folksong sent to them by Barbeau or Gibbon, although as Gibbon confided to Juliette Gauthier, “like all other musical people, they appear to have very decided opinions as to what is what and they won’t be dictated to.”⁵⁹ In addition to Gauthier, four professional performers were specifically highlighted in the promotional material for the inaugural festival: Rodolphe Plamondon, Jeanne Dusseau, J. Campbell McInnes, and Charles Marchand.⁶⁰

Plamondon received top billing at the 1927 festival, and opened the first evening’s recital with a presentation of “troubadour songs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries” accompanied by the Hart House Quartet of Toronto.⁶¹ A subsequent

⁵⁷ CP Archives: CP Bulletin 221, Section 33, Montreal (June 1, 1927).

⁵⁸ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 20-22, 1927); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928).

⁵⁹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (April 26, 1927).

⁶⁰ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Promotional program (May 20-22, 1927).

⁶¹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Friday evening program (May 20, 1927); Gilles Potvin, Annick Poussart, and James McPherson, “Rodolphe Plamondon,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, June 28, 2007. (updated December 15, 2013). Plamondon (1876-1940) was a Canadian tenor and cellist, who studied with Louis Charbonneau (cello), Frédéric Pelletier (solfège) and Guillaume Couture (voice). Plamondon traveled

performance featured collected folksongs of France and Canada, arranged by a variety of composers including French musicologist, Émile Vuillermoz.⁶² Plamondon appeared in two of the large-scale productions at the 1928 festival, as the “chevalier” in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* and as Marc Lescarbot in *L’Ordre de Bon-Temps*.⁶³ Recently returned from Europe, Plamondon enthusiastically participated in the festival and even suggested singing the troubadour selections in costume.⁶⁴ Barbeau, too, believed the troubadour songs were an excellent idea, since he considered them to be “usually beautiful and refined and ... not out of keeping by any means with the folk songs.”⁶⁵

Jeanne Dusseau (née Ruth Thom) was based in Toronto at the time of the festivals, and selected her own repertoire from *Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs*, which featured arrangements of Barbeau’s collected music by English composer, Arthur Somervell.⁶⁶ Though Gibbon’s private correspondence indicated she was not “strong in French,” noting that she had learned the folksong *Je sais bien quelque chose* as *Je suis bien*, he nonetheless advertised her in the program as an “ardent lover and brilliant interpreter of folksong in many languages.”⁶⁷ At the 1928 festival Dusseau performed a themed collection of arrangements (“Rossignol”) by Alfred La Liberté and was part of the cast of the production of *Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘manufacture*.⁶⁸ Prior to the

to France in 1895 where he continued his studies prior to making his official debut in London, December 1897. He pursued an operatic career and sang supporting roles at Vichy (1899), Cairo (1900), Monte Carlo (1904, 1906) and Orange (1905) prior to his Paris debut in 1923.

⁶² CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Sunday matinee program (May 22, 1927). See Appendix A.

⁶³ See Appendix A.

⁶⁴ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (March 31, 1927).

⁶⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Barbeau (March 30, 1927).

⁶⁶ See Appendix A. CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (April 18, 1927). Gibbon wrote: Dusseau “wishes to sing chiefly from the Somervell book.” *Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs*, transl. Harold Boulton (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1927).

⁶⁷ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Promotional pamphlet (May 20-22, 1927).

⁶⁸ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Thursday evening (May 24, 1928).

festivals, Dusseau toured with the Association of Canadian Clubs (organized by Barbeau) and performed one season with the Chicago Opera Company (1921-1922).⁶⁹

Charles Marchand, a “well-known *chansonnier* of Montreal,” was a founding member of the Bytown Troubadours, a folksong performance group based in Ottawa who performed at both Quebec City festivals. The composer Oscar O’Brien had a previous working relationship with the group and arranged much of Marchand’s solo repertoire from the collections of Ernest Gagnon and Barbeau, as well as that of the quartet.⁷⁰

Another significant addition to the Quebec City festivals was J. Campbell McInnes; originally from England, McInnes had performed for Cecil Sharp and Lucy Broadhead’s folksong lectures before moving to Toronto in 1919.⁷¹ Billed in the program as “specialized in the study of folksongs, French as well as British,” McInnes’ contributions to the 1927 and 1928 festivals included his own solo performances of arrangements by Willan, La Liberté and MacMillan, in addition to rehearsing and

⁶⁹ James McPherson, “Jeanne Dusseau,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, July 30, 2007. (updated December 16, 2013). Dusseau (b. Ruth Cleveland, 1893- ?) was a soprano, originally from Glasgow, who studied with M.M. Stevenson, Atherton Furlong and Guiseppa Carboni. Dusseau made her official debut at Foresters’ Hall in November 1912, and sang 1921-22 with the Chicago Opera. In 1928 Dusseau toured with the Association of Canadian Clubs Tour, then made her London debut in October 1929 at Wigmore Hall. Dusseau also participated in several of the other CPR Festivals, including the Banff Scottish Highland Days festival (1927), Vancouver Sea Music festival (1929); CP Archives: CP Bulletin 221, Section 55, Montreal (September 1, 1927); CP Archives: CP Bulletin 240, Section 53, Montreal (January 1, 1929). See also Keillor, “Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers,” in *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 31 (2004) 29-38.

⁷⁰ O’Brien also arranged songs for groups of “Rondes et Danses Infantines” (1927, 1928). Gilles Potvin, “Oscar O’Brien,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, February 7, 2006. (updated December 16, 2013). O’Brien (1892-1958) was a Canadian composer and pianist. O’Brien studied piano and organ with Amédée Tremblay and De La Salle Academy and the University of Ottawa. In 1915 began his collaboration with Marchand as accompanist and arranger, which lasted until Marchand’s death in 1930. From (1930-1945) O’Brien served as the artistic director for Alouette Vocal Quartet. He entered the Benedictine monastery of St-Benoît-du-Lac, QC in 1945.

⁷¹ James McPherson, “Campbell McInnes,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, May 8, 2007. (updated December 15, 2013). McInnes (b Holcombe Brook, 1873/4- 1945) studied in London with William Shakespeare, George Henschel, Charles Santley, and in Paris with Jacques Bouhy. After his debut in 1899 McInnes became a regular participant at English festivals, including Leeds (1910) and Worcester (1911). McInnes participated in at least one other CPR festival (Banff 1927). See CP Archives: CP Bulletin 224, Section 55, Montreal (September 1, 1927). See also Keillor, “Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers,” in *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 31 (2004) 29-38.

directing Florence Glenn and the other members of *The Music Makers* (called *The Canadian Singers* at the 1928 festival).⁷² A detailed examination of Glenn's career, along with that of Gauthier, who was something of an anomaly amongst the professional performers since she preferred to sing unaccompanied and unarranged repertoire, will serve as case studies in the ensuing chapters.

1.5 Canadian Composition at the CPR Festivals

In a letter to officials of the National Museum in early 1927, Gibbon identified two goals of the upcoming festival: to “increase the interest in folksongs of Quebec,” and to draw “attention to the collection of folk song melodies” in the museum collections.⁷³ The majority of the repertoire performed by professionals were arrangements, called “harmonizations” in the literature, of these collected folksongs by Canadian composers. Gibbon wanted the festival performances to appeal to the broadest possible audience. As he wrote to Barbeau, they ought to “consider not only the music critics ...but general public too,” and they solicited the participation of various composers.⁷⁴ In addition to containing biographical information of the professional performers, the annotated festival programs also provided lists of repertoire, lyrics for select numbers, the provenance of the folksongs (ie what collection), as well as information about folksong anthologies in which many of the arrangements had been published.

As previously mentioned, the promotion of a Canadian national school of music at the CPR festivals and in Gibbon's own work was dependent on the understanding of French-Canadian culture as the “Folk” for Canada. His romantic view of national

⁷² See Appendix A.

⁷³ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon to Dr. Collings of the National Museum (January 20, 1927).

⁷⁴ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (March 2, 1927).

composition was articulated in the introduction to *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, an edited compilation of arrangements by composers who participated at the festivals:

“Fortunate it is for the musical future of Canada that this love of folk-song has never died out in the Province of Quebec. The great musicians and composers of history have seldom come from the ranks of the rich—they are the choice flowers blooming from peasant stock. These composers, moreover, have found in folk-song itself a wonderful source of inspiration—they go to it, as Antaeus went to the earth, to renew their strength.”⁷⁵

Antaeus, that giant of Greek mythology, was invincible as long as he remained in contact with the earth; Gibbon’s artistic vision encouraged composers to remain grounded in their own traditions and “origins,” both geographical and ethnic, in order to renew their inspired, creative strength.⁷⁶ As Gaea, the earth, was Antaeus’ mother, the folk traditions were viewed as the mother tongue from which a composer’s inspiration was derived. In the Canadian context, according to Gibbon, composers and musicians should find their strength by returning to the traditions of folksong, equated both metaphorically and literally with the province of Quebec, a land identified by Gibbon as a place of folksong, both geographical and virtual.

To encourage this specific type of composition based on French-Canadian folksongs the CPR announced the *E.W. Beatty Competition for Folksong Composition* at the 1927 Quebec City Festival. Specified categories of “high-art” submissions were accepted, including orchestral suites, cantatas, suites for string quartets, and arrangements

⁷⁵ Gibbon, “Introduction,” in *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, ed. Ernest MacMillan. Oakville, ON: The Frederick Harris Co. (1928): i.

⁷⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. “Antaeus,” accessed August 17, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/26917/Antaeus>. A giant of Greek mythology, Antaeus, son of the sea (Poseidon), and the Earth (Gaea) challenged passers-by to wrestling matches, which he inevitably won since he could immediately regain his strength by simply touching the earth. Antaeus’ defeat came at the hand of Hercules, who killed Antaeus while holding him aloft, separated from his source of strength.

for male and mixed voices, respectively. The contest was open to Canadians and non-Canadians alike, and an international panel of judges was assembled to evaluate the entries, which included Eric De Lamarter (Chicago), Sir Hugh Allen (London), Achille Fortier (Montreal), Paul Vidal (Paris), and Ralph Vaughan Williams (London).⁷⁷ The Governor General of Canada, Lord Willingdon, distributed the \$3000 in prize money to composers of winning compositions, the majority of which were performed at the 1928 *Folksong and Handicraft Festival* in Quebec City.

The contest was not renewed for the following year; as Slominska and McNaughton write, the judges received a disappointingly low amount of submissions, since “all the French-Canadian composers boycotted.”⁷⁸ With the exception of Ernest MacMillan and Claude Champagne, many of the winning compositions were not the work of well-known artists. Recipients of the E.W. Beatty prizes (or honorary mentions) included George Bowles (twice), Irvin Cooper, Pierre Gautier, Arthur Cleland Lloyd, Maud Wyatt Pargeter, and Alfred Whitehead. Neither George Bowles’ orchestral suite (honourary mention) nor Irvin Cooper’s arrangement for mixed voices, both of which received \$100 prizes, were performed at the festival.⁷⁹

The grand prize of \$1000 was awarded to Lloyd for his unnamed orchestral suite, and performed at the festival by the Orchestra of the 22nd Regiment (May 25).⁸⁰ The instrumental work was based on themes collected from the 1865 Gagnon collection, via

⁷⁷ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 4: General promotional program (May 24-28, 1928).

⁷⁸ Slominska, “Interpreting Success and Failure,” 267. McNaughton, “Quebec Folk Song and Handicrafts Festivals,” 136.

⁷⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 24-28, 1928). “Irvin Cooper — assistant lecturer in musical theory at McGill University Conservatorium.” “George Bowles — born in Quebec; has resided for 31 years in Winnipeg; organist St. Luke’s church and teacher of musical theory.”

⁸⁰ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928). “Lloyd — born Vancouver, December 26th, 1908. Studied in Vancouver, in Chicago under Percy Grainger and in New York under Harold Bauer.”

Margaret Gascoigne's arrangements in "Chansons of Old French Canada" (1920, CPR). The Hart House Quartet performed both winning string quartet submissions: George Bowles' *Suite for String Quartet* (\$500 prize) and Maud Wyatt Pargeter's *String Quartet on Canadian Themes* (\$100 special prize).⁸¹ The program did not indicate the provenance of any the folksongs used by either composer.

Pierre Gautier's (\$100 honorary mention) arrangement of four chansons for male voices was performed in two instalments, first *M'en vas à la fontaine/Wandering to the fountain*, and *Le bal chez Boulé/Boulé's hop* performed by the Bytown Troubadours (accompanied on piano, May 24).⁸² The second portion, *Je sais bien quelque chose/Something there is I know* (Coll. Barbeau); *Là-bas sur ces montagnes/ Out there on yonder mountains* (Coll. Massicotte) was performed by the Chanteurs de Siant-Dominique accompanied on the organ (May 27).⁸³

The Canadian Singers and the *Montreal Quintette* performed selections from Alfred Whitehead's winning composition for mixed voices (\$150) at the May 27 (Sunday) concert in 1928, which included *A la Claire fontaine/At the clear running fountain* and *Gail on la, gai le rosier/ Gay la la, gay is the rose* from Gagnon's *Chansons populaires du Canada* (1865).⁸⁴

⁸¹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Thursday evening program (May 22, 1928); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Saturday matinee program (May 24, 1928). Hart House Quartet at the 1928 festival: Adaskin, Langley, Blackstone, Hambourg. See Appendix A.

⁸² CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Thursday evening program (May 22, 1928).

⁸³ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Monday matinee program (May 28, 1928).

⁸⁴ At the time, Whitehead worked in Montreal as organist of Christ Church Cathedral and instructor at McGill University (Conservatorium); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Sunday matinee program (May 27, 1928). CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday evening program (May 27, 1928); Graham George and Kelly Rice, "Alfred Whitehead," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 17, 2014. Whitehead (1887-1974) studied at the University of Toronto and McGill. He was organist-choir director at St. Peter's (Sherbrooke, 1915-1922), Christ Church Cathedral (Montreal, 1922-47), Trinity-St Stephen's United Church (Amherst, NB, 1953-1971). Whitehead was head of music at Mount Allison University, NB from 1947-1953.

MacMillan's arrangement of four chansons for male voices won an E.W. Beatty prize (\$250) and was performed at the 1928 festival in two segments: by the Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique on May 24 (*C'est la belle Françoise/The lovely Frances* (Coll. Gagnon); *Au cabaret* (from Barbeau); *Dans tous les cantons* (Coll. Gagnon)) and by the "Male Quintet of Montreal" on May 27 (*Blanches comme la neige/White as cometh the snowflake* (Coll. Lorette Wyman)).⁸⁵ MacMillan had other compositions featured at the Quebec City festivals, including *Sonata for cello and piano* (performed by the Hart House Quartet in 1927), and *Six Bergerettes du Bas-Canada* (performed by The Canadian Singers in 1928).⁸⁶

Dean of the Faculty of Music at the University of Toronto, MacMillan and his colleague Healey Willan have been called the "most influential voices in the music scene of anglophone Canada" during this period.⁸⁷ Willan attended the 1928 festival, although there is no record of his participation the first year.⁸⁸ Keillor identifies Claude Champagne as the Francophone counterpart to Willan and MacMillan.⁸⁹ However, as he was studying in Paris (1921-1928) his participation was limited to his E.W. Beatty

⁸⁵ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Thursday evening program (May 24, 1928); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday evening program (May 27, 1928). Male Quintet comprised Paul Valade, Charles Dupuis, Charles Goulet, Gaston Monté and Léopold Fortin.

⁸⁶ Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 177. MacMillan also traveled with Barbeau to Nass River in the summer of 1927 and participated in the filming of several ethnographic films (see Chapter 3).

⁸⁷ John Beckwith, "Sir Ernest MacMillan," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, August 19, 2010. (updated December 16, 2013). MacMillan (1893-1973) studied at the University of Edinburgh, Oxford University (1911) and University of Toronto (1911-1914). After studying in Paris (1914, with Thérèse Chaigneau) MacMillan was detained at Nuremberg and spent the rest of the war years as a prisoner at Ruhlebe. Upon his return to Canada in 1919, MacMillan worked as organist-choirmaster at Toronto's Timothy Eaton Memorial Church (until 1925), and taught at Canadian Academy of Music from 1920 (later amalgamated with Toronto Conservatory of Music). MacMillan succeeded A.S. Vogt as principal in 1926 and became dean of Faculty of Music at University of Toronto in 1927. See also Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 179, 181.

⁸⁸ Gilles Bryant and Thomas Brown, "Healey Willan," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, April 7, 2010. (updated December 16, 2013). Willan (1880-1968) moved to Canada in 1913 and worked as organist-choirmaster at St. Mary Magdalene in Toronto from 1921. Willan worked at the Toronto Conservatory of Music and was involved with several other CPR Festivals, including the Scottish Highland Days at Banff, and his piano reduction of L'Ordre de bon-temps was performed at the Vancouver Sea Music Festival (January 23-26, 1929). See also Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 180.

⁸⁹ Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 181.

contest submission. Champagne's 1927 composition, *Suite Canadienne* (for choir and orchestra) was awarded the first prize for Cantatas (\$750), although there is no record of it being performed at the festival.⁹⁰

1.6 Concluding Remarks

In a lengthy review of the 1927 CPR festival, Lawrence Mason, music and drama critic of *The Globe* (Toronto), identified three "stages of composition" which he believed embodied the process of transforming collected music ("raw materials") to their potential as inspired concert repertoire. Mason's review specifically offered examples of Indigenous music presented at the festival, but his inclusive model applied equally to French-Canadian folksongs.

According to Mason, the first incarnation of folksong, or the "lowest stage of artistic invention," was represented at the festival by the "primitive dances and ritual songs by Lorette Indians."⁹¹ Other examples of this "stage" would consist of the performances by the folksingers themselves who sang traditional melodies passed down through generations. The second stage identified by Mason was Gauthier's presentation of the "weirdly thrilling chants," sung in "long-drawn portamento recitative rather than any recognizable stanzaic structure." (No mention was made of the fact that the performances being compared presented music from vastly separate parts of the country, and Gauthier was a classical singer, who vocalised as such.) The other professional performers would likewise fall into this category, as they too sang folksong that had been

⁹⁰ H el ene Plouffe, "Claude Champagne," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, June 10, 2008 (updated December 15, 2013); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928); Champagne (1891-1965) studied with Orpha Deveaux (piano) and Romain-Octave Pelletier (theory) and Albert Chamberland (violin) before leaving to study in Paris from 1921-1928. Champagne was later the director of Montreal's Catholic School Commission (1934-1942) and taught at McGill University (1932-1941). See also Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 181.

⁹¹ Lawrence Mason, *The Globe* (Toronto, May 23, 1927).

collected, often in arrangements. These performances, while not yet considered classical, or concert repertoire, nonetheless were removed and altered from their original contexts. Finally, Mason wrote, the third “stage” would be realized when a “Canadian Dvorak” used the “beautiful sensitive melodies as themes for noble sonatas and symphonies.”⁹² The work of one composer, Alfred LaLiberté, was noted as having set an example with his arrangements for string quartet, performed by the Hart House Quartet on the Saturday concert at the 1927 festival.⁹³

In addition to his “striking harmonizations of Eskimo melodies,” La Liberté provided folksong arrangements and accompaniment for several artists at the festivals.⁹⁴ Gibbon spoke highly of La Liberté’s artistic skills as an arranger of folksong, writing that whereas other arrangements were better suited for “the western school ma’am,” La Liberté’s work required a “skilful piano or string quartet.”⁹⁵ He had a good reputation among his peers, as Gibbon wrote to McInnes, the “musicians and musical critics of Montreal [were] unanimous about [La Liberté’s] position” as a “French-Canadian generally considered the outstanding composer of that race.”⁹⁶

⁹² Mason, *The Globe* (Toronto, May 23, 1927).

⁹³ *ibid.*; CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 24-28, 1928). “Arrangements of Eskimo and Indian melodies” by La Liberté listed in the general program, but not in the Saturday program itself.

⁹⁴ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 20-22, 1927); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928). Accompaniment and/or arrangements for McInnes (1927), Pierre Pelletier (1928), and Dusseau and Ralph Errolle (in duets, 1928); Gilles Potvin, “Alfred La Liberté,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, February 7, 2006 (updated December 16, 2013). La Liberté (1882-1952) studied in Berlin at Stern Conservatory in 1902 (Paul Lutzenko- piano, Ernst Baeker- harmony, Wilhelm Klatte- counterpoint and composition). Upon his return to Canada, La Liberté taught at the Conservatoire National in Montreal. In 1907 La Liberté returned to Europe and studied with Scriabin in Brussels. At the time of the CPR festivals, La Liberté taught in Montreal at the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary (Ecole Vincent-d’Indy) from 1926-1935. Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 143, 181. He was associated with a small group of avant-garde musicians and supported Champagne’s travel and study to Europe in the 1920s

⁹⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon to McInnes (April 13, 1927).

⁹⁶ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon to McInnes (April 13, 1927). Gibbon noted that “considering the jealousy that appears to exist among musicians, this unanimity was an unusual experience.” The second prize for cantatas (\$250) was not awarded.

Barbeau, Gibbon and the “nationalist network” were primarily concerned with the nation’s socio-cultural development, of which a vibrant cultural life was thought to be a key indicator. As Sandra Dyck explains, “Canada’s political, economic and international maturation were not in question,” rather, it was the nation’s cultural development that was perceived as virtually nonexistent, or at best, far behind other Western nations.⁹⁷ Though Gibbon’s “Canadian Mosaic” attempted to alleviate contemporary xenophobia through a model of society deemed inclusive, it nonetheless presented a strategic management of difference within the nation. The restrictive nature of “Canadian-ness” as outlined in the E.W. Beatty Competition demonstrates how Gibbon’s ideological agenda was disseminated into the musical sphere, although, as La Liberté’s work shows, the limits imposed during the contest did not exclusively dominate artistic sensibilities in Canada. Mason’s review of the 1927 festival, and that of the *New York Times* indicate, without differentiating between French-Canadian and Indigenous songs, the professional singers at the festival had demonstrated “the possibilities of Canadian folksongs for the concert platform.”⁹⁸ All told, the efforts of Barbeau and Gibbon in connection with the CPR festivals at Quebec City aimed to create a cultural ethos in Canada that would reflect just that, its unique, idealized potential as a young nation, while alleviating contemporary concern, to quote Arthur Lismer, that “Canada was as yet unwritten, unpainted, unsung.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 6.

⁹⁸ “Quebec to Show her Native Arts,” in *The New York Times*, May 15, 1927; “Quebec’s Unique Festival,” in *The New York Times*, March 26, 1927.

⁹⁹ Lismer, as quoted in John Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart (1985): 158.

Chapter Two: CPR Festivals as Exhibitions of Heritage Tourism

2.1 Heritage Introduction

“Heritage tourism is intrinsically about life, existence, belonging and change – from the past into the present and future – it involves a performative act of appropriating, interpreting, and communicating aspects of the past through performance, storied texts, physical sites and material artefacts.”¹

The CPR festivals are prime examples of what contemporary authors Tazim Jamal and Hyounggon Kim refer to as “heritage tourism” endeavours—events and spaces which rely on an “instrumental use of the past” to attract audiences.² Laurajane Smith and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett have both theorized the process surrounding this “use of the past” as what they refer to as the creation of heritage, or heritage-production process.

In her article, “Theorizing Heritage,” Kirshenblatt-Gimblett defines heritage as the re-evaluation of a given subject (object, idea, story), or the “transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct.”³ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett asserts heritage is created, rather than constituting a found entity, via a “process of exhibition,” be it as “knowledge, as performance, as museum display.”⁴ Smith elaborates on this concept in the introduction to her volume, *Uses of Heritage*, wherein heritage is described as a “process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present.”⁵ Smith’s book is dedicated to an exploration of heritage thusly conceptualized, not “as a ‘thing,’ but as a cultural and social process,” which

¹ Tazim Jamal and Hyounggon Kim, “Bridging the interdisciplinary divide: Towards an integrated framework for heritage tourism research,” *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 55 (2005): 58.

² Jamal and Kim, “Bridging the interdisciplinary divide,” 58.

³ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Theorizing Heritage,” 369. The article is a revised version of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s 1994 Charles Seeger Lecture at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology and the American Folklore Society.

⁴ *ibid.*, 369.

⁵ L. Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*, 1.

“engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present.”⁶

The overarching framework for heritage-production (not necessarily confined to the tourist arena) as theorized by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Smith is how the idea of the past as a narrative is constructed and harnessed in the present. Jamal and Kim reiterate this notion of the negotiated relationship between past and present—as interwoven, yet distinct, entities of heritage discourse—in the case of heritage tourism:

“The ‘past’ is the focus of [heritage tourism] but the politics of identity, representation and preservation that arise in the instrumental use of the past influence the physical, social-cultural and spiritual well-being of people and the sustainability of their cultural goods, places and environments (built and natural).”⁷

2.2 Performing Canadian (Music) History

When Barbeau and Gibbon organized the Quebec City festivals, they encouraged a specific narrative of Canadian history, musical and otherwise, that was the product of their nationalist goals for Canadian composition. Unlike the previous year, the repertoire performed at the 1928 festival was limited exclusively to French-Canadian and French Renaissance music. The French-Canadian repertoire was believed to be the twentieth-century Canadian incarnation of French-European *chansons populaires*, and included pieces categorized as *aubades*, *nocturnes*, and *bergerettes* or *pastourelles*. Artsongs dating from the French Renaissance period were included on the program to illustrate the long history of French Canada song.⁸

Over the five-day 1928 festival, a series of four large-scale productions performed “stages in the history of song in Canada”; each featured a different costumed ensemble,

⁶ L. Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*, 2 & 44.

⁷ Jamal and Kim, “Bridging the interdisciplinary divide,” 58.

⁸ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928).

cast, and musical accompaniment.⁹ Since Gibbon and Barbeau claimed French music history for the extended lineage of Canadian song, the first piece was an arrangement of Adam de la Halle's thirteenth-century *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*.¹⁰ The three ensuing productions, *L'Ordre de bon-temps*, *Mme Repentigny et sa 'Manufacture,'* and *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs*, were each set in Canada and incorporated "ballads and songs of each type and period."¹¹ Based on libretti commissioned from French-Canadian poet, journalist and critic, Louvigny de Montigny, and published in the 1928 volume *Bouquet de Mélusine*, Gibbon believed the pieces conveyed "the atmosphere of each period."¹²

2.3 *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*

The arrangement of *Robin et Marion* performed at the CPR festival was presented as an authentic representation of thirteenth-century French music, and the precursor to French-Canadian folksong. The arrangement performed at the festival was the work of Jean Beck, a medieval scholar at the University of Pennsylvania and Curtis Institute of Music who had a short-lived collaboration in 1917 with Barbeau over a collection of French-Canadian songs.¹³ Staff of the Metropolitan Opera in New York City assisted the festival performance; Wilfrid Pelletier, at that time associate director of the Met, conducted the Royal 22nd Regiment of Quebec City in Beck's orchestration.¹⁴ Unlike

⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program, (May 24-28, 1928).

¹⁰ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928).

¹¹ J. Murray Gibbon, introduction to *Le Bouquet de Mélusine*, by Louvigny de Montigny (Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co., 1928) 8.

¹² *ibid.*, 8. Louvigny de Montigny's (1876-1955) writings include *Les boules de neige* (1903), and *La Langue française au Canada: son état actuel, étude canadienne* (1916). Translator for the Canadian Senate from 1910-1955.

¹³ John Haines, "Marius Barbeau and Jean Beck on Transcribing French-Canadian Songs," in *ARSC Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1999) 1-5. The two men had different opinions concerning the transcription of recorded folksongs and the project was abandoned in 1917. Barbeau later published the three-volume collection *Répertoire de la chanson folklorique française du Canada* (Ottawa: Duhamel, 1962-).

¹⁴ Pelletier's coworkers at the Metropolitan Opera in New York also provided the costumes and scenery. The production featured modernized French text by Paul Morin of Montreal, and a reconstructed score based on manuscript study done by Beck.

other productions at the festivals, costumes for *Robin et Marion* were also provided from the Met and Pelletier's colleague, stage director Armando Agnini, designed the stage settings for the performance, based on sketches and directions from Beck.¹⁵ The festival cast was comprised of Canadian opera singers, many of whom had made careers either in Europe or the United States, including Cedia Brault (Marion), Genevieve Davis (Perronnelle), Ralph Errolle (Robin), Ulysse Paquin (Gautier), Pierre Pelletier (Baudon), and Rodolphe Plamondon (le chevalier/knight).¹⁶

At first glance the plot is simple: the shepherdess Marion is approached by a knight, refusing him because of her love for the peasant, Robin. After a second encounter, which includes a struggle between the knight and Robin, Marion is carried away. However, she escapes the knight, and the remainder of the play depicts Marion, Robin and their friends singing and dancing.¹⁷ De la Halle's composition samples these stock characters of the literary *pastourelle* form. *Robin et Marion* relies structurally on a combination of two forms, the *pastourelle classique* and a sub-genre, called the *bergerie*.¹⁸ Each of these poetic genres were traditionally narrated by the knight; in the *pastourelle classique* he is an active participant, whose advances are either accepted or rejected by the shepherdess, whereas the *bergerie* relegates the knight to a passive observer of the shepherdess' interactions with others.¹⁹ De la Halle's *Robin et Marion*

¹⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 23: letter from Gibbon (April 24, 1928). Wigs were provided from McKenna Costume Company of Toronto.

¹⁶ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Thursday evening program (May 24, 1928).

¹⁷ Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, ed. Jean Duournet (Paris, 1989); Jean Beck, *The Play of Robin and Marion: Mediaeval Folk Comedy Opera by the Trouvère Adam de la Halle*, trans. J. Murray Gibbon, Boston: C.C. Birchard and Company, 1928.

¹⁸ Jennifer Saltzstein, "Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," in *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Late Medieval France*, ed. Rebecca Dixon and Finn E. Sinclair, Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer (2008): 173-174.

¹⁹ Saltzstein, "Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," 176.

follows this pattern of combined forms, however, the knight does not narrate the theatrical scenes.

The programs of the 1928 CPR festival described the plot of *Robin et Marion* simply, as one based on the “‘pastourelle’ theme—that of a shepherdess, an importunate knight and a shepherd lover.”²⁰ Contemporary scholarly interpretations have read the comedy as either upturning the social order, or performing “a desperate attempt to keep the world right-side up.”²¹ However, the rationale for including *Robin et Marion* in the CPR festival program ultimately relied on an understanding of the work’s musical aspects:

“The thirteenth century comedy opera “Le Jeu de Robin et Marion” has been placed on the programme because it is built up out of contemporary folksongs some of which are still sung in France and may perhaps be found among the 6000 melodies at Ottawa when the 5000 which have still to be transcribed can be carefully examined.”²²

Gibbon’s description of “the 6000 melodies” referred to the holdings of the National Museum, a significant portion of which had been collected by Barbeau. This call to research featured frequently in Gibbon’s writing on French-Canadian folksong, as he believed a musical “archaeologist” could trace a direct line from French-Canadian folksongs to celebrated French traditions.²³ Gibbon elaborated upon this perceived musical connection in his program notes: “Many of these *chansons populaires* take us back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while quite a number link us with still

²⁰ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928).

²¹ See Jean Dufournet, “Complexité et ambiguïté du *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. L’ouverture de la pièce et le portrait des paysans,” in *Études de Philologie Romane et d’Histoire Littéraire, offertes à Jules Horent à l’occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, ed. Jean Marie d’Heur and Nicoletta Cherubini (Liège, 1980): 73-94. Kenneth Varty, “Le Mariage, la Courtoisie et l’Ironie comique dans le *Jeu de Robin et Marion*,” *Marche Romane* 30 (1980): 287-292. Stephanie Thompson Lundeen, “Dressing Down: Aristocratic Identity in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*,” in *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 67.

²² CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: General program (May 24-28, 1928).

²³ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Saturday evening program (May 21, 1927).

earlier periods.”²⁴ A set of Renaissance music performed by Florence Glenn and *The Music Maker Singers* was introduced with the statement: “the field still open to the research of the musical antiquarian is unlimited.”

Gibbon’s program notes acknowledged late-nineteenth-century French (nationalist) scholarship concerning de la Halle, and specifically *Robin et Marion*, when he referred to the work as “the first known comic opera.”²⁵ *Robin et Marion* was iconic, having been identified as the first opéra-comique by François-Joseph Fétis in an 1827 *Revue Musicale* review, a designation Katharine Ellis infers was based upon an earlier survey of French poetry.²⁶ The politicization and ideological adoption of *Robin et Marion* as the “beginning of French music” emerged with vigor following the Franco-Prussian war, and was arguably the result of a half-century’s interest in French folklore studies.²⁷

The translation of Johann Herder’s work from German to French in 1827-28 introduced the idea of “the Folk” and corresponding traditions as integral to national unity.²⁸ This Romantic view of a nation’s “Folk” spurred the collection and research of folktales and popular songs, which were largely believed to be inseparable from the accompanying text.²⁹ “Popular” poetry or music (*chansons populaires*) were considered to have either developed spontaneously from the masses or belong to a known artist the people had adopted for their own: “belonging to or emanating from the people.”³⁰ As

²⁴ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 24-28, 1928).

²⁵ J. Murray Gibbon, translator’s forward to *The Play of Robin and Marion: Mediaeval Folk Comedy Opera by the Trouvère Adam de la Halle*, by Jean Beck (Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co., 1928) iv; CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Thursday evening program (May 24, 1928).

²⁶ Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 165; Jean Baptiste Bonaventure de Roquefort, *De l’état de la poésie française dans les XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, (Paris: Fournier, 1814/5).

²⁷ Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 2010; Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 2005.

²⁸ Johann G. Herder, *Idées sur la philosophie de l’histoire de l’humanité*, transl. Edgar Quinet, Paris: F.-G. Levrault, 1827-28.

²⁹ Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 16.

³⁰ *ibid.*, 14 & 20.

Alden writes, the “interest was there, but the systematic and scientific apparatus wasn’t yet;” she attributes the delay of continuous and consistent study of national literature and songs to the political instability of France’s nineteenth century.³¹ Short-lived initiatives included an imperial decree (1852) that urged the collection and publication of “all French popular poetry” as a means of unifying the provinces in “collective national pride,” by the power of “ancient songs.”³²

Gibbon’s view of *Robin et Marion* as a collection of folksong was based on scholarship dating from the late-nineteenth century, when, within the context of identifying a secularized musical history apart from Germany and uniquely French musical qualities, musicologists identified Adam de la Halle as compatible with the “post-Revolutionary ethos” at the beginning of the Third Republic (1872).³³ In his 1872 edition of the complete works of de la Halle, Edmond de Coussemaker identified *Robin et Marion* specifically as having a “natural, easy and tuneful,” manner, reminiscent of the “spontaneous inspiration, characteristic of popular song.”³⁴ Fétis had written much the same in his 1827 article when he praised the work’s separation from psalmody, and its metrical regularity.³⁵ *Robin et Marion*, Alden writes, was “heralded as the emblem of a pure, natural, French heritage that belonged properly to the people.”³⁶ Musically a departure from de la Halle’s polyphonic compositions, shunned in the post-revolutionary period for their “artistic” nature and obeisance to convention, the “popular” nature of *Robin et Marion* was celebrated for its distinct, and “inspired” nature. Julien Tiersot, who

³¹ *ibid.*, 17.

³² *ibid.*, 18.

³³ Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 47.

³⁴ Adam de la Halle, *Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle, poesies et musique*, ed. Edmond de Coussemaker (Paris, 1872); Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 47.

³⁵ Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 165.

³⁶ Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 47.

orchestrated *Robin et Marion* for the 1896 commemoration of de la Halle's death at Arras, conceptualized the piece as a monument for the popular "spirit" of the French people, an anthology of French medieval music, and infinitely more valuable than the work of a single composer.³⁷

No doubt Beck's status, described by Gibbon as the "foremost mediaeval scholar" and "greatest living authority on troubadour music," lent a great deal of credence to the CPR performance.³⁸ Program notes and Gibbon's forward to the piano reduction reflected a similar attitude to the "salvage paradigm" of folksong collection; *Robin et Marion* had been "left on the shelves except for the production with modernized text and accompaniments at Arras in 1896."³⁹ The implication here being that this "modernized" production of Arras was inauthentic, and failed to accurately present de la Halle's work, in a way that Beck had succeeded, thanks to his expert status.

In his forward to the piano reduction, Beck provided an explanation for many of his arranging and orchestrating decisions, specifically writing that he did not want his arrangement to be "harmonized to conform to...modern practice," as had previous efforts to "anachronistic" results.⁴⁰ Beck's description of the Tiersot and Weckerlin arrangements was quite dismissive: the "thirteenth century songs lost all their original flavor and sounded like so many nineteenth century ditties."⁴¹ Ellis provides a similar assessment of these arrangements; Weckerlin's arrangement took liberties with the

³⁷ Alden, *Songs, Scribes, and Society*, 47.

³⁸ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. Box 347 F 4: Promotional program (May 24-28, 1928).

³⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Thursday evening program (May 24, 1928).

⁴⁰ Jean Beck, introduction to *The Play of Robin and Marion: Mediaeval Folk Comedy Opera by the Trouvère Adam de la Halle*, trans. J. Murray Gibbon (Boston: C.C. Birchard and Company, 1928): i.

⁴¹ Beck, *The Play of Robin and Marion*, 1928.

original medieval manuscripts, and Tiersot's attempt modified the piece to the style of a through-composed opera, changing the nature of the musical style completely.⁴²

Beck had a manuscript copy in his own collection of the first song of *Robin et Marion*, "Robin m'aime, Robin m'a," which he believed to have been arranged for three voices by de la Halle himself; this "authentic thirteenth century harmonization" served as a "model for [Beck's] restoration."⁴³ Beck defended his decision to produce a fully orchestrated arrangement by citing a list of thirteenth century musical instruments he had compiled numbering "well beyond the hundred mark."⁴⁴ The introduction to the piano reduction also indicated Beck "adopted a more familiar spelling, without destroying the archaic flavor of Old French," produced after revising several editions of *Robin et Marion* for the arrangement.⁴⁵

The CPR Festival production of *Robin et Marion* was consistently referred to as a "13th century *opéra comique*, or comedy opera," an acceptance of the neologicistic (retroactive) naming of the piece by French scholars. This theatrical version of de la Halle's text performed the static model of French peasant culture, interpreted at the CPR festivals as the forefathers of French-Canada, and conceptualized as Canada's "Folk." French-Canadian folksongs as a whole were presented as the descendants of this earlier European tradition, and the conceptualization of *Robin et Marion* as "built up out of

⁴² Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past*, 167 & 169. Several earlier performances took place at the Moskova society concert on June 3, 1846 of the opening song "Robin m'aime, Robin m'a," and a complete version with piano accompaniment (by Weckerlin) at the Comédie-Française (January 27, 1872).

⁴³ Beck, introduction to *The Play of Robin and Marion*, ii.

⁴⁴ Beck, introduction to *The Play of Robin and Marion*, iii.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, iii.

contemporary folksongs,” was reiterated throughout the CPR concert and promotional literature, providing Canada with a lengthy musical history.⁴⁶

2.4 Three de Montigny Scenarios

Chronologically, the next production was de Montigny’s *L’Ordre de bon-temps*. Set in 1606 at the French settlement of Port Royal, *L’Ordre de bon-temps* performed what was viewed as the foundational moment not only in the colonization of Canada, but in the history of Western musical traditions in Canada as well; the piece functioned as the Canadian equivalent of *Robin et Marion*.

De Montigny based *L’Ordre de bon-temps* on written records dating from the settlement of New France, specifically those of Samuel de Champlain and Marc Lescarbot. Both men record the establishment of “L’Ordre de bon-temps,” a “dining and merriment society” designed to raise the spirits and improve the health of the population of Port Royal by providing good food and entertainment.⁴⁷ Toronto composer Healey Willan orchestrated collected songs from France and Canada to animate the dramatization of the settlement of New France for an ensemble of five, and the composition itself served as an example for the Canadian school of classical music.⁴⁸ The cast of the 1928 production included Plamondon (*Lescarbot*), Ulysse Paquin (*Champlain*), Léon Rothier (*Biencourt*) and Marchand (*de Bouillet*).⁴⁹ An arrangement for voice and piano was published in 1929 and included English lyrics translated by Gibbon,

⁴⁶ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 24-28, 1928); Saltzstein, “Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*,” 175. Jennifer Saltzstein’s examination of refrains within *Le Jeu* identifies over a dozen citations in de la Halle’s work including four that have “extant concordances in a variety of musical and poetic sources.”

⁴⁷ Louvigny de Montigny, “Ordre de bon-temps,” in *Le Bouquet de Mélusine*, Montreal & New York, Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Editions du Mercure (1928): 11-46.

⁴⁸ According to the program, Willan orchestrated the piece for harpsichord, violin, cello, oboe, flute. Piano reduction: Healey Willan, *L’Ordre de Bon-Temps (The Order of Good Cheer)*, libretto by Louvigny de Montigny, transl. J. Murray Gibbon, Oakville, ON: Frederick Harris, 1928.

⁴⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Thursday evening program (May 24, 1928).

as well as three additional songs not listed in either the CPR program or *Le Bouquet de Mélusine*: “Good folk, good folk! (Tune of *Lourdault, lourdault!*); *Gentils galants Compagnons/Brave Gentlemen*; and *Trois Dances Indigènes/Three Indian Dances*.”⁵⁰ That same year Gibbon produced what he called a “reconstruction” of *Ordre de bon-temps*, which included the three additional songs, a translated English text, and not a small amount of rearrangement of the original text.

Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘Manufacture,’ set in 1705, told the story of Agathe le Gardeur de Repentigny, a well-known “resourceful French gentlewoman,” of Montreal who, according to Gibbon’s synopsis in the promotional literature, “was responsible for the revival of the handicraft of homespun.”⁵¹ The action of the play begins after British forces captured the French ship, “La Seine,” en route to New France with a cargo that included cloth, which inspired Mme de Repentigny to organize the manufacture of fabrics locally, using a variety of alternative textiles.⁵² There is no mention of orchestration or arrangement for *Madame de Repentigny*, however, the festival program does indicate the title and name of each song incorporated into the production. The majority of folksongs were excerpted from the Barbeau collection, and it seems the only accompaniment was digetic, as the character list identifies “un violon/a violinist.”⁵³

De Montigny based the action of *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs* on a set of memoirs published by Joseph-Charles Taché in *Soirées Canadiennes*, a nineteenth-century Quebec journal; the piece depicted the “departure of the old voyageurs for the Western posts” in

⁵⁰ Healey Willan, *L’Ordre de Bon-Temps (The Order of Good Cheer)*, libretto by Louvigny de Montigny, transl. J. Murray Gibbon, Oakville, ON: Frederick Harris, 1928.

⁵¹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. Box 347 F 4: Promotional program (May 24-28, 1928).

⁵² Louvigny de Montigny, “Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘Manufacture,’” in *Le Bouquet de Mélusine*, Montreal & New York: Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Éditions du Mercure (1928): 47-85. CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. Box 347 F 4: Promotional program (May 24-28, 1928). H.H. Dodwell, ed. “British India, 1497-1858,” *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. IV (1929): 67.

⁵³ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Saturday evening program (May 26, 1928).

1810 along the Ottawa River, at Ste. Anne de Bellevue.⁵⁴ Ulysse Paquin, Louis Bédard, and the four members of Les Troubadours de Bytown/The Bytown Troubadours were featured in the main roles of the production. Les Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique participated as chorus members and Charles Marchand directed the production. The programme described folksongs included in *Les Forestiers* in accordance with their function, for example as “Camp songs,” “Rowing Songs” or a “Song of Departure,” to name a few. These songs, supplied from the personal collections of Barbeau, Massicotte, Gagnon, Arsenault, and Marchand, were orchestrated by Oscar O’Brien and performed by the Orchestra of the 22nd Regiment.⁵⁵

While the festival literature billed the de Montigny productions as demonstrating the history of song in Canada, when taken as a whole, the group (including Gibbon’s translations) presented a societal narrative of Canadian history compatible with *The Canadian Mosaic* and overall nationalist goals of the Anglophone majority. From the settlement of “Canada” depicted in *L’Ordre de bon-temps*, through the resilience of French-Canadian settlers in the 1700s, to the idealized portrayal of voyageurs in *Forestiers et Voyageurs*, these productions articulated what would become a long-standing image of Canadian identity, to quote Mackey, one expressed “in racialized terms as white settler identity.”⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Louvigny de Montigny, “Forestiers et Voyageurs,” in *Le Bouquet de Mélusine*, Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Editions du Mercure. Montreal & New York (1928): 87-112; CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Saturday evening program (May 26, 1928); Bytown Troubadours: Charles Marchand, Fortunat Champagne, Emile Boucher & Miville Belleau.

⁵⁵ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Saturday evening program (May 26, 1928).

⁵⁶ Eva Mackey, “Becoming Indigenous: Land, Belonging, and the Appropriation of Aboriginality in Canadian Nationalist Narratives,” *Social Analysis* 42, no. 2 (July 1998): 151. As Mackey writes: “Since the formation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 images of nature, the wilderness, and the north have defined Canadian national identity.”

It was Gibbon's English "reconstruction" ("*The Order of Good Cheer*") that was performed at later CPR festivals; this settlement story that had a greater impact compared to de Montigny's initial French text.⁵⁷ To call Gibbon's work a translation would be an overstatement; while he kept the setting, characters, general premise and certain portions of de Montigny's original libretto, the overall focus of each production varied significantly. The most significant alteration to the text concerned the character of Membertou, "Grand Chief of the Souriquois."⁵⁸ Based on the historical person known to the settlers of Port Royal as Henri Membertou, this character Membertou, and two of his sons, Membertouchis and Actaudinech, were listed in de Montigny's *dramatis personae* along with the other supplementary characters.⁵⁹ However, in Gibbon's text, the two categories of "Gentlemen" and "Indians" were clearly differentiated, and Gibbon added an additional character, Membertouis, the granddaughter of the chief, or "Indian Princess" whose presence features heavily in the last few pages of the "reconstruction."

Gibbon's revision of the play transforms the character of Membertou from a passive observer to a committed ally, accepted in Port Royal society. In contrast, de Montigny's text portrays Membertou and his family members in a manner representative of the literary trend and clichéd "noble savage" familiar by the 1830s, described by Carole Gerson as "a figure constructed by Eurocentric notions of cultural value: visible as a generalization but usually invisible as an individual human being."⁶⁰ Gibbon's text rewrites the character of Membertou to one that suits a nationalist narrative compatible

⁵⁷ Including the Vancouver Sea Music Festival. CP Archives: CP Bulletin 240, Section 53, Montreal (January 1, 1929).

⁵⁸ Present-day Mi'kmaw Nation. See *Mi'kmaw Resource Guide*, ed. Tim Bernard, Rosalie Francis, Spencer Wilmot, Truro, NS: Eastern Woodland Publishing, accessed August 17, 2014. <http://www.cmmns.com/publications/MIKMAWRGWeb.pdf>.

⁵⁹ de Montigny, "Ordre de bon-temps," 13.

⁶⁰ Carole Gerson, "Nobler Savages," Representations of Native Women in the Writings of Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (Été 1997 Summer): 7.

with the mosaic; as Eva Mackey writes, “representations of Indigenous peoples and their cultural heritage are used to bolster settler nationalist mythology.”⁶¹ In the instance of Gibbon’s *Order of Good Cheer*, the emphasis on cooperation between Membertou and the gentlemen of Port Royal serves to present an idealized version of the settlement of Canada which, to quote Mackey again, erases the more “complex, brutal and difficult history of dispossession, erasure and cultural genocide.”⁶²

Gibbon presents the French and Indigenous characters as allies, or as Mackey writes, “helpmates in the project of progressive nation building.”⁶³ The lines Gibbon wrote for Membertou are significant; he states Membertou’s allegiance to the French in the character’s first line of dialogue: “Goddam pigtails [of Englishmen] make good scalps for wigwams.”⁶⁴ The noblemen respond positively to this sentiment, calling him a “noble red man,” and invest Membertou (not Poutrincourt, as in de Montigny’s text) with the title of “High Steward,” or Architricline of the Order of Good Cheer.⁶⁵

Onstage a ceremony ensues, similar to that of de Montigny’s text, wherein Membertou (instead of Poutrincourt) kneels and is inducted as Architricline of the “Order of Good Cheer,” swearing allegiance to the King of France, and agreeing to ensure Port Royal is provided with food.⁶⁶ The performance of New France, as imagined by Gibbon, highlights a linear Canadian narrative that begins with “Native peoples in harmony with the land,” and ends with echoes of Gibbon’s mosaic, in a vision of the “Canadian race of the future.”

⁶¹ Mackey, “Becoming Indigenous,” 152.

⁶² *ibid.*, 158.

⁶³ *ibid.*, 161-162.

⁶⁴ Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, 20.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 20; de Montigny, “L’Ordre de bon-temps,” 43.

⁶⁶ Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, 26.

Building on the work of Bruce Willems-Braun, Eva Mackey asserts:

“inclusive and celebratory images of diversity may reproduce, in subtle ways, not only particular forms of white settler national identity, but also key Western concepts such as progress. They can include Native people and Aboriginal imagery, while at the same time drawing on “buried epistemologies” (Willems-Braun 1997) that reinforce the very Western views of nature and human/nature relations that justified the destruction of Native people.”⁶⁷

Initially, Gibbon’s rewriting of *L’Ordre de bon-temps* to provide Membertou with more dialogue may seem productive, however, the “buried epistemologies” imbedded in this edited text facilitate an equally, if not more, problematic characterization of the same character who remains almost completely silent in de Montigny’s text. As Willems-Braun writes, it is “how [Indigenous people] are made present” which matters a great deal.⁶⁸ Indigenous characters are conspicuously absent in *Madame de Repentigny* and *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs*. In the case of *Les Forestiers* this erasure is marked; the fur trade relied heavily on Indigenous populations (including a significant Métis presence) however, *Les Forestiers* depicts only the Romanticized image of French-Canadians preparing for their voyage.

These large productions demonstrate what Jamal and Kim refer to as the politicized and “instrumental use of the past,” in terms of heritage tourism, that is both the result of, and has repercussions for, concepts of “identity, representation and preservation.”⁶⁹ The idyllic perspective of Canada’s history is only one of the key elements of Gibbon’s modifications to *L’Ordre de bon-temps*, the second being the addition of the character Membertouis.

⁶⁷ Mackey, “Becoming Indiginous,” 152.

⁶⁸ Bruce Willems-Braun, “Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post)colonial British Columbia” in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997): 27.

⁶⁹ Jamal and Kim, “Bridging the interdisciplinary divide,” 58.

According to Gibbon's *The Order of Good Cheer*, the man designated the next Architricline was responsible to provide a special dessert. In the play, shortly after Membertou declares his allegiance to France he is asked to sing for the group and tell what he brought for the dessert course. While Membertou declines to comment on the dessert he has brought (since there is still so much food to be eaten), Lescarbot describes the dessert course as one that would "heat the brain and kindle the imagination" in an unprecedented manner.⁷⁰ Clearly this is no ordinary dessert.

Several pages of dialogue and three songs later, Membertou and his entourage leave the room, only to return again upon the following announcement by Lescarbot:

"Now is the appointed entrance of dessert. Our friend and ally hath an offering for us of some savage confection of delectable sweetmeats constructed in an ingenious frame of pastry. This, according to our rule, shall be brought in with particular ceremony, which in this case will be according to Indian rite, it being the fashion of the Souriquois... to partake themselves to dancing with concordance of music... followed by an oration of three or four hours' duration which, God helping, we shall find means to cut short."⁷¹

The placement of this "ingenious frame of pastry" on the table coincides with the performance of "the first Indian song," accompanied by dancing. Membertou is then knighted into the Order of Good Cheer, and the company sings *Vive Henri Quatre*. Membertouis, invented and described by Gibbon as a "pretty little Indian Princess," emerges from the pastry, and is lifted to the ground by her grandfather amidst "murmurs of delight from the Frenchmen."⁷² Poutrincourt subsequently exclaims she is "so excellent rare a sweetmeat" one could not find in France, and Membertouis dances a "butterfly dance" for the Frenchmen.⁷³

⁷⁰ Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, 20-21. The exact dialogue reads: "Membertou sees much food. Food not finished. Later on Membertou sing."

⁷¹ Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, 27.

⁷² *ibid.*, 29.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 27.

Contemporary authors have used the term “patriarchal colonialism” to describe the resulting disadvantaged status of Indigenous women in North America due to the imposition of traditional Eurocentric social structures.⁷⁴ As both female, and non-White, Indigenous women were (and are, as other women of colour) subject to discrimination on the dual bases of sexism and racism.⁷⁵ Relying on feminist and Native womanist critiques, Mariannette Jaimes-Guerrero has made a compelling study of media representations of Indigenous women in North America (film and early-twentieth-century literature). The overwhelming majority of these trend towards what Jaimes-Guerrero identifies as “erotica exotica,” a wide-ranging category that encompasses sexualized and racialized tropes such as “pagan nymphomaniac,” “Cherokee princess,” or “Indian squaw.”⁷⁶ The resulting representations perform Indigenous women as either “erotic, exotic objects of lust or mere backdrop—if they are not altogether invisible. They are consequently never seen as fully complex human beings...”⁷⁷

Gibbon’s reconstruction of *L’Ordre de bon-temps* presents the added character of Membertouis in a manner that is representative of what Jaimes-Guerrero identifies as the long-standing trope of the “chaste persona of a romanticized princess.”⁷⁸ Membertouis is provided no dialogue by Gibbon, removing any agency she might possess. Through his editing, Gibbon rewrites *L’Ordre de bon-temps* to present Indigenous women as visible

⁷⁴ M. Adeline Jaimes-Guerrero, “Savage Erotica Exotica: Media Imagery of Native Women in North America,” in *Native North America*, ed. Renée Hulan, Toronto: ECW Press (1999): 187-210; M.A. Jaimes-Guerrero, “‘Patriarchal Colonialism’ and Indigenism: Implications for Native Feminist Spirituality and Native Womanism,” in *Indigenous Women in the Americas*. Special issue of *Hypatia* 18, No. 2. (Spring 2003): 58-69.

⁷⁵ Jaimes-Guerrero, “Savage Erotica Exotica,” 187.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 187.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 195.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, 188.

for function of exotic, erotic entertainment, in this case, for the gaze of the Europeans from the very settlement of New France.

In addition to the problematic portrayal of Indigenous characters, the texts (and repertoire) of *L'Ordre de bon-temps* and *Madame de Repentigny* depict classist distinctions within “Canadian” settler society. In all three versions of *L'Ordre de bon-temps* the character of Champlain sang the French European music excerpted from J.B. Weckerlin’s collected works (*Le Roi Anglais; Ma belle, si ton âme*).⁷⁹ Other characters, played by Léon Rothier and Rodolphe Plamondon sang the “Canadian” songs, from the collections of Barbeau and the National Museum.⁸⁰ The added songs of the piano reduction and Gibbon’s “reconstruction” were from unnamed “sources contemporary with the period of the play,” while the music of the “three Indian dances” was based on solfège notation in Lescarbot’s writings.⁸¹

While in both de Montigny’s libretto and Gibbon’s text the three main characters, Champlain, Poutrincourt and Lescarbot, are provided more dialogue than the minor characters, in Gibbon’s redrafted text these three are prone to half-page monologues, as opposed to de Montigny’s scenario, which reads more as a dialogue. This was largely due to the fact that while de Montigny’s libretto provides ample information concerning the “dining” portion of the society, devoting a seven-page section of his text to one minor character after another bringing gourmet dishes to the communal table, Gibbon’s version begins with the table already set, apart from the dessert course, and replaces the

⁷⁹ de Montigny, “L’Ordre de bon-temps,” 1928; Willan, *L’Ordre de Bon-Temps (The Order of Good Cheer)* 1928; Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, 1929. From Weckerlin’s *La chanson populaire* (1886) and *Echoes du temps passé* (~1885).

⁸⁰ Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, 1929. From the Barbeau collection: *When we were sailing from Toulon; The Prince Eugene; The Prince of Orange; Three Young Gallants Were We; The Fatal Straw*.

⁸¹ Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*, J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., (1929): 30. Lescarbot did not include rhythmic notations.

announcing of the dishes with one song that lists a great variety of food items (*Good folk, Good folk!*).⁸²

Mirroring the distinctions made between French-Canadian and French (European) repertoire at the festival, these classist attitudes extend to the performers themselves within the structure and action of *Madame de Repentigny*. De Montigny's list of characters was printed in the program so that audiences could familiarize themselves with the personages of the play. Under the headings of "Comparses et choristes: tisseuses, cardeuses, fileuses," (Minor roles and chorus: weavers, carders, spinners") and "foulons" (fullers) are the names not of characters, and the actors who played the role, but festival crafts-workers and folksingers: "Philéas Bedard, Jos. Rousselle, J.A. Lavalée, Alphonse Plante, Mme Leblond and her four daughters, Mme Simon and her 2 daughters, Mme Lachance, Mme Plante, and Mme Bouchard."⁸³ In comparison, both the names of the characters of *Mme de Repentigny*, and her three "gentlewomen" companions, and the actresses who held the roles, including Jeanne Dusseau and Genevieve Davis, were listed in the CPR program.

The crafts-workers and singers were written directly into the play, viewed as members of "the Folk," they were themselves considered static characters, in contrast to the professional performers who merely adopted this role for the duration of the performance, the Mmes Leblond, Simon, Lachance, Plante, Bouchard, and their respective unnamed daughters were equated with the roles they played in the production. When de Montigny's libretti were published in *Bouquet de Mélusine*, since, as Gibbon

⁸² Gibbon, *The Order of Good Cheer*. Montreal: J.M. Dent & Sons (1929): 9; de Montigny, "L'Ordre de bon-temps" in *Bouquet de Mélusine*, Montreal & New York: Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Éditions du Mercure (1928): 11-46.

⁸³ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Thursday evening program (May 24, 1928).

wrote in the forward, the works reflected “with such brilliance the life of the people,” the same list of characters was reproduced.⁸⁴

The dialogue of *Madame de Repentigny* further demonstrated the ideological divide of the author, as the bulk of the speaking and singing in this production went to the two professional artists who played Mme de Repentigny, and Mme Lambert-Dumont. When the supporting characters were required to speak, de Montigny’s text referred instead to their material function at the workshop: “La Peigneuse,” “Une Autre Peigneuse,” or “Une Cardeuse” (“The comber,” “Another comber,” or “A carder”).⁸⁵ On several occasions de Montigny simply wrote “Des Voix,” (“Voices”), relegating the talented crafts-workers and folksingers to the status of non-specific French-Canadian peasants.

The entirety of *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs* portrayed a Romanticized view of voyageur life. Gibbon believed the voyageurs played a crucial role in disseminating Canadian *chansons populaires*, or as he wrote, “carrying...the lilting verse of Old France along the water ways and through the vast forests in the New World.”⁸⁶ So prolific was the singing that according to Gibbon, this “touch of romance” was “referred to in almost every narrative of those who travelled by canoe through the interior of Canada.”⁸⁷ The musical selections incorporated into the action consisted solely of collected folksongs.

⁸⁴ de Montigny, “Madame de Repentigny,” 49.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 62-63. Peigneuse/Comber- Cardeuse/Carder- one who combs/cards wool by hand, or operates machinery that fulfills the same function. The term can also be used to refer to the machine itself.

⁸⁶ Gibbon, “Introduction,” in *Le Bouquet de Mélusine*, 8.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 8.

2.5 Tourism, Authenticity and Expert Opinions

The presentation of the ideal narrative of Canadian identity was not limited to the large-scale productions, or to the 1928 festival. Additional musical performances, and (non-musical) organizational factors at both Quebec City festivals presented this imagined version of Canadian history. Within the structure of the CPR festivals different understandings of authenticity were implied, largely defined by Barbeau and other experts of the National Museum, and expressed in the treatment of both the participants and music of the CPR festivals.

Gibbon was hired in 1907 to work as the European Publicity Agent for the CPR; based in London he oversaw all European propaganda and promotional materials until his promotion in 1913 to Chief Publicity Agent and subsequent relocation to Montreal.⁸⁸ Prior to their collaboration at the CPR festivals, Barbeau and Gibbon had previously engaged in work that encouraged Canadian folklore, although their professions had a large impact as to the manner they went about this work. As Janet McNaughton has identified, the professional interactions of Gibbon and Barbeau followed a pattern: Barbeau the academic, was largely unconcerned with public opinion as he went about his work, whereas Gibbon, the publicity agent of one of Canada's largest corporations, was completely dependent on public opinion, and often modified his work to appeal to the broadest audience possible.⁸⁹ The publication of *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*, a promotional booklet for the CPR with text written by Barbeau, provides an excellent example of the compromises.

⁸⁸ Kines, *Chief-Man-Of-Many-Sides*, 30.

⁸⁹ McNaughton, "Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals," 52.

Barbeau's initial draft included a chapter called "Medicine-Man," in which he intended to describe a "contest between one of the native sorcerers and a Protestant missionary."⁹⁰ However, Gibbon recommended the section be omitted from the final product as it was "too controversial" and he believed it had the potential to cause "great offense to missions in the Kootenays."⁹¹ Intended to "have a popular appeal," the book's title referenced the annual Banff weeklong festival (est. by 1900) called "Indian Days." Organized initially to entertain tourists stranded at the CPR Banff Springs Hotel after a washed-out road, this festival tradition continued for decades longer than the 1927-1931 series of *Folksong and Handicraft* festivals.⁹²

Rosabelle Boswell work on heritage tourism and identity demonstrates the possibility that "narrowly conceived" understandings can "essentialise... identity and history," resulting in the unfortunate "packaging of identities for tourist consumption."⁹³ In the case of the CPR festivals, these convenient identities were tied up with notions of authenticity, as determined by Barbeau and his museum colleagues. The ensuing discussion features several themes, namely the tourism dynamics of place and performance (both geographical and virtual/ephemeral), Indigenous-settler relations and notions of authentic cultural interpretations and representations.

⁹⁰ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 19: handwritten outline for the manuscript.

⁹¹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 19: letter to Eayres from Gibbon (May 1, 1923); CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 19: letter to Barbeau (May 3, 1923).

⁹² While officially sponsored by the CPR, the recurring "Indian Days" were organized by local businessmen Norman Luxton, Jim Brewster, Sam Armstrong and Tom Wilson. The annual event was discontinued in the 1970s, and restored under the name *Tribal Days* under the management of the Buffalo Nations Cultural Society next to the Stoney reserve at Morley. See Courtney Mason, "The Construction of Banff as a "Natural" Environment: Sporting Festivals, Tourism and Representations of Aboriginal Peoples," *Journal of Sport History* 35, No. 2 (Summer 2008): 221-239. See also <http://www.tripadvisor.ca/Travel-g154911-s202/Banff:Alberta:Culture.html>.

⁹³ Rosabelle Boswell, "Heritage tourism and identity in the Mauritian villages of Charmarel and Le Morne," in *Journal of South African Studies* 31, no. 2 (June 2005): 283 & 288. Boswell writes: "heritage preservation, narrowly conceived, may actually undermine nation-building processes and essentialise Creole identity and history, however, unless the diversity of Creole experience is represented in a broad-based approach to heritage preservation and management"

Convinced as they were of the imminent disappearance of the cultures they studied, Barbeau and his colleagues adhered to the paradigm later referred to by James Clifford as “salvage ethnography.” Described as the impulse to collect, or rather, to “save” the “authentic” remains of a culture before they disappear for good, this model is replete with problematic assumptions, first and foremost being the imposition of Western values to determine what, if anything, from a community ought to be documented, transcribed, or otherwise “salvaged.”⁹⁴ As a professional expert, Barbeau (allegedly) was able to determine what was and was not “authentic” culture, even more so than his informants, whom he viewed as contemporary, albeit “inauthentic” members of the culture in question.⁹⁵ Over the course of his career, Barbeau conducted ethnographic fieldwork at both French-Canadian communities in rural Quebec and Indigenous communities in North West British Columbia and Quebec.⁹⁶ Each was viewed as something of the past, which no longer existed in an “authentic” form apart from small isolated enclaves.

The “authentic” model of French-Canadian culture presented at the CPR festivals was evident years earlier when Barbeau and Gibbon collaborated on the publication of *Chansons of Old French Canada*, by Margaret Gascoigne. Published by the CPR in 1920 and available for purchase at the Chateau Frontenac, the volume featured selected songs from Ernest Gagnon’s collection, *Chansons populaires du Canada* (1865) arranged for

⁹⁴ See James Clifford, “The others: Beyond the ‘salvage’ paradigm,” in *Third Text* 3, no. 6 (1989).

⁹⁵ Andrew Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau,” PhD diss. Kingston, ON: Queen’s University (1997): 331. Andrew Nurse, ““Their Ancient Customs are Gone”: Anthropology as Cultural Process,” in *Around and about Marius Barbeau: Modelling twentieth-century culture*, Ed. Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith, Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 15.

⁹⁶ Marielle Aylen, “Urgency of Myth: Marius Barbeau, Tori Smith, and the Narrations of Nation,” in *Around and about Marius Barbeau: Modelling twentieth-century culture*, Ed. Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith, Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 241.

voice and piano.⁹⁷ In his preface for this souvenir volume, Barbeau described French-Canada as a “quaint oasis,” in the “desert of American uniformity,” where “industrialism and cupidity have not yet withered all local colour and individual bias or charm,”⁹⁸ Illustrations by Canadian Ethel Smeath provided buyers with vignettes of French Renaissance life, including ladies dressed in laced bodices, and men with swords in doublets and capes, to emphasize the connection between Canada and Europe.⁹⁹ This was the model of French-Canadian culture emphasized at the festivals; a European inheritance, quaint and simple, untouched by modernity, and entirely un-American.

As he wrote in the introduction to *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, Gibbon believed the settlers of New France came to Canada from a Romantic time of song that pervaded all aspects of life, which had subsequently been maintained in the culture of French-Canada by the “Church steeped in musical ritual,” the voyageurs, and the mothers who “went about the house humming love songs,” and sang “the same lullaby to seventeen children.”¹⁰⁰ The “Folksingers and Craftworkers” at the CPR festivals were seen to present French-Canadian culture accordingly, relying on a teleological view of civilization wherein cultures were thought to advance from most “primitive” to increasingly “civilized.”

⁹⁷ Margaret Gascoigne, *Chansons of Old French Canada*, Quebec: Chateau Frontenac, 1920.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 1.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 5-27. Kines, “Chief-Man-Of-Many-Sides,” 100. Kines credits the successful sale of Gascoigne’s work to American tourists to “obvious differences” of the “foreign (European) flavour of the French lyrics and the exotic unfamiliar settings for the songs,” while acknowledging that any analysis of musical styles falls outside the scope of his thesis.

¹⁰⁰ Gibbon, “Introduction,” in *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, ed. Ernest MacMillan. The Frederick Harris Co., Oakville, Ontario (1928): i.

2.6 Location in CPR Advertising

The CPR advertised Quebec City as a physical, geographical location where the “past” was preserved; promoting a model of French-Canadian folk culture as a pastoral, idyllic retreat from modernity was a trend in CPR advertisements for Quebec City. In May 1926 a large CPR ad in *The New York Times* read: “Quebec! The City of the Quaint,” atop a sketch of a couple strolling a cobblestone street with the Chateau Frontenac looming atop the “Normandy maisons.” The descriptive paragraph elaborated upon the historical connection: “It was France these people brought...and Old France is here today.”¹⁰¹ Other ads described the city’s cobblestone streets and ox-carts, exhorting the public to “come up for awhile this summer, for a journey into the romantic past” for Quebec was “an old-world French community.”¹⁰²

Just as *The Canadian Mosaic* described the shared characteristics of a “race” as a result of geographical experience, geography was said to have played a key role in transforming the songs of France into the folksongs of French-Canada. Gibbon explained as much in the introduction to *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, a volume of folksongs arrangements by many of the composers who participated at the CPR festivals, edited by Ernest MacMillan (1928).

“Although such French-Canadian folk-songs may date back to medieval Europe, they have taken on a new character and rhythm when sung as work-songs... Moreover the Canadian melodies frequently reveal a charm less evident in the original French version... The reason for this special melodic quality may be found in the character of the settlers in New France, and the conditions under which they lived.”¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Picture & text advertisements, *The New York Times* (May 2 & 9, 1926).

¹⁰² Picture & text advertisement, *The New York Times* (May 9, 1926).

¹⁰³ J. Murray Gibbon, “Introduction,” in *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, ed. Ernest MacMillan. Oakville, ON: The Frederick Harris Co. (1928): i.

Gibbon identified the overall atmosphere of the “Middle Ages and right up to the seventeenth century” as one where music was a widely required element of study, for academics, aspiring clergymen, and guildsmen. Describing the music as “the actual accompaniment to work” throughout the countryside, Gibbon concluded: “people of these years lived in an atmosphere of song.”¹⁰⁴ The Quebec City festival programs exhibited the same language and emphasis on the physical space of Quebec City as an enclave of ‘pastness’ and ‘romance’; the inside cover of the general program, intended to advertise for the 1927 festival read:

“When the May sun shines on the steep little streets in Quebec, and the south wind comes, all full of birds . . . when they get out from behind their three-foot stone walls to plough with oxen on the Isle of Orleans . . . that’s the time for us to find romance. Gay young romance that comes out of the ground in Quebec, and drops from those flaring sunset skies . . . romance in the old songs, the old laughter, the old trails, and young Jean Ba’tiste painting his house to bring home P’tite Marie.”¹⁰⁵

The rest of the advertisement read in the same vein, and encouraged tourists to come stay at the Chateau Frontenac, complete with modern conveniences, yet accessible to the “17th century town,” whose population was said to “still dwell in a romantic age.”¹⁰⁶ The CP Bulletin (June 1928) also described this unique conflation of past charms and present conveniences:

“This Second Festival, as a whole, still further emphasized the fact made plain by the First Festival last year, that Quebec is the true home of Romance... and preserves, amid all the conveniences and luxuries of modern life, the Old World charm of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Gibbon, “Introduction,” in *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*, i.

¹⁰⁵ CP General promotional program (May 20-22, 1927).

¹⁰⁶ CP General promotional program (May 20-22, 1927). Describes the Chateau Frontenac as “that steam-heated castle where rooms are luxurious, where service is swift and silent, and food is something to celebrate with song!”

¹⁰⁷ CP Archives. CP Bulletin 233. Montreal June 1, 1928 (Section 90).

The CPR marketing strategy is reflected in present-day advertising for Quebec City that echoes similar statements that reinforce a connection to Europe, and the role of the physical site:

“The chateau, majestic. On a beautiful terrace you’re greeted as a friend... You savour the here and now on a street corner steeped in history... There’s something in the air. It’s Europe. Ah, the charm of Europe. And yet, you’re still on this side of the Atlantic. Close to home. Right here in Quebec City. It’s time to turn your trip into a voyage.”¹⁰⁸

2.7 French-Canadian Representations at the CPR Festivals

Gibbon and Barbeau closely managed all aspects of the festivals to ensure accordance with their joint vision, from costuming to the scheduling of performers. While all performers were costumed, professional artists dressed either in *habitant* or Renaissance-inspired costumes that corresponded with their repertoire. These artists, including Gauthier and Glenn, performed a character inspired by their repertoire, and regardless of their own ancestry. Amateur artists, on the other hand, were expected to portray the model of French-Canadian culture as it was imagined, sanctioned and encouraged by Barbeau and Gibbon. These imported “Folk” were presented as living displays of “folk life” or holdovers of an “authentic,” albeit disappearing culture. When this subjective definition of cultural authenticity (which allowed no room for a contemporary, “authentic” existence of said culture), was confronted by reality it could lead to disappointment on the part of audience members. One Toronto journalist expressed severe displeasure at what they considered to be anachronistic “modernity” amongst the folksingers:

¹⁰⁸ <http://qo.bonjourquebec.com/en/on/summer/partner/quebec> (accessed July 5, 2014) (“Quebec City. So Europe. So Close”) *The Historic District of Old Quebec*, which includes both the Upper & Lower towns and the “ancient districts,” is a UNESCO World Heritage site <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/300> (accessed July 5, 2014).

“some of the younger French work-singers are annoyingly modern. They bob their hair and wear high-heeled shoes. But among the older women...one finds a refreshing naivety.”¹⁰⁹

which included the musical segregation of professional and amateur artists. Professional and amateur artists did not sing together, for reasons Gibbon described to Barbeau in a letter: “I have never liked the idea of professional singers appearing with folk-singers in a group.. the trained voices of the professional singers mark them out too much.”¹¹⁰ While the singers did not perform in groups together (with the exception of certain large-scale productions at the 1928 festival), the professional and folk-singers did perform one after another at the same concerts. For example, *The Music Makers’* 1927 festival performance of selections by Jannequin, Costelay, Goudinel, Guedron, and Ronsard was immediately followed by those of François Saint-Laurent and Joseph Ouellete, two folksingers from Gaspé.”¹¹¹ *The Music Makers’* second performance of the festival (“17th century Brunettes and Chansons of Old France”) was on the same bill as that of several performers referred (and scheduled) collectively as “Group of Folk Singers.”¹¹² These examples demonstrate the related distinction between the repertoire of folk- and professional singers, which was equally as influenced by Barbeau’s expert opinion.

Barbeau and his colleagues, including Edward Sapir and Diamond Jenness, carried out extensive fieldwork to catalogue and collect material and intangible artifacts believed to represent “authentic” culture. As Sapir, head of the newly-formed

¹⁰⁹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 437 F 4: *Toronto Star Weekly* (June 9, 1928).

¹¹⁰ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 23: letter from Gibbon (April 11, 1928).

¹¹¹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday evening program (May 22, 1927). See Appendix A.

¹¹² CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday evening program (May 22, 1927). The “Group of Folksingers” consisted of “Philéas Bédard, François Saint-Laurent and folk dancers, Joseph Ouellette and Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny.”

anthropology department stated in 1911, “now or never is the time in which to collect... what is still available for study...what is lost now will never be recovered again.”¹¹³ While opinions varied concerning the purpose of collecting the artifacts (whether for display, for study, for inspiring art etc.) all were in agreement that the work ought to proceed. Barbeau, too, accepted the imminent disappearance of the cultures he studied; as he wrote in 1926, “the best we can hope for now is to preserve the remnants.”¹¹⁴ Barbeau believed collected music from French-Canadian and Indigenous informants was equally capable of inspiring “higher-art” forms and he provided many artists with access to collected materials in the hopes of encouraging musical and visual arts based on these “national symbols.”

The French-Canadian repertoire performed by professional artists at the CPR festivals was comprised mainly of collected music, the majority of which was provided from the Barbeau collection of the National Museum. Great care was taken to ensure as little repetition as possible between professional performers’ repertoire. In contrast, the folksingers performed unarranged music, or what was viewed as “raw” materials, which was not mandated by Gibbon or Barbeau. So prevalent was this distinction at the festivals, that Janet McNaughton identifies the two groups of performers based on their repertoire; “source” performers learned their repertoire via oral tradition, and “non-source” performers learned by studying collected material.¹¹⁵

In the case of Glenn and *The Music Makers*, Barbeau and Gibbon selected arrangements for the group to prepare, excerpted from the Paris Conservatory’s

¹¹³ Edward Sapir, “An Anthropological Survey of Canada,” *Science* 34 (July-December 1911): 793. Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 38.

¹¹⁴ Marius Barbeau, “Save Art of Coast Indians,” *Vancouver Daily Province* (October 22, 1926).

¹¹⁵ McNaughton, “Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals,” 71.

L'Encyclopédie de la Musique (~1914) and J. Weckerlin's text *Échos du Temps Passé* (Vol. II, ~1855).¹¹⁶ The group's accompanist, Constance Hamilton, wrote to Gibbon on behalf of McInnes on April 25, to acknowledge the receipt of the selections and to inform him that the group would be prepared to sing any of the eighteen pieces listed in the letter for the festival.¹¹⁷

Florence Glenn and *The Music Makers* were included in the Quebec City festival programs to fulfill a certain purpose, as Gibbon explained in a letter to Barbeau, "if they could learn French madrigals of the sixteenth century and court airs of the early seventeenth it would be considered... they have costumes and it would be an interesting historical link, as this is the kind of music that some of the early settlers must have known."¹¹⁸ Program notes for *The Music Makers* contextualized their program as part of the retroactive lineage of Canadian music:

"Although folksong... has little in common with the madrigals and partsongs of the courtly composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we must not forget that the early pioneers and settlers in Canada belonged just as often to the good families as to the peasant classes of Old France. Many of them were no doubt familiar with and sang these more sophisticated songs, and some of these melodies may be preserved still by tradition among their descendants in Canada."¹¹⁹

Significantly less program space was devoted to the repertoire of folksingers as compared to the professional artists, as is evident upon a brief comparison between Gibbon's program notes for *The Music Makers* and the folksingers who followed them on in the concert schedule. Program notes for the folksingers consisted of lists of titles, and at times a brief categorization of the music, for example as "work song" or "Ballad of the

¹¹⁶ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Saturday evening program (May 21, 1927). Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, *Échos du Temps Passé*, Vol. II (circa 1855); CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B197 F19: letter (April 25, 1927). See Appendix A for list of songs performed.

¹¹⁷ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (April 25, 1927).

¹¹⁸ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (April 22, 1927).

¹¹⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Saturday evening program (May 21, 1927).

sea.”¹²⁰ In contrast, *The Music Makers*’ programs not only included a repertoire list, but also the composer or collector’s name, and often lyrics in French with English translations by Gibbon. Over the course of the 1927 festival, *The Music Makers* occupied a total of four and a half pages for nine songs, in comparison to the folksingers at the same concerts, whose performances warranted only one and a half pages for eleven songs worth of repertoire. The 1928 performances and programs exhibited much the same trend, with more pages devoted to the explication of the repertoire of professional singers, rather than the folksingers. With the addition of the large-scale staged productions, presented at Auditorium Theatre, folksinger performances were relegated to the matinee performances at the Chateau, the exceptions being the performance of children’s round dances and “play-parties,” as well as a short “veillée.”¹²¹

Other discontinuities in the treatment of “source” and “non-source” performers were largely tied to economic factors that demonstrated a lack of valorization on the part of festival organizers towards the folksingers and crafts workers. In addition to appearing at the ticketed events, “source” performers sang at free concerts on Dufferin Terrace and alongside the handiwork display with the crafts workers. Folksingers and crafts workers received far less remuneration for their performances when compared to their professional counterparts, if at all apart from travel expenses. For example, while Gauthier was paid a fee of \$300.00 for her participation at the 1927 festival, Lawrence Nowry records Mme Bouchard was paid only \$30.00 for her performance at the

¹²⁰ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Saturday evening program (May 21, 1927).

¹²¹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Friday evening program (May 25, 1928).

festival.¹²² Further, due to an exclusive contract between the Chateau Frontenac and the on-site Holt Renfrew store, crafts workers were prohibited from selling their wares at the festival; instead, audience members were directed to Holt Renfrew for handmade goods at special festival-rated prices.¹²³ Finally, correspondence between Barbeau and Gibbon reveals a perception of the “source” performers as exhibiting quasi-childlike tendencies, as Barbeau noted, a “lack of sufficient control” on the part of the folksingers that would need to be regulated, since the year before they had ordered beer and food in a manner he viewed “quite unnecessary.”¹²⁴

2.8 Indigenous Representations at the CPR Festivals

The 1927 Quebec City festival also included several performances of Indigenous repertoire, by both Juliette Gauthier and members of the Huron-Wendat nation from the Lorette reserve north of Quebec City.¹²⁵ Gauthier gave a recital almost identical to that of her Town Hall concert, while the Huron-Wendat performers presented five “Huron Indian songs and dances” at the Saturday matinee, as well as three “religious songs” and two dances at the Sunday matinee.¹²⁶ As was the case with the French-Canadian “source”

¹²² Nowry, *Marius Barbeau: Man of Mana*, 284; CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: (May 5, 1927) (May 30, 1927). Mme Bouchard was a folksinger who participated in the production *Madame de Repentigny et sa 'Manufacture,'* as well as the spinning exhibitions.

¹²³ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: (March 4, 1927). Gibbon wrote goods would be sold through Holt Renfrew “so weavers can just work and American tourists won’t waste their time trying to get deals.” For an in-depth examination of the handicrafts portion of the festivals, see Janet McNaughton, “A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930,” MA Thesis, St. John’s: Memorial University, 1982.

¹²⁴ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 23: letter to Gibbon (May 1, 1928). The letter also mentions the need to arrange escorts for the performers since the preceding year they had been “incapable of finding their way” to and from the Chateau Frontenac and Auditorium Theatre.

¹²⁵ The program lists “Caroline Grosbois, Mme Daniel Grosbois, Alice Sioui, Mme Abraham Sioui, Mme Camille Vincent, Michel Sioui, Albert Sioui and son.” See Appendix A for concert information. Contemporary reserve of the Huron-Wendat Nation (Nation Huronne-Wendatte) See www.wendake.ca.

¹²⁶ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Saturday matinee program (May 21, 1927); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday matinee program (May 22, 1927). See Appendix A.

performers and their repertoire, Barbeau and his colleagues were seen as equally qualified to assess the authenticity of Indigenous performers and repertoire.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett identifies “indigeneity,” or the quality of being native-to a place, as a value commonly associated with tourist and heritage production, which affords the subject a legitimate authority (based on authenticity). As Andrew Nurse explains, Barbeau maintained a conscious divide between past and present versions of both Indigenous and French-Canadian cultures, which informed his collecting work.¹²⁷ As Barbeau stated in a later publication, he believed that “in the early stages of useful and folk arts in this country there was no lack of aesthetic values and appreciation, but most of what was worthy in Indian and French-Canadian arts unfortunately belongs to the past.”¹²⁸ Sandra Dyck describes this belief that only past incarnations of (in this case, Indigenous culture) were authentic, as a case of “aboriginality related to a subjective definition of authenticity, and not demographics.”¹²⁹ The contentious nature of this subjective designation is particularly evident in an examination the performances of Indigenous repertoire at the CPR festivals.

The program notes outlined Barbeau and Gibbon’s acceptance of the key differences between past and present images of Huron-Wendat culture, based on the premise that the identification of indigenous authenticity was the purview of experts.¹³⁰ This often resulted in descriptions of the performers as inauthentic representations of their forefathers. Though Barbeau had conducted fieldwork at the Lorette reserve since 1911, he wrote that he did not consider the population of the Lorette Reserve to be

¹²⁷ Nurse, “Their Ancient Customs are Gone,” 18.

¹²⁸ Marius Barbeau, *Backgrounds in Canadian Art*, Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada (1941) 36.

¹²⁹ Dyck, “These Things Are Our Totems,” 37.

¹³⁰ Nurse, “Their Ancient Customs are Gone,” 15-16.

“Huron” any longer.¹³¹ As Andrew Nurse summarizes, Barbeau believed the Huron-Wendat had either been “assimilated but did not fully realize it,” or were “mired in social problems created by the belief that some level of authenticity persisted.”¹³² Program notes conveyed as much to the audiences, and described the performers as “more like Europeans than Indians,” since they had “lost their native language and much of what is really ancient.”¹³³ CPR festival literature also maintained a clear distinction between the Huron-Wendat performers (or “Hurons of Lorette”) at the festival as “inauthentic” due to their status as “half-breed descendants” of the “ancient Hurons and Wyandots discovered by Champlain and Sagard.”¹³⁴ Later in his career Barbeau continued to express his disappointment at the “inauthentic” nature of the Huron-Wendat nation: “Lorette people were like their [French-Canadian] neighbours in Charlesbourg.”¹³⁵

The repertoire performed by the Huron-Wendat singers and dancers was also considered to be the “ancient” cultural remains of the “authentic” past. Program notes rationalized the inclusion of the songs, describing the performers as still “[cherishing] their racial affiliation with the early Hurons of prehistoric times,” and “[remembering] a few of the native songs and dances, and some of the canticles taught them in Huron by the early Jesuits.”¹³⁶ Though the repertoire was considered authentic, programs listed the bare minimum of information for most of the songs and dances performed—a title with no English or French translation. On several occasions a categorization of the music was

¹³¹ Keillor, *Music in Canada*, 35.

¹³² Nurse, “Their Ancient Customs are Gone,” 17-18.

¹³³ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 20-22, 1927).

¹³⁴ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 20-22, 1927).

¹³⁵ As quoted by Nurse, “Their Ancient Customs are Gone,” 17.

¹³⁶ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, General program (May 20-22, 1927).

also included after the title, for example “(*dance*),” or “chant de guerre.”¹³⁷ No further translations, descriptions or explanations were given for the bulk of the repertoire.

The glaring exception to this lack of information applied to one song—Jesous Ahatonnia (Jésus est né)—for which both the “Indian words,” translated by seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary Father Brébeuf, and the French translation by Ernest Mynard were provided in the program.¹³⁸ To reiterate, this was the only piece of ten selections performed by the Huron-Wendat artists for which Gibbon provided an explanation. The program notes described this piece as “modified from an old French Noel of the Sixteenth Century,” citing Mynard’s 1907 publication, *Noëls Anciens de la Nouvelle-France*.¹³⁹ Jesous Ahatonnia (Jésus est né) represented the French-European musical tradition in Canada, and the colonizing impact of French-European culture onto that of the Huron-Wendat nation, or as Gibbon wrote in *The Canadian Mosaic*, the superimposition of the “Canadian race of the future” on the “original native Indian races.”¹⁴⁰ As Gibbon would make clear a decade later in *The Canadian Mosaic*, there were limits to his universalist aspirations; indeed, there was no room for the Huron-Wendat performers within the boundaries of Gibbon’s mosaic. The program notes expose Gibbon’s lack of concern for any comprehension on the part of festival audiences in terms of the lyrics, context or meaning of any repertoire performed by the Huron-Wendat performers at the 1927 festival.

The monthly CPR Bulletin of June 1, 1927 published a glowing account of the successful nature of the inaugural festival, which made special note of the Huron-Wendat

¹³⁷ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Saturday matinee program (May 21, 1927).

¹³⁸ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday matinee program (May 22, 1927).

¹³⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday matinee program (May 22, 1927). Ernest Mynard, *Noëls Anciens de la Nouvelle-France*, 1899.

¹⁴⁰ Gibbon, *The Canadian Mosaic*, vii.

performances. A short sentence described the “Hurons from Ancienne Lorette,” who sang “primitive religious songs taught to their savage forefathers by the Jesuit missionaries, among whom was the martyred Father Bréboeuf (*sic*).”¹⁴¹ The brief description, like the CPR programs, emphasized the connection to Europe and the distinction between contemporary and “ancient” communities. More glaring than the program notes, however, was the use of both “primitive” and “savage” in the span of one sentence, and the emphasis on Bréboeuf’s martyrdom.¹⁴²

In his 1930 article “*An Indian Paradise Lost*,” Barbeau reiterated his position in regards to Indigenous populations that the “authentic” age was “passing away... what now survives is but a shadow, a memory.. lesson, that the past is a valuable asset to a people who wisely nurse the future.”¹⁴³ This view of the past as an asset inspired Barbeau’s work with professional artists like Gauthier, as he provided “authentic” repertoire from the National Museum collection in order to encourage the performance of “Canadian folksong.”

Gauthier’s performances at the CPR festival were typical of her early career and consisted of two separate groups of collected songs called “Northern Alaskan and Copper Eskimo Songs,” and “West Coast, British Columbia and Vancouver Island Nootka Indian Songs.”¹⁴⁴ Initially, she requested to sing with the Huron-Wendat performers and French-Canadian folksingers, who Gauthier claimed to “love more than these supposed civilized

¹⁴¹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, CP Bulletin 221, Montreal (June 1, 1927) Section 33.

¹⁴² Cornelius Jaenen, “Jean de Bréboeuf,” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, February 24, 2008. (updated December 16, 2013).

¹⁴³ Marius Barbeau, “An Indian Paradise Lost,” in *Canadian Geographical Journal* 1, no. 2. (1930): 148.

¹⁴⁴ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday matinee program (May 22, 1927). Similar program to CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

musicians of Montreal.”¹⁴⁵ Gibbon denied her request; Gauthier was one of the top-billed performers at the festival, and it would not do to have her singing with the “Folk.” A compromise was agreed upon, and Gauthier sang immediately before and after the Huron-Wendat performers on the Sunday afternoon recital.¹⁴⁶

Despite her desire to share the stage with Indigenous performers, Gauthier preferred her own representation of Indigenous cultures to the Huron-Wendat performances. Gauthier was disappointed with the Huron-Wendat performers; echoes of Barbeau’s understanding of “authentic” culture resonate in her letter to Diamond Jenness of the National Museum:

“The Indians [were] not so good. Lorette has been visited too much by missionaries and French ... which has turned their skin rather white, appalling to see how religious Indians can get and become a race of fanatic Catholics, their houses filled with Madonna’s instead of their beautiful totem poles.”¹⁴⁷

Ironically, though she was disappointed in the Huron-Wendat performance, roughly one-third of the selections performed by Gauthier at the 1927 CPR festival were not collected materials from the National Museum. Rather, she had incorporated selections from “*Songs of the Coast Dwellers*,” a collection of poetry by Constance Lindsay Skinner into the performance.¹⁴⁸ Skinner (1879-1939) spent her childhood at a fur-trading post in Quesnel, British Columbia, the daughter of a Hudson’s Bay Company (H.B.C.) employee.¹⁴⁹ Her work as a journalist and fiction-writer was ultimately influenced by this experience; Skinner’s biographer Dorothy Adams writes of “an attachment, a feeling of kinship, to the Indians,” which developed over the course of

¹⁴⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 196 F 24: letter from Gauthier (May 4, 1927).

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix A.

¹⁴⁷ CMH/MHC Gauthier coll. B 645 F 1: letter to Jenness (June 1, 1927).

¹⁴⁸ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday matinee program (May 22, 1927); Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, New York City: Coward-McCann, 1930.

¹⁴⁹ Dorothy Adams, “Biographical Sketch,” in *Constance Lindsay Skinner: Author and Editor*, ed. Ann Heidbreder Eastman, Women’s National Book Association, Inc. (1980): 16.

Skinner's childhood.¹⁵⁰ However, Skinner's work was "frequently criticized by academics for historical inaccuracy," as Adams continues, since the author "combined her literary talent and feel for the land with historical movements and trends, rather than with detailed events."¹⁵¹

In the case of *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, Adams describes the poems as "lyrical interpretations of mood and Indian life, songs cadenced in Indian rhythm."¹⁵² The volume was a compilation of Skinner's work that had been previously published in journals or newspapers. As Skinner wrote in the introduction to the 1930 printing: "my *Songs of the Coast Dwellers* are not translations nor adaptations of Indian poems: nor were they suggested by Indian poems, for I had made no study of Indian poetry when I began to write them."¹⁵³ Gauthier's own definition of "authentic" indigeneity was so subjective that she valued poetry written by a non-Indigenous, Canadian author, as equal to ethnographic field recordings and transcriptions made over the course of nationally-sanctioned, professional fieldwork.

Gauthier was aware of the fictional nature of these poems and she acknowledged Skinner's authorship in the programs, alternately referring to the pieces as "Interpretations," or "Translations from *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*."¹⁵⁴ Skinner's "Interpretations" continued to be a staple in Gauthier's programs from 1927 until at least

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 17.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, 23. Adams writes that Skinner "departed from fiction to write *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, a volume of poetry inspired by the Squamish Indians of her native British Columbia. These poems are not translations."

¹⁵³ Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, New York City: Coward-McCann (1930): viii.

¹⁵⁴ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains, Sunday evening program (May 22, 1927); See also: Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye, *Folk Songs of Canada*, (Recital program) Ottawa: Chateau Laurier, 1927.

1938, when Gauthier sang in Paris following her tenure as Canadian delegate for the 1937 exhibition.¹⁵⁵

One of the poems in Skinner's collections, *The Wild Woman's Lullaby*, was set to music by Arturo Buzzi-Peccia in 1924, and similar though not identical lyrics were included for one of Gauthier's songs under the sub-heading of "Nootka Lullaby" which read: "Another version as sung by the Mother."¹⁵⁶

The Wild Woman's Lullaby

Poem by Constance Lindsay Skinner

Music by A. Buzzi-Peccia

What shall I sing to thee, babe on my back?

Ah!__ Ah!__ Ah!_____ Ah!_____

Song of the Eagle that mates with the storm.

Ri - i - kii.

Thy father is Eagle-Go-High, Chief of thy tribe,

Fiercest in war, swiftest in hunting,

Harshest and fond in the tent of his woman.

He is my mate.

What shall I sing to thee, son on my back?

Songs of the wind that is wanton for ever, calling, calling for ever,

For the chase of swift wings,

For the drive and the smite of wild wings

Thy mother is Storm-Dancer, daughter of the Wind.

What art though, little Chiefling, babe of my heart?

The star that I pluck'd from the mast of the night,

When the wings of thy father outstrove me.

Eagle-Go-High, this is thy son.

He falls asleep smiling to the scream of the nesting call.

Ah!__ Ah!__ Ah!_____ Ah!_____ Ah!_____

Eagle-Go-High, He is thy son, Rii - ii - kii, Rii - ii - kii, Ri-ii-kii.

¹⁵⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B196 F24: *Chants Eskimo et Indiens du Canada* (March 26, 1938). In the 1938 program Gauthier did not list Skinner as the author for the "Interpretations."

¹⁵⁶ Arturo Buzzi-Peccia, *The Wild Woman's Lullaby*, Poem by Constance Lindsay Skinner, Boston: Oliver Ditson Co., 1924.

Lyrics included in Gauthier's program¹⁵⁷

Ihi! Ihi! Ihi! Oho!
Thy father is Eagle-go-high, chief of thy tribe.
Thy mother is Storm-dancer, daughter of winds.
Where art thou, little Chiefling, Babe of my heart?
The star that I plucked from the night
When the wings of thy father out-strove me!
Ihi! Ihi! Ihi! Oho!

As Skinner described in the introduction to *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, “The succession of lyrics presents, in primitive symbolism, the characters of an imaginary community and the interweaving of their lives.” This community included “lovers and the women they mate with, or fail to win, the young mothers, the lonely maidens who still wait for love, and the women forsaken: the dying hunter, the village dandy, the aged man, the chief and his braggart little son...”¹⁵⁸ On the whole, these poems presented a highly exoticized, romanticized, and one could say, eroticized version of Indigenous life on the West Coast of British-Columbia.

Skinner's poetry relied on the well-known contemporary cliché of the “noble savage.” As Carole Gerson examines, this equating “of the Indian with natural happiness and ease, in opposition to urbanized Europe” was familiar in popular literature by the 1830s.¹⁵⁹ In her own words, Skinner described the inspiration for her poetry as “chiefly the coast of British Columbia” and “Nature Rhythms... sounds that the dissonants of civilization have not dimmed for me.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye, *Folk Songs of Canada*, (Recital program) Ottawa: Chateau Laurier, 1927.

¹⁵⁸ Skinner, *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, ix.

¹⁵⁹ Gerson, “Nobler Savages,” 6-7.

¹⁶⁰ Skinner, *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*, ix.

2.9 Concluding Remarks

As virtual and physical sites of heritage-production, the Quebec City CPR festivals of 1927 and 1928 encouraged a specific way of considering Canada's past, both musical and historical. Based on the pre-existing ideologies adhered to by Gibbon and Barbeau, the festivals had extra-musical implications as the performances and programs disseminated Eurocentric preconceptions of culture, race and ethnicity to their audiences. As large-scale exhibitions comprised of individual and group performances, which themselves can be read as exhibitions or living museum displays, the CPR festivals relied on packaged identities of both French-Canadian and Indigenous cultures, largely based on the expert opinions of Barbeau and the National Museum staff, an examination of which showcases the complex Canadian cultural politics of the 1920s.¹⁶¹

Marketed to Anglophone tourists, as well as Canadian musicians and composers, the CPR festivals at Quebec City relied on the commodification of French-Canadian culture and the physical space of Quebec City. The European model of folksongs as inspiration for classical "high-art" composition proved problematic when applied to the Canadian context, resulting in the both the erasure of Indigenous persons from the idealized Canadian narrative performed at the festivals, and preferential treatment of professional performers over "source" artists. The virtual image of a pastoral, "quaint" culture promoted at the festivals denied the diversity of French-Canadian experience, and conceptualized both the "source" performers and music as inextricably constrained in the past.

Indigenous representation at the CPR festivals was similarly limited in perspective, by virtue of racial and power dynamics between colonizer and colonized.

¹⁶¹ Mackey, "Becoming Indigenous," 155.

The ensuing subjective identification of “authenticity” with regards to indigeneity lead to the problematic preference of Juliette Gauthier’s performances over those of Huron-Wendat artists at the 1927 festival, although an examination of Gauthier’s own repertoire choices, which included the poetry of Constance Skinner, demonstrates a subjective identification of authenticity and devaluing of indigeneity.

These contentious issues of representation were likewise made visible throughout a series of large productions, called “ballad-operas” presented at the 1928 festival, which performed Gibbon’s understanding of Canada’s musical traditions as part of broader, European-derived practices. Jean Beck’s arrangement of de la Halle’s *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* illustrated French-peasant life of the thirteenth-century, which Gibbon and Barbeau believed to be the precursor to French-Canadian song and culture. Three productions based on libretti by de Montigny (*L’Ordre de bon-temps, Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘manufacture,’* and *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs*) presented an idealized narrative of Canadian settlement compatible with later iterations of *The Canadian Mosaic* and an Anglocentric sense of identity, where “all *become* Canadian and progress together into the future.”¹⁶²

¹⁶² Mackey, “Becoming Indigenous,” 154.

Chapter Three: Juliette Gauthier and Florence Glenn: Interpreters of “Canadian Folksongs”

3.1 Gauthier and Glenn Introduction

In their recitals of French-Canadian and Indigenous repertoire both Gauthier and Glenn interacted with and subsequently (re)presented notions of authenticity to their audiences, through their performance styles and concert literature. Influenced by the socio-cultural context of Canadian nation-building and identity-formation, Glenn and Gauthier’s recitals performed essentialized categories of French-Canadian and Indigenous identities. Their “realness” in presentation was influenced by Barbeau’s subjective identification of “authenticity,” as he provided both Glenn and Gauthier with much of their “Canadian Folksongs” repertoire.

The solo careers of Gauthier and Glenn followed similar trajectories; later in Glenn’s career, a review in the *Telegram* noted similarities between the two: “as the pioneering Mme Gauthier has done, Glenn accompanied herself on native drums.”¹ Glenn and Gauthier were both classically trained vocalists; Gauthier attended the Montreal Conservatory of Music in 1907, and studied both voice and violin in Europe thanks to the financial support of Wilfrid Laurier, then Prime Minister of Canada, and his wife Lady Zoë.² Glenn’s training included at least one year at the Margaret Eaton School, as well as her study under McInnes as a member of *The Music Makers*. Promotional material dating from the 1940s and ‘50s indicates Glenn studied in England with a voice

¹ Glenn papers. Box 11: *Telegram* (Toronto) March 25, 1940. “Florence Glenn to give recital, Soprano’s program to include group of traditional Canadian songs.” The article also makes note of Barbeau’s encouragement of Glenn’s career, her concert tour across Canada, and travel to London and Paris.

² Slominska, “Interpreting success and failure,” 88. Gauthier studied violin in Hungary with Jenő Hubay and voice in Florence, Italy with Vincenzo Lombardi between 1907-1912. Both Juliette Gauthier and her sister Eva benefited from Laurier’s patronage. Eva made a career of singing Javanese music, and was later associated with George Gershwin and the avant-garde music scene in New York.

teacher named William Shakespeare (*sic*), as well as roles in the *opéra-comique* repertoire in Paris between 1931-1938.³

Reviews of Glenn and Gauthier's concerts regularly reported not only on the musical components of the performance but also the overall atmosphere, often in reference to the original performers through rhetoric of a "racial quality." In addition to incorporating new archival information of Glenn's career specifically, this chapter compares the overall performance styles of both women in the decade surrounding the CPR festivals.

3.2 Glenn in Toronto

Glenn's early career in Toronto played an important role in her later presentation of folksong; while details of Glenn's performances throughout the 1920s are quite scarce, new archival sources provide information concerning her education and performing experience as a young woman.⁴ Between 1924 and 1926 Glenn was engaged in a variety of theatrical and musical productions with the Hart House Theatre, and the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression with several of the city's cultural leaders, including Bertram Forsyth, Healey Willan and J. Campbell McInnes.⁵

Glenn began her affiliation with Forsyth when she enrolled in a summer course at the Hart House Theatre (1924), which led to her continued involvement throughout the 1924-1925 season; she appeared in a musical arrangement of Yeats' *At the Hawk's Well* (November 1924) and John Synge's *Riders to the Sea* (March 1925).⁶ Over the course of

³ Glenn papers. Box 11: Heliconian Club program (April 12, 1940).

⁴ See Appendix B.

⁵ Glenn papers. Box 11: letter to Glenn from Trinity College office of provost (May 4, 1925). Addressed "c/o Margaret Eaton School," the letter thanks Glenn for her "assistance with Saturday's program" and commends her "excellence of presentation of a really difficult part."

⁶ Glenn papers. Box 11: Hart House Theatre program (November 1924). The 41st production included *At the Hawk's Well* (E. Dulac) and *The Shewing up of Blanco-Posnet* (B. Shaw); Glenn papers. Box 11:

Forsyth's directorship (1921-1925) the Hart House Theatre was a model of the "Little Theatre" movement, devoted to the production of Canadian experimental/modern theatre as an alternative to mass-produced, professional shows. The "Little Theatre" movement has been identified by Heather Murray as a significant part of the exploration of Canadian artistic identity in the 1920s.⁷

Glenn attended the Margaret Eaton School, an all-female academy in Toronto that offered two-year diplomas in dramatic art, and physical culture.⁸ Classes offered at the school included: "Classic and aesthetic dancing, Folk dancing, Physical training, Voice training, and Rhythm and expression."⁹ The curriculum, developed in 1907 by the school's founder Emma Scott Raff, was devoted to exploring the transformative, embodied potential of the dramatic arts, drawing on her own experience as a singer and interaction with the ideas of François Delsarte.¹⁰ Delsartean practice relied on the premise that thought and feeling could be systematically expressed through prescribed physical movements.

Early reviews of Glenn's performances (musical and otherwise) described her as a dramatic performer; one reviewer from *The Globe* noted that of all of the summer students who had "won a commendation," it was Glenn and another actor that "lead in

Hart House Theatre program (March 1925). The 44th production included *Riders to the Sea* (J. Synge) and *The Sabine Women* (L. Andreyev); Glenn also participated in a December production of "Aladdin" (*Telegram*: December 26, 1924) and the Hart House Theatre revue *Plays in the Air* (Hart House Theatre, Players Club, n.d.).

⁷ Dyck, *These Things Are Our Totems*, 7. The 450-seat theatre was part of the multi-purpose Hart House facility on the University of Toronto campus. See also Hart House Theatre, *A Description of the Theatre and the Record of its First Nine Seasons 1919-1928*. Toronto: Hart House Theatre, c. 1928. The theatre was under the management of the "Syndics of Hart House Theatre" (the Hon. Vincent Massey, "Mrs. Vincent Massey," Lt. Col. G.F. McFarland, and Dr. George Locke) and directly responsible to the University of Toronto's Board of Governors.

⁸ Anna Lathrop, "Elegance and Expression, Sweat and Strength: Body Training, Physical Culture and Female Embodiment in Women's Education at the Margaret Eaton Schools (1901-1942)," Ed.D., dissertation, University of Toronto: Toronto (1997): 28.

⁹ Lathrop, "Elegance and Expression," 150.

¹⁰ Lathrop, "Elegance and Expression," 39.

[the] histrionic competition.”¹¹ Toronto *Daily Star* columnist Augustus Bridle reported that though Glenn had “gone into the study of drama merely as an aid to her singing,” she was equally talented in the dramatic arts. Bridle had only positive comments on her performance of Juliet and the infamous ‘poison scene:’ “Miss Glenn did a big piece of work, replete with natural passion, intensity, freedom of movement, dramatic concentration- all that and more; but she began by using drama as an element of song... she belongs to the stage.”¹² Later promotional materials of Glenn’s note this two-pronged approach in her early career, stating: “She was at the time divided between a theatrical or musical career, having shown unusual promise as an actress. She decided in favor of music.”¹³

Glenn’s status as either full- or part-time student is unclear from the school records, as is any record of which classes she attended. By the 1920s the Eaton school had developed a reputation for providing upper-middle class women with a “professional and practical education.”¹⁴ In the mid-1920s, however, declining enrolment in the dramatic arts stream prompted a reconfiguration of the school to focus solely on physical education training.¹⁵ Bertram Forsyth briefly served as Principal of the Margaret Eaton School, and Director of the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art for the 1925-1926

¹¹ Glenn papers. Box 11: *The Globe*, “Dramatic Students at Summer Course win Commendation” (July 25, 1924).

¹² Glenn papers. Box 11: Augustus Bridle, “High Lights on Music” column, *Toronto Daily Star* (August 2, 1924).

¹³ Glenn papers. Box 11: Heliconian Club program (April 12, 1940). A note reads: “In response to a general request, Miss Glenn will include in her programme a group of Canadian Indian songs in which she accompanies herself on native Indian drums, and French-Canadian songs. The programme will also include arias by Bach, Handel and Mozart, and groups of songs by Schubert and Debussy.” The program was roughly half “folksongs” and half classical repertoire.

¹⁴ Anna Lathrop, “Portrait of ‘A Physical’: A Case Study of Elizabeth Pitt Barron (1904-98),” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d’histoire de l’éducation*, 11, no. 2 (1999): 134.

¹⁵ John Byl, “The Margaret Eaton School, 1901-1942: Women’s education in elocution, drama and physical education,” Ph.D. dissertation, Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo (1992) 133. Scott Raff, uninterested in physical education without the accompanying arts focus, resigned (and in 1926 Mary G. Hamilton was named principal of the Margaret Eaton School)

school year between the principalships of Raff and Mary Hamilton (appointed 1926), respectively, which allowed the drama program to continue for one year after Raff's departure.¹⁶

While the theatre component of the Margaret Eaton School predated both Hart House and the Arts and Letters Club, it has not been included in the history of the "Little Theatre" movement. Murray argues the exclusion of the Margaret Eaton School was due to the institution's role as a female-only academy, and that the distinction between "little" and "amateur" theatre in this case was solely determined on gender of performers.¹⁷ Glenn's recorded involvement with the Eaton School overlapped with Forsyth's short-lived tenure as principal (1925-6); she sang at the Senior Recital of 1925; *An Evening of One-Act* plays by students of the school (April 1925); as well as Forsyth's own production *The Shepherdess Without a Heart* (December 1925).¹⁸

In addition to her study at the Margaret Eaton School and participation in Hart House Theatre productions, Glenn was a member of *The Music Makers*, an ensemble formed by J. Campbell McInnes in the mid-1920s devoted to the study of "folksongs and English madrigals."¹⁹ *The Music Makers* (later called *The Canadian Singers*) performed in costume, and in front of stage settings of "fleur-de-lis drapery" designed by Arthur

¹⁶ Lathrop, "Portrait of 'A Physical,'" 136. Also, Hart House Theatre, *A Description of the Theatre*, 1928; Florence Somers served as principal between 1934-1941, and in 1942 the school amalgamated with the University of Toronto.

¹⁷ Heather Murray, "Making the Modern: Twenty-Five Years of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," in *Essays in Theatre/Études Théâtrales* 10, no. 1 (November 1991): 39.

¹⁸ Glenn papers. Box 11: Margaret Eaton School Senior Recital (1925). Glenn performed "Schubert (Ave Maria); Rubinstein (Not with Angels); Schumann ('Twas in the lovely month of May; Whene'er I gaze within thine eyes); Glenn papers. Box 11: An Evening of One-Act Plays (April 2, 1925). By students of the Margaret Eaton School, the program included *Six Who Pass While the Lentils Boil* (S. Walker), *The Siege* (C.C. Clements) and *The Boor* (A. Tchekoff); Glenn papers. Box 11: Season 1925-1926 (Season 1925-1926, likely December 1925), *Shepherdess Without a Heart* (Forsyth) at the New Hall of the Margaret Eaton School.

¹⁹ Keillor, Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers, 29.

Lismer.²⁰ The press reviews described the visual and musical performance elements as combining to achieve the overall “impression of old-world charm”; as Glenn and her colleagues sat in their “quaint, colorful gowns of Watteau and Fragonard type” their “undertones melt together as bird songs do.”²¹ This group exemplified, albeit on a smaller scale, the pairing of folksongs and early or historical music found at the CPR festivals.



Fig. 1: The Music Makers, Quebec City, 1927 (CP Archives NS31322)
Florence Glenn, Betty Gemmill, Margaret Stephens, Margery Baldwin, Doreen Hillary,
Grace Johns, Joy Denton Kennedy

²⁰ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 23: *The Examiner* article (Peterborough, October 16, 1928). The Peterborough Exhibition took place from October 15-20, 1928.

²¹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 23. *The Examiner* article (Peterborough, October 16, 1928).

Many of Glenn's performances during this period in Toronto featured arrangements of early music (at times staged as pantomimes), and reflected the notion of music of the past, which though edited and arranged, was produced and advertised as "authentic." In an April 1926 program Glenn sang "Rare works by Mozart and Handel," directed by Forsyth at the New Hall of the Eaton School.²² Though billed as Mozart's rare opera *Bastien and Bastienne*, the piece performed at the concert was a reformatted production including a new libretto, lyrics and characters including Mozart and Dr. Mesmer.²³ The advertising of the piece as Mozart's "rare" work, composed at 12 years of age, enticed Toronto audiences to a performance that was a twentieth-century transformation of a historical composition. The second piece of the April 1926 concert had been considerably altered as well; the group performed an abridged version of Handel's "*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*" that transformed the pastoral ode into a pantomime, and omitted over half of Handel's original forty-nine sections.²⁴

In March that same year, Glenn was featured as one of four soloists in a performance of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* accompanied by *The Music Makers Orchestra* under the direction of McInnes.²⁵ Program notes for the *Stabat Mater* carefully articulated why McInnes chose to have the ensemble perform Pergolesi's setting of the Biblical text rather than Rossini's, citing the former as "historically and artistically more

²² Glenn papers. Box 11: "Amateur Favorites seen at new Margaret Eaton Theatre," *Toronto Evening Telegram* (April 27, 1926); "Stage Matters," *Toronto Evening Telegram* (May 1, 1926); "Rare works by Mozart and Handel," *Toronto Evening Telegram* (May 8, 1926).

²³ Glenn papers. Box 11: Season 1925-26 program (n.d.) included *Bastien and Bastienne: an opera by Mozart* (libretto Forsyth, lyrics Hamilton) and *Handel's setting of Milton's "L'Allegro"* (arr. Forsyth).

²⁴ 22 sections were performed.

²⁵ Glenn papers. Box 11: The Music Makers Concert Orchestra program (March 24, 1926). Other soloists were Betty Gemmill, Grace Johns and Pearl Whitehead. The first half of the program featured a non-specific list of pieces: "Three Spiritual Hymns (5th, 17th and 18th centuries), Trio- Golden Sonata (Purcell), Sonata for Cello (Handel), Slow Movement from Flute Concerto (Mozart), and Aria and Chorale (Bach.)"

appropriate” than “modern” arrangements (ie. Rossini’s).²⁶ It is unclear when McInnes spoke of these levels of propriety (“historically” and “artistically”), whether his intent was to describe the arrangement as suitable for Biblical times, or merely the aesthetic of the text itself. The critique of “modern” orchestration however, was reminiscent of the contemporary appeal of folk music as a simple, pastoral oasis from the ever-encroaching perceived ills of modernity and rapid urbanization. Regardless of McInnes’ high praise for Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*, program notes indicated the performance was in fact an arrangement specifically created for the March 1926 recital.

3.3 Gauthier in New York City

Unlike Glenn, Gauthier was an active interpreter of folksongs prior to the CPR festivals. Originally from Ottawa, Gauthier moved to New York City in the mid-1920s to join her sister, Eva, and teach at the Greenwich Music School after a short-lived attempt at an opera career in Boston.²⁷ Shortly thereafter Gauthier found her niche in the devoted study and presentation of collected French-Canadian, and Indigenous (including Inuit) music under the umbrella heading of “Canadian Folksongs.” Concurrently Gauthier adopted the surname “Gauthier de la Vérendrye,” based on a speculative genealogical connection between her family and the explorer Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye.²⁸ This modified name served to first distinguish herself from her sister Eva, as well as to subtly convey to audiences connotations of discovery, Canadian authenticity and upper-class privilege.

²⁶ Glenn papers. Box 11: The Music Makers Concert Orchestra program (March 24, 1926).

²⁷ Slominska, “Interpreting success and failure,” 92.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 92. This myth was widely accepted; Gibbon referred to Gauthier as “a direct descendant of the explorer, Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye” in the CPR concert literature. See *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de la Vérendrye,” accessed August 18, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/326618/Pierre-Gaultier-de-Varennes-et-de-La-Verendrye>.

Gauthier responded enthusiastically to the idea of the inaugural CPR festivals when approached by Gibbon, and even refused a twenty-week contract with Famous Players to assure her availability.²⁹ Gibbon and Barbeau underwrote a recital at Town Hall for Gauthier, which took place on April 8, 1927 and served to advertise the upcoming CPR festival. In addition to Gauthier's costumed performance of Inuit, French-Canadian, and primarily West-Coast Indigenous music, the recital included several ethnographic films, and a lecture by Arctic explorer Vilhjamur Stefansson. Marketed to New York audiences who would be able to afford to travel to Quebec City, Gibbon viewed the Town Hall recital as a preview of the reception to be expected the following month at the CPR festival.

At the suggestion of Gibbon, two films were screened at the Town Hall recital. As he wrote to Barbeau, they could "throw the movies on the screen while [Gauthier] is changing costume between her groups of songs."³⁰ These films, described in the program as "Life of the Nootka, Gitskan and Kootenay Indians" and "Illustrating the life and handicrafts of habitants of Quebec," were accompanied by "Indian music" and unnamed "French-Canadian folksongs" played by Alfred Gietzen on the viola d'amore.³¹

In his letter to Barbeau, Gibbon referred to "negatives not yet published taken two summers ago" held by the Associated Screen News, which could potentially be used for the Town Hall recital.³² According to Lynda Jessup, the first film shown was called "Quebec City Festival," which included the footage mentioned by Gibbon (from the

²⁹ Slominska, "Interpreting Success and Failure," 162.

³⁰ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (February 14, 1927).

³¹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

³² Jessup, "Early Ethnographic Cinema," 278. CPR was the majority shareholder in the ASN.

A.S.N.),³³ and the second was a combination of CPR footage and material from Harlan Smith's anthropological films at the National Museum.³⁴ While Jessup describes both films as "makeshift" or "cobbled together," these were precursors to a larger tradition of ethnographic filmmaking at the CPR and National Museum.

The films screened at the Town Hall recital were specifically chosen by Barbeau and Gibbon to present certain images of Indigenous and French-Canadian life. The two men's correspondence specifically indicated they wanted to incorporate scenes of "dancing Indians" to the audience.³⁵ Both treat their subjects as Folk, although the *habitants* occupy a position, as Jessup has analyzed, "closer to the Modern on the developmental scale than does the non-Western Primitive."³⁶ As Jessup writes, Gibbon's suggestion and the subsequent screening of these films for the audience at Gauthier's recital represent a significant turn in the history and commodification of ethnographic filmmaking in North America, in that they presented the work of collecting.

The Town Hall recital was first among several film screenings paired with performances by Gauthier. For example, the 1928 film *Nass River Indians* (later split in two shorter films, *Saving the Sagas*, and *Fish and Medicine Men*) was initially intended for the National Gallery Exhibition in December of that same year, and presented in January 1928 at the Art Gallery of Toronto along with a performance by Gauthier.³⁷ *Nass River Indians* was filmed in the summer of 1927 and featured scenes of Barbeau and Ernest MacMillan's work transcribing and recording songs among the Nisga'a

³³ Jessup, "Early Ethnographic Cinema," 279.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 280.

³⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 20: letter from Gibbon (March 2, 1927).

³⁶ Jessup, "Early Ethnographic Cinema," 279.

³⁷ Jessup, "Early Ethnographic Cinema," 269; Jessup, *Tin Cans and Machinery: Saving the Sagas and Other Stuff. Visual Anthropology* 12 (1999) 76.

communities in British Columbia. That same summer the CPR-commissioned film *Totem Land* was filmed on Vancouver Island, which included scenes of Gauthier singing with George and Francine Hunt, who had served as advisors and informants for several earlier films by American anthropologists.³⁸

3.4 Glenn's Early Solo Career

Following the CPR festivals, Glenn's career benefited enormously from Barbeau's lifelong artistic and professional attentions. His early (recorded) interest in her career occurred after the CPR Festival, when *The Canadian Singers* performed at the Peterborough Exhibition in October 1928. The group's accompanist, Constance Hamilton, wrote to Barbeau that Glenn's solos were well received by the audience, and that McInnes himself was also quite pleased with the performance. She reported the "delicacy and charm of Florence's singing," as well as her overall assessment that Glenn's "attitude towards the folk song" was appropriate since "[Glenn] never attempted to carry them beyond their flower-like limits and obviously charmed her audience."³⁹

By May 1929 Barbeau was convinced of Glenn's potential and wrote to Gibbon: "I was very glad to find out that I hadn't been mistaken in my anticipation... No doubt Glenn will be one of the leading interpreters of folksongs in Canada."⁴⁰ In addition to providing her with access to collected folksong repertoire, Barbeau facilitated and created performance engagements for Glenn. In April 1929 she performed at a handicraft

³⁸ Hunt had served as an advisor/informant for several earlier American anthropological films including Edward Curtis' *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914); Pliny Goddard's expedition footage (1922); Franz Boas' research footage (1930); Harlan Smith's *The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia* (1923-30) Jessup, "Early Ethnographic Cinema," 284. (footage was also filmed at the CPR festivals, including a film of "handicrafts and folksongs (1927); *Habitant Festival* (1928). Jessup, "Early Ethnographic Cinema," 284.

³⁹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F23: letter from Constance Hamilton (n.d.). Hamilton wrote Glenn had "never sang more sweetly."

⁴⁰ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 F 24: letter to Gibbon (May 3, 1929) | B 197 F 22: letter to Gibbon (February 16, 1928): "Glenn did not sing any troubadour songs last year, inclined to sing flat when singing solo."

exhibition at the Chateau Laurier (Ottawa) organized by Barbeau in conjunction with the local Arts Association. Her program, called “Classical Music and Canadian Folk Songs,” included selections by Scarlatti, J.S. Bach, Mozart and Schumann and several folksongs of the United Kingdom, and French-Canada.⁴¹ Many of Glenn’s earliest documented solo recitals consisted of both classical music and folksongs in this vein as well as performances by her accompanist, Gwendolyn Williams.

Between February and April 1930 Glenn toured Canada, performing at local chapters of the Association of Canadian Clubs (A.C.C.).⁴² Arranged by Barbeau and Graham Spry, general secretary of the A.C.C., Glenn’s tour repertoire was selected to “promote [the] artistic, intellectual and political growth of Canada,” in order that “greater sympathy and understanding should be developed between diversified people of the dominion.”⁴³ The language is reminiscent of Gibbon’s universalist desires for Canadian society, although Glenn’s concerts were more inclusive than Gibbon’s mosaic. Her recitals, each called “A Concert of Canadian Music,” incorporated French-Canadian, English and Indigenous music collected in Canada, and arranged by Canadian composers.⁴⁴ Glenn’s musical abilities were well received, and reviewers often commented on the national scope of her program. Saskatoon papers reported on the “artistic program of national folk songs,” from such a “talented singer, who delights

⁴¹ Glenn papers. Box 11: Arts Association of Ottawa program (April 25, 1929).

⁴² Glenn papers. Box 11: Toronto *Evening Telegram* (February 19, 1940) reports Glenn “leaves next week for tour: St. Thomas, Stratford, Ottawa, Montreal, Pacific Coast- Vancouver and Winnipeg and Western cities in between,” also mentions Moncton and Wolfville. Based on newspaper reviews, the concerts took place: Ottawa (March 4), Kewatin (mid-March), Saskatoon (March ~18), Edmonton (March 31), Montreal (mid-April), Moncton (April 22), Ottawa (April 30) Ste Anne de la Pocatière (late April).

⁴³ Glenn papers. Box 11: Letter from Graham Spry (Association of Canadian Clubs) to Barbeau.

⁴⁴ Glenn papers. Box 11: A Concert of Canadian Music. (1930). For example: *Voilà la recompense* (arr. Léo-Pol Morin); *Rossignolet sauvage* (arr. Henri Gagnon); *Si j’étais petite mère* (arr. Healey Willan); *A la fontaine* (arr. Barbeau); *The one that I love best* (arr. MacMillan); *Riding Song* (arr. Leo Smith); *Nadudu* (sung unaccompanied); *Haninaw* (arr. Barbeau).

listeners with collection of French, English-Canadian and Indian songs.”⁴⁵ In Ottawa, Isabel Armstrong’s column headline in *The Evening Citizen* reported (surely to the delight of Barbeau and Gibbon) that the Dominion’s “amazing artistic development in [the] last few years [was] strikingly demonstrated.”⁴⁶ This concert, according to Armstrong, “revealed that the dominion [had] a school of national music as distinctive as Canadian painting,” and that “like the music of other countries it finds its inspiration in the wealth of folk song.”⁴⁷

3.5 Performance Styles

While the repertory of Glenn and Gauthier were comparable, their performance styles, use of costumes and program notes, showcased dissimilar approaches to the music itself. Glenn maintained a separation between herself as a performer (dramatic though she was) and her repertoire, whereas Gauthier viewed herself as an expert in, and at times expressed a sense of belonging to, the cultures whose music she performed. Gauthier’s authenticity as a performer of folksong was derived from this expert status, whereas Glenn interpreted repertoire that was considered authentic due to it having been provided by museum experts.

Reviews from early performances emphasized Glenn’s classically trained voice: “Florence Glenn sang beautifully...her work was well-nigh perfect. Above all her enunciation was splendidly clear;” “Florence Glenn sang an aria from the Magic Flute with smooth, appealing intonation.”⁴⁸ Subsequent reviews reported Glenn was a “lovely mezzo-soprano voice of pure, true tone and sympathetic quality,” and continually

⁴⁵ *Star-Phoenix* review (Saskatoon: March 18, 1930).

⁴⁶ Isabel Armstrong, *The Evening Citizen* review (Ottawa: March 5, 1930).

⁴⁷ Isabel Armstrong, *The Evening Citizen* review (Ottawa: March 5, 1930).

⁴⁸ Glenn papers, Box 11: Toronto *The Evening Telegram* article (April 27, 1926); Glenn papers, Box 11: Toronto *Saturday Night* article (May 1, 1926).

emphasized the dramatic quality of her performances: “to her singing gift she brings a graceful histrionic talent which makes her work the more engaging.”⁴⁹ Glenn’s dramatic tendencies, according to the *Evening Telegram* (Toronto), “[asserted] themselves in her singing, possibly without her consciousness, certainly without any appearance of conscious effort.”⁵⁰

As her solo repertoire branched into the presentation of French-Canadian and Indigenous songs, the dramatic quality of Glenn’s work was often attributed to the “racial quality” of the song itself. In accordance with the belief that there could be characteristics identified within and shared by an entire ethnic group, as expressed in *The Canadian Mosaic*, Glenn’s reviewers described her performances as embodying the perceived qualities of the repertoire. Since the “racial quality” could be reproduced in order to mimic the group, in the absence of native French-Canadians, or Indigenous people singing their own songs Glenn was subjectively viewed as an authentic substitute. One Moncton reporter wrote, “[Glenn] presented the racial quality, rather than the individual. She was not one Indian, she was all Indians. And with the last note always quite unconsciously, she stepped back into her Florentine picture frame.”⁵¹ As much was said in the Edmonton papers, as reporters praised Glenn as a “clever artist” who provided a charming, “vivid interpretation.”⁵² The designation of Glenn as a folksong “interpreter,” a term consistently used to refer to her practice, relied on this sort of understanding of both the music and its provenance.

⁴⁹ Glenn papers, Box 11: Toronto *The Evening Telegram* article (November 26, 1929).

⁵⁰ Glenn papers. Box 11: Toronto *The Evening Telegram* review (November 26, 1929).

⁵¹ Glenn papers. Box 11: Toronto *Evening Telegram* review (November 26, 1929).

⁵² Glenn papers. Box 11: *Edmonton Bulletin* review (April 1, 1930) | *Edmonton Journal* review (April 1, 1930).

In comparison, reviews of Gauthier's recitals emphasized her expert status, a designation that featured prominently in her program notes, as she considered her performances a continuation of contemporary museum work. Gauthier presented herself as an expert in the field of ethnography, an ambassador of Canadian anthropology, and her programs are full of quotes endorsing this expertise, for example:

“Miss Gaultier knows her subject from first hand study...Her voice is a rich, vibrant mezzo-soprano, with tones carefully graduated and of even timbre. Yet for all the polished beauty of her singing, Miss Gaultier has preserved the essential naiveté of the folk songs...Devoid of extraneous musical flourishes...these songs show the customary qualities of folk music the world round. But they also possess their own, neither English nor French, but definitely and clearly a product of the New World and its vast wildernesses.”

- *The Christian Science Monitor* (February 16, 1927)
(included in Gauthier's Town Hall Program, April 1927)⁵³

Gauthier included much the same descriptions when she performed in Paris (1938), calling herself “an artist who has devoted herself to the study of all manifestations of the cultural life of her country's native and white populations.”⁵⁴ She also included a description of her fieldwork: “[Gauthier] has undertaken painstaking research, spending long periods of time in native “reserves” and in the most diverse regions of the Canadian countryside.”⁵⁵

This premise of expertise was possible due to Gauthier's connection with Barbeau and his co-worker, Diamond Jenness, who provided her with transcribed field recordings from Indigenous and French-Canadian communities. Notable contacts who added

⁵³ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

⁵⁴ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B196 F24: *Chants Eskimo et Indiens du Canada* (March 26, 1938). “Une artiste qui s'est consacrée à l'étude toutes les manifestations de la vie culturelle des populations indigènes et blanches de son pays.”

⁵⁵ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B196 F24: *Chants Eskimo et Indiens du Canada* (March 26, 1938). “Elle a fait de patientes recherches, passant de longues périodes dans les “réserves” indigènes et dans les régions les plus diverses de la campagne canadienne, partageant la vie quotidienne des habitants, les observant, conversant avec eux dans leur propre langue, gagnant leur confiance par sa chaude sympathie. C'est ainsi qu'elle a pu relever tout leur folk-lore: chants, danses chantées ou chant mimes, contes, legends, mystères, etc.”

legitimacy to her claimed status included Walter Damrosch, director of the New York Symphony Orchestra, who commended Gauthier's "fascinating renditions" of both French-Canadian and "Eskimo Indian chants," and the Arctic explorer Viljhamur Stefansson who was also based in New York City.⁵⁶ The promotional material of the CPR festivals produced by Gibbon also highlighted Gauthier's credentials as a classically-trained performer, followed by a slightly exaggerated version of her experience as an opera singer. Gibbon extolled Gauthier's "pioneer work in the domain of folksong" and her dedicated language study in pursuit of her career as interpreter of "Canadian folksong."⁵⁷

In keeping with her self-identification as an expert and what she referred to as a "love of science," Gauthier strove to educate her audiences through the use of verbose concert materials, which almost without exception provided pages of notes explaining the significance of the songs she performed.⁵⁸ These programs are an important testimony of Gauthier's own perception of the music she performed, and the cultures represented at her recitals. On the whole, Gauthier's conceptions of Indigenous and French-Canadian music were in keeping with the typifying ethnography of the early 1900s, and though she provided audiences with more information, Gauthier conveyed the same problematic distinction made by Barbeau and his colleagues between past and present cultures as more and less "authentic."

Whereas Gauthier's programs included similar, if not identical, essays for many of her recitals, including at the Town Hall and the CPR festivals, Glenn's recital programs varied with each performance and generally only included the names of songs

⁵⁶ Slominska, "Interpreting success and failure," 95.

⁵⁷ CP General promotional program (May 20-22, 1927).

⁵⁸ Slominska, "Interpreting success and failure," 156.

performed and the collection. Both Glenn and Gauthier's recitals presented French-Canadian music in identical fashion when compared to the CPR festivals; as a musical inheritance from Europe of courtly songs transformed by rural peasants in Canada.

Gauthier's programs emphasized the historical connection between France and Canada: "Although many of the thousands of chansons sung today in Canada date back to the court musicians of Henri IV and Louis XIII... they have become true folksongs in the lips of country folk."⁵⁹ Reviews of Glenn's performances reflected the same patronizing language of the CPR festivals, as they described the "Quaint airs of French-Canada," and the "Indian folk songs," that pleased as "Legend in music."⁶⁰ The image of French-Canadian culture as an oasis of simplicity, and that of Indigenous cultures as "primitive," prevailed.

Gauthier's programs were divided in sections, with broad headings such as "Northern Alaskan and Copper Eskimo Songs," or "West-Coast, British Columbia and Vancouver Island Nootka Indian Songs." Each umbrella heading was followed by an essay describing the cultural 'type.' For example, two pages of information precedes Gauthier's repertoire list, and included the following generalized explanation: "When the Eskimo returns from his hunting-ground at the close of the summer... he often weaves the story of his adventures into a song."⁶¹ Gauthier also provided information concerning musical traditions, for example "The Eskimos never tune their drums to any particular note," as well as the provenance of the materials: "In 1910 Vilhjalmur Stefansson went to re-explore this forgotten region."⁶²

⁵⁹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

⁶⁰ Glenn papers. Box 11: *Evening Telegram* article (Toronto, February 19, 1930).

⁶¹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

⁶² CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

Each broad heading of musical traditions was further divided into subsections, distinguished by the specific community from which the songs were collected, and the “type” of song. For example, the “West Coast, British Columbia and Vancouver Island Nootka Indian Songs” category included songs of the Nuu-chah-nulth, Ktunaxa, and Dakelh peoples (referred to respectively as Nootka, Kootenay, and Carrier in the literature).⁶³ Songs were grouped according to “type,” for example, a series of “Weather Incantations,” could be followed by a series of “Dance Songs,” all under the subsection heading of “Copper Eskimo.” Groups of song “types” were also preceded by an explanation, for example, a section of four weather incantations collected as part of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1916) was introduced with the following statement:

“Weather incantations are mostly sung by the “Shaman” (Medicine Man). A shaman’s powers are due to the control he presumably exercises over certain spirits...Innumerable stories are current that the shamans possess these powers. No native entertains the slightest doubt as to the literal truth of every incident.”⁶⁴

3.6 Costumes

Over the course of their careers, both Gauthier and Glenn costumed themselves in their recitals to some extent, which served to amplify the separate nature of their repertoire from the Western classical tradition. In her solo recitals Glenn costumed herself not as *The Canadian Singers* in their Renaissance wear, or in museum artifacts, but in simple clothes that could easily transition from one group of songs to the next. Subtle wardrobe changes accompanied repertoire changes, for example, adding a shawl to her costume when transitioning from French-Canadian to Indigenous songs. There is no record, however, that Glenn continued to perform in costume when in Europe during the 1930s. Her publicity and promotional materials in the collection are exclusively of the

⁶³ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

⁶⁴ CMH/MHC Barbeau fonds. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

singer in formal wear. Several pictures of Glenn in costume were published in the Toronto *Evening Telegram*, and have been reprinted in Keillor's 2004 article: "Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers."

By contrast, in her promotional materials Gauthier was consistently portrayed in costume. Advertisements for the Town Hall concert in the *New York Times* consisted of four lines of text, one of which read "Song recital in costume."⁶⁵ Other advertisements for the same concert included a pencil sketch illustration of a woman sitting at a spinning wheel, cueing the audience for Gauthier's presentation of French-Canadian *chansons* specifically.⁶⁶ The cover page of a promotional pamphlet for the 1927 Quebec City festival was almost entirely taken up by a portrait of Gauthier in costume sitting at a spinning wheel.

Gauthier's preference was to have "authentic clothes," or museum artifacts (clothing) from the communities whose music she performed. According to Slominska, Gauthier believed her costumes imbued her performances with an added authority.⁶⁷ As Gauthier considered herself something of a musical ambassador, she believed it was the responsibility of the National Museum to provide her with appropriate concert-wear.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Text advertisement, *The New York Times* (April 6, 1927) (April 7, 1927).

⁶⁶ Text advertisement, *The New York Times* (March 27, 1927) (April 3, 1927).

⁶⁷ Slominska, "Interpreting Success and Failure," 213.

⁶⁸ Slominska, "Interpreting Success and Failure," 99.

Over the course of her documented career, Gauthier was provided with artifacts from several sources, including the (American) Museum of Natural History and the (Canadian) National Museum.⁶⁹ Prior to her appearance at the 1927 Quebec City festival Gauthier was in communication with Barbeau and Diamond Jenness of the National Museum in order to procure a costume more to her liking. Initially Barbeau relayed the impossibility of allowing a museum “specimen” to leave the collection, however a few weeks before the festival Jenness wrote to Gauthier with news she would be able to “appear in all the glory of an Indian princess.”⁷⁰ He also specified the “West Coast costume” would suit Gauthier’s



repertoire of “Nootka songs, Carrier and Tahltan, that is to say all the

Fig. 2: *Juliette Gauthier*, Quebec City, 1927
CP Archives NS31325

⁶⁹ Slominska, “Interpreting Success and Failure,” 96. Clark Wissler from the American Museum of Natural History lent Gauthier costumes as well.

⁷⁰ CMH/MHC Gauthier coll. B 645 F 1: letter from Jenness (May 6, 1927).

Indian songs you are singing.”⁷¹ The museum made an exception allowing Gauthier to borrow the clothing, even clearing the articles for international travel to the United States.

3.7 Repertoire

The use of costumes facilitated a link between the music and its broader context. As one reporter for the Montreal *Daily Star*, H.P. Bell, wrote of Gauthier’s recital repertoire, though it was “not given by the people to whom they belong,” he believed Gauthier had made a “close imitation...with the help of native dresses.”⁷² As Slominska writes, Gauthier’s tried “to recreate the songs’ original context in a concert setting;” this approximation of “original context” was provided via visual methods, or costumes and stage settings, in order to complement the unaccompanied performances.⁷³ For the Town Hall recital, painted backgrounds of totem poles and aurora borealis were commissioned from the well-known portraitist, Langdon Kihn, who had also provided the illustrations for *Indian Days of the Canadian Rockies*.⁷⁴ Gauthier sang in front of these sets for several of her future recitals, including the CPR festival.⁷⁵

In order to perform as the “original” singers, Gauthier preferred to sing unaccompanied folksongs collected by the National Museum. Vilhjalmur Stefansson is quoted in Gauthier’s Town Hall program as follows:

“you rendered the songs exactly as if the Eskimos themselves were singing. So far as I know, this is the first time that Eskimo songs have been sung just as they are instead of being merely used as the basis or “inspiration” for some sort of elaboration.”⁷⁶

⁷¹ CMH/MHC Gaultier coll. B 645 F 1: letter from Jenness (May 18, 1927).

⁷² CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 346: H.P. Bell, *Montreal Daily Star* (May 28, 1927).

⁷³ Slominska, “Interpreting Success and Failure,” 92.

⁷⁴ *The New York Times*, review (April 9, 1927).

⁷⁵ Including performances at the Chateau Laurier (June 1927); Little Theatre in Ottawa (February 10, 1928); Art Gallery of Toronto (January 25, 1928). As late as June 1932 the screens were mentioned in Gibbon and Barbeau’s correspondence in connection with the upcoming Imperial Conference Reception (July 1932).

⁷⁶ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 347 F 16: Gauthier concert program (April 8, 1927).

Over the course of planning for the Town Hall recital, correspondence between Gauthier, Gibbon and Barbeau indicated differences of opinion, largely rooted in this basic premise regarding the purpose of collected folksong. Gauthier did not consider the music as inspiration for any “higher” art forms, and thus did not appreciate the arrangements prepared by so many of the composers at the CPR festivals.

Gauthier typically performed repertoire supplied by Barbeau from the National Museum collection, often accompanying herself with a small hand-drum. Gibbon, however, was concerned that her repertoire, when combined with the unaccompanied performance style, gave the “impression of sameness.”⁷⁷ Barbeau and Gibbon believed that while for New York audiences unaccompanied performances remained a novelty, the piano had not worn out its welcome in Quebec City, where unaccompanied singing was less a novelty, and they urged Gauthier to reconsider her performance style, both for the Town Hall recital and the festival itself.⁷⁸

This led to a compromise between the three with regards to Gauthier’s French-Canadian repertoire, and at the Town Hall recital she performed arrangements by Marion Bauer, accompanied by Alfred Gietzen on viola. At the 1927 festival, Gauthier performed her French-Canadian *chansons* accompanied by Milton Blackstone on the viola in the same arrangements, and the following year she sang a group of French Renaissance songs arranged and accompanied by Jean Beck.⁷⁹ There was no compromise made with regards to the Indigenous repertoire.

⁷⁷ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 196 F 24: letter from Gauthier to Barbeau (February 7, 1927); letter from Gibbon (March 14, 1927).

⁷⁸ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 196 F 24: letter from Barbeau (March 24, 1927).

⁷⁹ CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Friday evening program (May 20, 1927); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Saturday matinee program (May 26, 1928); CP Misc. Festivals & Ski Trains: Saturday evening program (May 26, 1928). See Appendix A.

Glenn's French-Canadian repertoire in her early solo recitals comprised songs of the Barbeau collection, arranged by a variety of Canadian composers, including Léo-Pol Morin, H. Gagnon, Willan and Barbeau himself. Unlike Gauthier's usual program, Glenn sang English-Canadian songs of the East Coast on several occasions, arranged by MacMillan, as well as classical repertoire. Her Indigenous repertoire selections were performed either as arrangements or "with a drum in the Indian manner."⁸⁰

3.8 Concluding Remarks

The solo careers of both Juliette Gauthier and Florence Glenn were not dissimilar; each sang folksongs, attended the CPR festivals at Quebec City, wore costumes and was supplied with repertoire by Barbeau. Both Gauthier and Glenn's respective recitals encouraged the mentality of modern French-Canadian and Indigenous cultures as "inauthentic" through concert literature, and as evidenced in concert reviews.

However, each artist's stylistic interpretation of an "authentic" performance of "Canadian folksong" varied slightly; Gauthier due to her self-defined expertise preferred to perform unarranged collected music, while Glenn performed a variety of arrangements and repertoire over the course of her career.

Influenced by Barbeau's subjective definitions of "authenticity," Glenn and Gauthier's recitals can be read as a musical component of the nationalist legacy of English Canada that aimed to identify and promote a Canadian national identity. These same impulses that lead to the organization of the CPR festivals and Gibbon's fantasy of

⁸⁰ Glenn papers. Box 11. Canadian Clubs program (1930). Voilà la recompense (nocturne) arr. Morin; Les deux pailles d'orge (danse song) arr. Morin; Rossignolet sauvage (love song) arr. H. Gagnon; Si j'étais petite mere (lullaby) arr. Willan; A la fontaine (fuller song) arr. Barbeau. The One that I love best (Folk song of Nova Scotia); One Morning in May (Irish, from the Gatineau, near Ottawa), The Maid on the Shore (from Nova Scotia) all three arr. MacMillan. She is Mine (Skeena River, Northern BC) arr. Barbeau; Alaeena (Skeena River Lullaby) and Riding Song (Thompson River, BC) both arr. Leo Smith; Nadudu (Lullaby from the Nass River, BC) and Hano (dirge from the Nass) both performed unaccompanied; Haninaw (Skeena River Love Song) arr. Barbeau.

The Canadian Mosaic allowed for both women to have relatively successful careers as promoters of “Canadian folksong.”

Conclusion

As Gibbon and Barbeau organized the Quebec City festivals, they were influenced by Anglophone nationalist sentiments, and the desire to define a unified Canadian identity. The narrow vision of the 1920s “nationalist network” was further delineated in Gibbon’s 1938 publication, which presented the widely accepted, albeit problematic, metaphor of the “Canadian Mosaic.” Stemming from these questions of identity was the concern that Canada’s arts were not on par with the nation’s political development; inspired by the European construct of the “Folk,” Barbeau and Gibbon made a concerted attempt to identify and celebrate qualities of “Canadian-ness” in music by encouraging a national school of composition based on French-Canadian folksong.

The idea that a nation, and particularly one as expansive as Canada, could have a single unified musical practice denies the vastly diverse realities of its residents. Similarly, attempts to narrate an all-encompassing national “history,” musical or otherwise, engage in self-deception and ultimately fall short. Nevertheless, national narratives, subjectively constructed and politically motivated as they may be, can serve as a powerful tool to unite (or divide) a people. One of the primary motivations of this thesis has been to present a critical reading of the Quebec City festivals (1927, 1928) and other folksong performances, in order that they may be seen as instruments for the dissemination of nationalist sentiments.

The CPR festivals relied on static representations of Indigenous and French-Canadian cultures in order to present models of “authentic” music for the purposes of a national cause. This subjectively defined “indigeneity” impacted each aspect of the festivals, from repertoire and performer selections to how individual performances were

introduced in the concert literature. Performances at the 1927 festival by Gauthier and Indigenous artists illustrated the particularly fraught dynamics of colonizer and colonized, and the ramifications of such definitions of “authenticity” for persons of the community deemed “inauthentic.”

A key component of the musical narrative promoted by Barbeau and Gibbon was the connection between French artsong and French-Canadian folksong. Throughout the festival programming and CPR advertising, physical and ephemeral aspects of Quebec (City) were highlighted in order to emphasize the connection with Europe. Many of the performances of Florence Glenn and *The Music Makers/The Canadian Singers* featured in-depth explanations describing the early French-Canadian settlers’ familiarity with French artsong. The performance of the thirteenth-century musical play *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion* paralleled Barbeau and Gibbon’s extension of Canada’s (music) history to the French Middle Ages.

Other musical productions performed the idealized narrative of a cooperative historical settlement of Canada at the 1928 festival: *L’Ordre de bon-temps*, *Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘manufacture,’* and *Les Forestiers et Voyageurs*. Again, this narrative presented a selective image of colonization, and of Canadian society.

The E.W. Beatty composition contest defined Canadian songs as those based exclusively on French-Canadian folksongs, prescribing “Canadian” in a manner which contradicted the demographic realities of the nation, and excluding the music of the land’s original inhabitants. Nonetheless, these “Canadian” works were thought to encapsulate the musical “essence” of the nation.

It was the presentation of “Canadian” music, narrowly-defined and economically-motivated, which lead Barbeau to write Gibbon in 1929 that he had “ceased to think constructively of the Quebec festivals,” since his own “plans were deferred on account of what [Gibbon] considered bigger things.”¹ “Bigger things” no doubt refers to Gibbon’s preoccupation with pleasing the crowd as a member of the tourism industry, which had “little to do with the surest foundation of success,” defined by Barbeau as the “artistic presentation of our Canadian folk songs and folk crafts.”² The festivals, Barbeau wrote, had been a “considerable waste of effort and material resources to little or no purpose” and the thought of future festivals at Quebec City evoked a “deep feeling of revulsion.”³

Glenn’s willingness to perform “artistic presentations” of folksongs provided by Barbeau no doubt endeared her to him; in contrast, as Lynda Jessup writes, Barbeau was critical of Gauthier’s performances since she had not “done very much” with the materials he had provided.⁴ Throughout her career, Glenn continued to incorporate repertoire into her recitals; after her time in Europe (1930-1938) Glenn performed arrangements by French composer Marguerite Béclard d’Harcourt (1884-1964) and included a wide variety of folksongs in her concerts. In contrast, and despite the lack of support from Barbeau, Gauthier continued her presentations of folksongs as if in their “original context,” adding to her repertoire only slightly over the course of her career. After relocating to Ottawa in 1931, as Slominska writes, Gauthier’s typical recitals were

¹ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 L 24: Letter from Barbeau (May 7, 1929).

² CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 L 24: Letter from Barbeau (May 7, 1929).

³ CMH/MHC Barbeau coll. B 197 L 24: Letter from Barbeau (May 7, 1929). Evidently this tension was apparent to Gibbon; he replied the next day saying he was aware Barbeau had “felt strain last year and had lost [his] enthusiasm.”

⁴ Jessup, “Early Ethnographic Cinema,” 292.

less of a novelty, and the majority of her later work involved “handicraft promotion” and children’s concerts.⁵

The CPR festivals at Quebec City of 1927 and 1928 were unique; Gibbon and Barbeau’s close collaboration would not be repeated, and the group of artists and composers would not reconvene in such a manner. Altogether, the CPR festivals, and the featured performances of both Glenn and Gauthier’s careers illustrate the complex ways in which Canadian music was conceived, disseminated and mediated during this period focused on the development of a Canadian artistic identity.

⁵ Slominska, “Interpreting Success and Failure,” 111, 114-116, 120. Gauthier traveled to Europe as delegate for the Paris Exposition (1937), gave a lecture tour of the Canadian Clubs (1940) and in her later years (1949-1954) worked at the Gatineau Park Museum as a live-in costumed interpreter who presented visitors with traditional arts and crafts.

Bibliography

Archival Collections

Canadian Museum of History/Musée Canadien de L'Histoire (CMH/MCH)

Gatineau, QC

Fonds Marius Barbeau

Fonds Juliette Gaultier

Florence Glenn papers:

Currently stored at the CMH, pending acquisition.

Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives (CP)

Windsor Station, Montreal, QC

Primary Literature

Barbeau, Marius. "Save Art of Coast Indians." *Vancouver Daily Province* (October 22, 1926).

_____. "An Indian Paradise Lost." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 1, no. 2 (1930): 133-148.

_____. *Backgrounds in Canadian Art*. Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1941.

Barbeau, Marius and Edward Sapir. *Folk songs of French Canada*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

Beck, Jean. *The Play of Robin and Marion: Mediaeval Folk Comedy Opera by the Trouvère Adam de la Halle*. Translated by J. Murray Gibbon. Boston: C.C. Birchard and Company, 1928.

Buzzi-Peccia, Arturo. *The Wild Woman's Lullaby*. Poem by Constance Lindsay Skinner. Boston: Oliver Ditson Co., 1924.

de la Halle, Adam. *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Edited by Jean Duournet. Paris, 1989.

- de Montigny, Louvigny. "L'Ordre de bon-temps." *Bouquet de Mélusine*. Montreal & New York: Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Éditions du Mercure (1928): 11-46.
- _____. "Madame de Repentigny et sa 'Manufacture.'" *Bouquet de Mélusine*. Montreal & New York: Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Éditions du Mercure (1928): 47-85.
- _____. "Forestiers et Voyageurs." *Bouquet de Mélusine*. Montreal & New York: Louis Carrier & CIE, Les Éditions du Mercure (1928): 87-112.
- de Roquefort, Jean Baptiste Bonaventure. *De l'état de la poésie française dans les XIIIe et XIIIe siècles*. Paris: Fournier, 1814/5.
- Dodwell, H.H. ed. "British India, 1497-1858." *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* Vol. IV, 1929.
- Foster, Kate. *Our Canadian Mosaic*. Toronto: Dominion Council of Y.W.C.A., 1926.
- Gascoigne, Margaret. *Chansons of Old French Canada*. Quebec: Chateau Frontenac, 1920.
- Gaultier de la Verendrye, Juliette. *Folk Songs of Canada*. (Recital program) Ottawa: Chateau Laurier, 1927.
- Gibbon, J. Murray. "Canadian Letters and the New Canadian," in *The Empire Club of Canada Addresses*, Toronto: Empire Club of Canada (1924): 330-345.
- _____. *Canadian Folksongs Old and New*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927.
- _____. *The Order of Good Cheer*. Montreal: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1929.
- _____. *The Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938.
- Hart House Theatre, *A Description of the Theatre and the Record of its First Nine Seasons 1919-1928*. Toronto: Hart House Theatre, c. 1928.
- Hayward, Victoria. *Romantic Canada*. Toronto: MacMillan & Co., 1922.
- MacMillan, Ernest ed. *Twenty-One Folk-Songs of French Canada*. With introduction by J. Murray Gibbon. Oakville, ON: The Frederick Harris Co., 1928.
- Sapir, Edward. "An Anthropological Survey of Canada." *Science* 34 (July-December 1911): 789-793.

Skinner, Constance Lindsay. *Songs of the Coast Dwellers*. New York City: Coward-McCann, 1930.

Weckerlin, Jean-Baptiste. *Échos du Temps Passé*. Vol. II. Paris: G. Flaxland, 1855.

Willan, Healey. *L'Ordre de Bon-Temps (The Order of Good Cheer)*. Libretto by Louvigny de Montigny. Translated by J. Murray Gibbon. Oakville, ON: Frederick Harris, 1928.

Secondary Literature

Adams, Dorothy. "Biographical Sketch." *Constance Lindsay Skinner, Author and Editor: Sketches of Her Life and Character, With a Checklist of Her Writings and the "Rivers of America" Series*. Edited by Ann Heidbreder Eastman. Blacksburg, VA: Women's National Book Association, Inc. (1980): 15-27.

Alden, Jane. *Songs, Scribes, and Society: the history and reception of the Loire Valley Chansonniers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. London: Verso, 2006.

Aylen, Marielle. "Urgency of Myth: Marius Barbeau, Tori Smith, and the Narrations of Nation." *Around and about Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*. Edited by Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 241-256.

Basavarajappa, K.G. and Bali Ram, "Historical statistics of Canada, Section A: Population and Migration," *Statistics Canada*, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm#1>.

Bearman, Christopher. "The English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914." PhD dissertation. Kingston upon Hull: University of Hull, 2001.

Beckwith, John. "Sir Ernest MacMillan." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. August 19, 2010. (updated December 16, 2013).

Berger, Stefan. *Writing the Nation: a Global Perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Bhabha, Homi. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.

- Boswell, Rosabelle. "Heritage Tourism and Identity in the Mauritian Villages of Chamarel and Le Morne." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31. no. 2 (June 2005): 283-295.
- Bryant, Gilles and Thomas Brown. "Healey Willan." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. April 7, 2010. (updated December 16, 2013).
- Byl, John. "The Margaret Eaton School, 1901-1942: Women's education in elocution, drama and physical education." PhD dissertation. Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo, 1992.
- Charpentier, Marc. "Broadway North: Musical Theatre in Montreal in the 1920s." PhD Thesis. Montreal: McGill University, 1999.
- Clifford, James. "The others: Beyond the 'salvage' paradigm." *Third Text* 3, no. 6 (1989): 73-78.
- Diamond, Beverly. "What's the difference? Reflections on discourses of morality, modernism, and mosaics in the study of music in Canada." *Canadian University Music Review* 21, no. 1 (2000): 54-75.
- Dodwell, H.H. ed. "British India, 1497-1858." *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929.
- Dyck, Sandra. "'These Things Are Our Totems': Marius Barbeau & Indigenization of Canadian Art and Culture in the 1920s." MA Thesis. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1995.
- Ellis, Katharine. *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Antaeus," accessed August 17, 2014, www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/26917/Antaeus.
- Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes et de la Vérendrye," accessed August 18, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/326618/Pierre-Gaultier-de-Varennes-et-de-La-Verendrye>.
- Gerson, Carole. "Nobler Savage: Representations of Native Women in the Writings of Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (Été 1997 Summer): 5-21.
- Goldie, Terry. *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literature*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

- Gregory, E. David. *The Late Victorian Folksong Revival: The Persistence of English Melody, 1878-1903*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2010.
- Haines, John. "Marius Barbeau and Jean Beck on Transcribing French-Canadian Songs." *ARSC Journal* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 1-6.
- Henderson, Stuart. "'While there is Still Time...': J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 39, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 139-174.
- Jaenen, Cornelius. "Jean de Brébeuf." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. February 24, 2008. (updated December 16, 2013).
- Jamal, Tazim and Hyounggon Kim. "Bridging the interdisciplinary divide: Towards an integrated framework for heritage tourism research." *Tourist Studies* 5, no. 55 (2005): 55-83.
- Jaimes-Guerrero, Marianette. "Savage Erotica Exotica: Media Imagery of Native Women in North America." *Native North America*. Edited by Renée Hulan. Toronto: ECW Press (1999): 187-210.
- Jaimes*Guerrero, M.A. "'Patriarchal Colonialism' and Indigenism: Implications for Native Feminist Spirituality and Native Womanism." *Indigenous Women in the Americas*. Special issue *Hypatia* 18, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 58-69.
- Jessup, Lynda. *Tin Cans and Machinery: Saving the Sagas and Other Stuff*. *Visual Anthropology* 12 (1999): 49-86.
- Jessup, Lynda. "Marius Barbeau and Early Ethnographic Cinema." *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*. Edited by Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 269-304.
- Keillor, Elaine. "Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers." *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* 31 (2004): 29-38.
- Keillor, Elaine. "Marius Barbeau as a Promoter of Folk Music Performance and Composition." *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*. Edited by Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 137-156.
- Keillor, Elaine. *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscape and Diversity*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006.

- Kines, Gary. "'Chief Man-Of-Many-Sides: John Murray Gibbon and his Contributions to the Development of Tourism and the Arts in Canada.'" MA thesis. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1988.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Theorizing Heritage." *Ethnomusicology* 29, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 367-380.
- Knowles, Valerie. *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977*. Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000.
- Lathrop, Anna. "Elegance and Expression, Sweat and Strength: Body Training, Physical Culture and Female Embodiment in Women's Education at the Margaret Eaton Schools (1901-1942)." Ed.D. dissertation. University of Toronto: Toronto, 1997.
- Lathrop, Anna. "Portrait of 'A Physical': A Case Study of Elizabeth Pitt Barron (1904-98)." *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 11, no. 2 (1999): 131-146.
- Lieberman, Carol. "Back to the Future: Postmodernism and the Early Music Revival." *The European Legacy* 2, no. 1 (1997): 92-97.
- Lundeen, Stephanie Thompson. "Dressing Down: Aristocratic Identity in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005): 67-74.
- Mackey, Eva. "Becoming Indigenous: Land, Belonging, and the Appropriation of Aboriginality in Canadian Nationalist Narratives." *Social Analysis* 42, no. 2 (July 1998): 150-178.
- Mason, Courtney. The Construction of Banff as a "Natural" Environment: Sporting Festivals, Tourism and Representations of Aboriginal Peoples. *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 221-239.
- McKay, Ian. *The quest of the folk: antimodernism and cultural selection in twentieth-century Nova Scotia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- McNaughton, Janet. "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930." MA Thesis. St. John's: Memorial University, 1982.
- McPherson, James. "Campbell McInnes." in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. May 8, 2007. (updated December 15, 2013).
- _____. "Jeanne Dusseau." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. July 30, 2007. (updated December 16, 2013).

- Mi'kmaw Resource Guide*. Edited by Tim Bernard, Rosalie Francis, Spencer Wilmot, Truro, NS: Eastern Woodland Publishing, accessed August 17, 2014. <http://www.cmmns.com/publications/MIKMAWRGWeb.pdf>.
- Murray, Heather. "Making the Modern: Twenty Five Years of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression." *Essays in Theatre/Études Théâtrales* 10, no. 1 (November 1991): 39-57.
- Nurse, Andrew. "'Their Ancient Customs are Gone': Anthropology as Cultural Process." *Around and about Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*. Edited by Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse and Gordon Smith. Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization (2008): 13-26.
- Nurse, Andrew. "Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau." PhD dissertation. Kingston, ON: Queen's University, 1997.
- Pearson, David. "Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 6 (2002): 989-1012.
- Plouffe, Hélène. "Claude Champagne." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. June 10, 2008 (updated December 15, 2013).
- Potvin, Gilles. "Oscar O'Brien." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. February 7, 2006. (updated December 16, 2013).
- _____. "Alfred La Liberté." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. February 7, 2006 (updated December 16, 2013).
- Potvin, Gilles, Annick Poussart, and James McPherson. "Rodolphe Plamondon." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, June 28, 2007. (updated December 15, 2013).
- Saltzstein, Jennifer. "Refrains in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*." *Poetry, Knowledge and Community in Late Medieval France*. Edited by Rebecca Dixon and Finn E. Sinclair. Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer (2008): 173-186.
- Slaney, Francis. "Artistic Labour and the Embodiment of Culture: Marius Barbeau's Canadian Anthropology of Art as a Vision from Oxford and Paris." *Around and About Marius Barbeau: Modelling Twentieth-Century Culture*. Edited by Lynda Jessup, Andrew Nurse, Gordon Smith. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation (2008): 27-64.
- Slominska, Anita. "Interpreting success and failure: The eclectic careers of Eva and Juliette Gauthier." PhD dissertation. Montreal: McGill University, 2009.

- Smith, Antonia. “‘Cement for the Canadian Mosaic’: Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon.” *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 1, no. 1 (2007): 37-60.
- Smith, Laurajane. *The Uses of Heritage*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2006.
- Thompson, John Herd and Allen Seager. *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985.
- Vipond, Mary. “The National Network: English Canada’s Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s.” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 32-52.
- Willems-Braun, Bruce. “Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post)colonial British Columbia.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997): 3-31.
- Wingfield, Christopher. “‘Feeling the Vibes: Dealing with Intangible Heritage’—An Introduction.” ‘Feeling the Vibes: Dealing with Intangible Heritage’: Papers from the Annual Conference of the Museum Ethnographers Group.” Special issue, *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 19 (March 2007): 9-20.

Appendix A: Festival Schedules

*Schedules have been transcribed as printed

Folk Song and Handicraft Festival: May 20-22, 1927

Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City

* *indicates lyrics provided in program*

First Concert (Friday Evening)

May 20, 1927. Chateau Frontenac.

1.1 Rodolphe Plamondon

In Troubadour Songs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Assisted by Cédia Brault

Acc. Hart House Quartet

Stage Settings James Crockart

1.2 Les Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique

In choral renderings of chansons

1.3 Philéas Bédard

Folksinger of Saint-Rémi de Napierville

1.4 Cédia Brault

in Canadian chansons

Acc. Harold Eustace Key

1.5 Johnny Boivin

Champion violonneux of Canada

1.6 Jacques Garneau

Champion folk dancer of Quebec

1.7 Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye

In chansons of French Canada

Acc. on viola by Milton Blackstone

1.8 J. Campbell McInnes

In chansons of Old France

Acc. by Dr. Ernest MacMillan

Saturday 8 am.

Fully choral High Mass in the Basilica, followed by Canticles sung by La Petite Maitrise

“La Petite Maitrise de Notre-Dame,” 40 children, under the direction of M. l’abbé de Smet, organist Henri Gagnon.

Introit “Salve Sancta Parens”
Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei from Mass X “Alme Pater”

after Mass:

Angelus de Mai	Abbé Brun, Harm. Mixed voices by Gagnon, Chansons populaires du Canada (1865)
Le Voici l’Agneau si doux	popular French-Canadian canticle
D’etre enfant de Marie	Harm. Mixed voices by Gagnon, Chansons populaires du Canada (1865)

Second Concert (Saturday Afternoon)

May 21, 1927. Chateau Frontenac.

2.1 Bytown Troubadours

Charles Marchand, Emile Boucher, Fortunat Champagne, Miville Belleau

Youpe, Youpe sur la rivière!/ Youpe, Youpe, river along!*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), arr. Pierre Gautier from harm. by Oscar O’Brien, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Ah! Si mon moine voulait danser/ If my old top were a dancing man*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), arr. Pierre Gautier from harm. by Oscar O’Brien, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
C’est l’aviron qui nous mène en haut/ It is the oar that impels us on*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, arr. Pierre Gautier from harm. by Oscar O’Brien, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Et moi je m’enfouiyais/ And I would flee away*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), arr. Pierre Gautier from harm. by Oscar O’Brien, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Marianna s’en va-t-au Moulin/ Marianne wanders to the mill*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), arr. Pierre Gautier from harm. by Oscar O’Brien, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Le laboureur/ The labourer*	Maurice Morisset, arr. Pierre Gautier from harm. by Oscar O’Brien, transl. Gibbon

2.2 Vincent Ferrier de Repentigny
Folk-singer of Montreal

Envoyons d'l'avant, nos gens!*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte
N'y a rien de plus charmant que la bergère aux champs...	Pastourelle
Passant par Paris...Elle a quinze brins, ma ceinture...	Chanson de métiers

2.3 Rondes Infantines

First Series

Children's Rounds and Singing Games

Organized by Madame Arthur Duquet of Quebec

Solo: Louise Leclerc

Acc. Cécile Stafford

Costumes of 1860

Children Rounds/Danses Rondes	
1. Le pont d'Avignon	
2. La petite bergère	Solo Louise Leclerc
3. Il pleut bergère	Chorus

Music collected and harmonized by Ad. Gauvin, Paris, France

With the exception of "Avoine, Avoine" and "Laquelle marierons-nous"

Accompaniment due to Miss Berthe O'Sullivan

Sur le pont d'Avignon*	
Savez-vous planter des choux*	
Il était une petite bergère*	Solo Louise Leclerc
J'ai du bon tabac*	

2.4 Lorette Indians

including Caroline Grosbois, Madame Daniel Grosbois, Alice Sioui, Madame Abraham Sioui, Madame Camille Vincent, Michel Sioui, Albert Sioui and Son.

Huron Indian songs and dancer (Lorette group):

Yanikoya	Dance
Yawenosa	Dance
Wenuya	Chant de guerre, de la découverte et Yukanuwa (II) with Albert Sioui and Son
Yaweyawe	Women's dance
Nikoya	Snake dance with Albert Sioui and Son

2.5 Germaine Le Bel
Acc. Alfred La Liberté

Je voudrais bien me marier*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. La Liberté.
Mon père m'a donné à choisir/ My father lets me have my will*	Coll. Barbeau, Harm. La Liberté, Transl. Gibbon
Et moi, je m'en passé/ But they pass me over*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. La Liberté, Transl. Gibbon
V'la l'bon vent/ H'llo good win*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), transl. Gibbon
Mariez-moi, ma petite maman/ Now marry me, O my little mama*	Coll. Barbeau, Harm. La Liberté, transl. Gibbon

- 10\$ prize offered for a singable English version of *Je voudrais bien me marier*;
Judges- Harold Eustace Key, J. Campbell McInnes, Henry Button; send
manuscripts by June 1st to J.M.Gibbon

2.6 Rondes Infantines
(second series)

Children Rounds/Danses Rondes	
4. Avoine, avoine*	
5. Laquelle marierons-nous?*	
6. Meunier, tu dors*	
7. Savez-vous planter des choux	
8. J'ai du bon tabac	Solo: Louise Leclerc
9. Frère Jacques*	

Third Concert (Saturday Evening)
May 21, 1927. Chateau Frontenac.

3.1 Hart House Quartet

Geza de Kresz (1st Violin); Harry Adaskin (2nd Violin); Milton Blackstone (Viola); Boris
Hambourg (Cello)

Paraphrases on two chansons	· Joli coeur de rose · Dans Paris il y-t-une brume	Specially composed by Leo Smith for the festival
Sketches based on	· Notre Seigneur en pauvre · A Saint Malo beau port de mer	Ernest MacMillan
Sonata for cello and piano based on	Dans les prisons de Nantes (1 st Mov)	Specially composed by Oscar O'Brien for the festival (O'Brien at the piano)

3.2 The Music Maker Singers

Betty Gemmill, Florence Glenn, Margaret Stephens, Margery Baldwin, Doreen Hillary,
Grace Johns, Joy Denton Kennedy
Under the direction of J. Campbell McInnes

Si j'ay esté vostre amy/ If I have been a friend*	Clement Jannequin, transl. Gibbon
Ce moys de may/This month of may*	Clement Jannequin, transl. Gibbon
Allons au vert bocage/ Come to the greenwood*	Guillaume de Costelay, transl. Gibbon
A toi, mon Dieu/ T'ward Thee, my God*	Claude Goudinel, transl. Gibbon

3.3 François Saint-Laurent

Folksinger of Sainte-Anne des Monts, Gaspé

Les trois canards blancs...Marions-la	Work song
La belle Lisette chantait l'autre jour	Love song
Je ne donnerai pas ma fille à un petit couturier...la touptetoup	Dance song

3.4 Joseph Ouellette

Folksinger of Sainte-Anne des Monts, Gaspé

Petit coeur, consolez-vous!*	Coll. Barbeau
C'était par un bon Vendredi, nous avons quitté Lisbonne	Ballad of the sea
Le quinze de mars l'année dernière	Canadian ballad

3.5 Jeanne Dusseau

Acc. Mrs. Russell

Ma fille, veux-tu un bouquet?/ Child! do you want a nosegay?*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Arthur Somervell, transl. Harold Boulton (Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs)
Margoton va-t à l'iau/ Gabrielle at the well*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Somervell, transl. Harold Boulton (Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs)
Jeanneton prit sa faucille/ Jeanneton took her sickle*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Somervell, transl. Harold Boulton (Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs)
Le jaloux/ The jealous husband*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Somervell, transl. Harold Boulton (Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs)
Le marchand de velours/The velvet merchant*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Somervell, transl. Harold Boulton (Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs)
La petite galiote/ The little ship*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Somervell, transl. Harold

	Boulton (Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs)
--	---

3.6 Ensemble of Spinners and Folk Singers

Mme Jean-Baptiste Leblond	Voila ma journée faite	Lire lanlire
Mme Jean Bouchard	Susanne s'en va-t-au moulin	Work song
Mme Leblond	M'en vas à la fontaine	Spinning song
Mme Bouchard	C'est la belle Madeleine, un jour s'y promenant	Ballad
Phileas Bedard	M'en revenant de Chateauguay	Work song

3.7 J. Campbell McInnes acc. Ernest MacMillan

Plus Matin que la lune/ Ere yet the moon had faded*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, Transl. Gibbon
La prisonnière à la tour/ The prisoned maid in the tower*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, transl. Gibbon
Lisette*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, transl. Gibbon
Voici le printemps/In the gay spring time*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, transl. Constance Hamilton
Le long de la mer jolie/Along on the tide so bonny*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, transl. Gibbon

Fourth Concert (Sunday Afternoon)

May 22, 1927. Chateau Frontenac.

4.1 Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye "Northern Alaskan and Copper Eskimo Songs"

Collected by Diamond Jenness

Transcriptions of Helen Roberts

Collected on the Stefansson Arctic Expedition for the National Museum of Canada

Stage Setting by Langdon Kihn

Songs of Northern Alaska Eskimos

Song Aksiatak Ai Ya Yanga	Sleeping song	Composed by Colville River native
The Seal-Poke*	Cat's cradle chant	Sung by children all along the Arctic coast of Alaska
Sparrow Song*	Children's game song	Unknown composer
Song of Asetsak*	Homesick song	Composed by Asetsak, a Point Hope Eskimo

Songs of the Copper Eskimos

Dance Song (Aton)*	Dolphin and Union Straits. Said to be very ancient-Stone Age	Sung by Avrana, a Puivlik man
Lullaby or Old Chant*		Sung by Kaneyok, a Puivlik girl
Dance Song (Pisik)*		Sung by Aksiatak-Anoahognik man
An Old Song Weather Incantation*	Against evil spirits	Sung by Kaneyok, a Puivlik girl
Weather Incantation*		Sung by Kaneyok, a Puivlik girl
An Incantation for healing the sick*		Sung by Hakungrak, a Puivlik woman
Dance Song (Pisik)*	Unfinished song	Sung by Sinsiak, relating a visit to his friends

Interpretations by Constance Lindsay Skinner
from "Songs of the Coast Dwellers"

Eskimo Dance Song*
Incantation (Eskimo)*
Incantation (Eskimo)*

4.2 Lorette Indians Soloist Madame Camille Vincent

Religious songs

Jesous Ahatonnia— Yaste Alonditsanwe*	(Jésus est né), French translation Ernest Myrand
Aweoton Dia Awehan	
Otendoton	Canticle to Virgin

Indian dances

Gongaboni	Algonkin song
Wekaya-waninonhay	Dance around the kettle

4.3 Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye "West Coast, British Columbia and Vancouver Island Nootka Indian Songs"

Collected by Dr. Edward Sapir
 Transcriptions of Helen Roberts
 Recorded for the National Museum of Canada
 Collected by Diamond Jenness
 Recorded by James Tait
 Transcribed by Barbeau
 Stage Setting by Langdon Kihn

“Songs of the Nootka, Carrier, and Kootenay Indians”

Black Bear Chant*	Version from <i>Songs of the Coast Dwellers</i> by Constance Lindsay Skinner	
Tama Song*	Red-headed woodpecker and the Thunderbird	Nootka Indian
Lullaby*	(Privilege Song)	Nootka Indian Song
Nootka Lullaby*	By Constance Lindsay Skinner from <i>Songs of the Coast Dwellers</i>	
(Another version as sung by the Mother)*		
Game Song		Kootenay Indian
Parting Song*		Kootenay Indian
Parting Song-Kootenay*	By Constance Lindsay Skinner from <i>Songs of the Coast Dwellers</i>	

4.4 Rodolphe Plamondon
acc. Madeleine Comtois

Petit rocher/O little rock*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. Geoffrey O’Hara, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Un Canadien errant/ From his Canadian home*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Bouton de rose*	Variant of the well-known chanson “A la Claire fontaine” as sung in France, harm. Gustave Michaels. From “Chansons Anciens du Pays de France”
La belle Française*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. Vuillermoz
Cécilia*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. Émile Vuillermoz
Rondel*	De Thibaut de Champagne, music by Henri Gagnon

Fifth Concert (Sunday Evening)
May 22, 1927. Chateau Frontenac.

5.1 Charles Marchand
acc. Oscar O'Brien

En roulant ma boule roulant/On, roll on, my ball I roll on*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. O'Brien, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Au bois du rossignolet/ In haunts of the nightingale*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. O'Brien, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Dans tous les cantons/ In all the country round*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. O'Brien, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Boum Badiboum*	Coll. Marchand, harm. O'Brien, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Hier, sur le pont d'Avignon/ There on the bridge at Avignon*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. O'Brien, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Les Raftsmen/ The Raftmen*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, Harm. O'Brien, Transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)

5.2 The Music Maker Singers

in Seventeenth Century Brunettes and Chansons of Old France
(Singing airs that were probably familiar to some of the early settlers in Canada—
under the direction of J. Campbell McInnes)
Acc. Mrs. L.A. Hamilton

(5.3) Introduced by Old French Dance Music of the 16th and 17th centuries, arranged and
played by the Hart House Quartet
(Quartet repertoire not listed)

Group of songs taken from "Echos du temps passé" harmonized by J.B. Wekerlin

Cette Anne si belle/Anne, this Anne so comely*	Pierre Guedron, Transl. Gibbon
Ils s'en vont, ces rois de ma vie/ They leave me, kings that rule my being*	Pierre Guedron, Transl. Gibbon
Mignonne/ My Dear*	Ronsard, Transl. Gibbon
Grisélidis*	A love song of the Crusades, no transl. provided
Un jour la bergère Silvie*	Pierre Guedron, no transl. provided

5.4 Jeanne Dusseau
acc. Mrs. Russell

Mon doux berger/ Sweet shepherd*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, transl. Gibbon
Entre Paris et Saint-Denis/From Paris to St. Denis, see*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. Geoffrey O'Hara, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Là-bas sur ces montagnes/Out there on yonder mountains*	Coll. O'Brien, harm. O'Brien, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Les jeunes filles à marier/ Maidens ripe for marrying*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. MacMillan, transl. Gibbon
Je sais bien quelque chose/ Something there is I know*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon

5.5 Group of Folk Singers

Philéas Bédard	Si j'avais les beaux souliers que ma mignonne m'a donnés	Rengaine
Francois Saint-Laurent, with folk dancers	Tu veux manger du lièvre	Round dance
	La bistringue	Dance
Joseph Ouellette	Ce printemps tout amiable	None provided
Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny	Le fils du roi s'en va chassant <i>Et pis roule...et pis tourne</i>	None provided

5.6 J. Campbell McInnes

(The second two chansons will be accompanied by the composer who arranged the harmonizations)

Quand j'étais chez mon père/ When I was with my father*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. Healey Willan, transl. Constance Hamilton
D'où viens-tu, bergère?/ Whence, O shepherd maiden?*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), harm. Alfred La Liberté, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Nanette*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. La Liberté, transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)

5.7 Ensemble of Les Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique and the Bytown Troubadours

Vive la Canadienne*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Alouette	For words see Friday evening's programme
Bonsoir, mes Amis	None provided

"O Canada"

Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival: May 24-28, 1928
Quebec City

First Concert (Thursday Evening)

May 24, 1928. Auditorium Theatre. 8:30 pm.

1.1 Bytown Troubadours (Charles Marchand, Fortunat Champagne, Émile Boucher, Miville Belleau) in “Canadian Folk Songs” acc. Louis Bédard

Le fils du roi s'en va chassant ... Et pitourne et piroule	Coll. E-Z. Massicotte; arr. Pierre Gautier
J'ai cueilli la belle rose/ I have cull'd that lovely rosebud*	From Gagnon “Chansons populaires du Canada”; arr. Pierre Gautier; Transl. Gibbon
La visite du jour de l'an/ The new year's day visit*	Arr. Pierre Gautier; transl. Gibbon (from “Canadian Folksongs, Old and New”)
M'en vas à la fontaine/ Wandering to the fountain*	From Pierre Gautier's prize-winning composition for male voices (E.W. Beatty contest)
Le bal chez Boulé/ Boulé's hop*	From Pierre Gautier's prize-winning composition for male voices (E.W. Beatty contest) transl. Gibbon (from “Canadian Folksongs, Old and New”)

1.2 Hart House Quartet: George Bowles prize-winning String Quartette (E.W. Beatty contest)

Harry Adaskin (first violin) in place of Geza de Kresz away in Europe, John Langley (second violin), Milton Blackstone (viola), Boris Hambourg (cello)

1. <i>I- Allegro</i>	- Genticorum - J'ai cueilli la belle rose
13. <i>II- Largo</i>	- Descendez à l'ombre - Je le mène bien mon devoir
18. <i>III- Vivace</i>	- C'est la belle Françoise - François Marcotte
32. <i>IV- Allegro</i>	- Au bois du rossignolet - Jamais je nourrirai de geai Digue Dindaine

1.3 Madame de Repentigny et sa ‘manufacture’

Personages- Persons of the Play:

Mme Le Gardeur de Repentigny- Mlle Geneviève Davis

Ses amies- Her friends

Mme Lambert-Dumont- Mme Jeanne Dusseau

Mme de Champigny- Melle Marcelle Aubry

Mme de Maizerets- Mlle Gwendolyn Williams

Tisseuses, cardeuses, fileuses- Weavers, Flax beaters, spinners:

Mme Leblond et ses quatre filles (and her four daughters)

Mme Simon et ses deux filles (and her two daughters)

Mme Lachance

Mme Plante

Mme Bouchard

Fouleurs- Fullers:

Philéas Bédard

Jos. Rousselle

J.A. Lavallée

Alphonse Plante

Un violon (violinist)

(Arr. Willan)

Scene- designed by Arthur Lismer

Chansons incorporated	Artist	Provenance
Au bois du rossignolet/ In haunts of the nightingale*	Jeanne Dusseau	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
V'l'a l'bon vent/ H'llo good wind*	Jeanne Dusseau	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), Transl. Gibbon
Mon beau ruban gris/ My gay ribbon grey*	Jeanne Dusseau	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
La fontaine est profonde/ Deep sunken is the fountain*	Jeanne Dusseau	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
Je le mène bien, mon dévidoir/ I can handle well my winding stick*	Philéas Bédard	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
Je lui ai pris sa main blanche*	Madame Leblond and her daughters	Coll. Barbeau (no transl. provided)
La belle aux oranges*	Donat Lachance	No provenance specified, no transl. provided
Si j'avais les beaux souliers/ If I had the shoes so gay*	Philéas Bédard	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon

1.4 Award of Prizes

- for the E.W. Beatty \$3000 Competition for musical compositions based on French Canadian Folk melodies
- by Governor General

1.5 Chanteurs de Saint Dominique (Male voice choir of Quebec)

3 chansons arr. for male voices by Dr. Ernest MacMillan, Principal of the Toronto Conservatory of Music- Selections from prize winning composition

Director: R. Talbot

Organist: J. Beaudet

C'est la belle Françoise/ The lovely Frances*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), Transl. Gibbon
Au cabaret*	Coll. Barbeau, no translation provided
Dans tous les cantons*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)

Note: the fourth chanson will be sung on Sunday evening by the Montreal Quintette consisting of Paul Valade, Charles Dupuis, Charles Goulet, Gaston Monté, Louis Fortin

1.6 Le jeu de Robin et Marion

Reconstruction by Jean Beck

French version modernized by Dr. Paul Morin of Montreal

Produced and conducted by Wilfrid Pelletier

Scenery designed by Signor Agnini

Music for the dances will be played on the harp by Carlo Sodero (Met)

The orchestra is that of the Royal 22nd Regiment

Robin- Ralphe Errolle

Un Chevalier- Rodolphe Plamondon

Baudon- Pierre Pelletier

Gautier- Ulysse Paquin

Huart- Gérard Gélinas

Marion- Cédia Brault

Péronnelle- Geneviève Davis

Deux joueurs de cornemuse (Two bagpipe players)

Second Concert (Friday Matinee)

May 25, 1928. Chateau Frontenac. 2:30 pm.

2.1 Camille Bernard (costume de bergère)

Chansons Populaires de France

Acc. Madame Luce Chamberland- Paquin

En passant par la Lorraine*	No provenance specified, no translation provided
La mort du mari	No provenance specified, no lyrics provided
Mon père avait cinq cents moutons*	No provenance specified, no translation provided
Ah! M'n'enfant	No provenance specified, no lyrics provided

2.2 Pierre Pelletier

Canadian Chansons Populaires

Acc. Alfred Laliberté in his own harmonizations (first four), Wilfrid Pelletier in the others

Petit rocher/ O Little rock*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), transl. Gibbon (Canadian Folksongs, Old and New)
Cette amiable tourterelle*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, no translation provided
Renaud, Le retour du Croisé/The return of the Crusader*	“One of the most widely spread ballads of France, sung still in Canada” (No lyrics provided)
Lève ton pied/ Foot it lightly*	Coll. Gagnon (Chansons populaires du Canada), transl. Gibbon
Elle a ravi le coeur des mariniers*	Coll. Barbeau, no translation provided
Le richard/ The rich man*	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Sir Harold Boulton

2.3 Mme E. Laterrière Garneau

Folk Songs of France

Légende de St-Nicholas	Rec. Gérard de Nerval- Musique Armand Gouzien
Corbleu Marion!*	Rec. and harm. Chs de Sivry
Il est pourtant temps de me marier*	Coll. Yvette Guilbert, Harm. Gustave Ferrari
Le Roy a fait battre tambour (1599)	For words see programme of Friday Night Concert- L'Ordre de Bon-Temps
Les belles manières*	Coll. Yvette Guilbert, Harm. Gustave Ferrari

2.4 Folk Group

Vincent-Ferrier de Repentigny, Joseph Rousselle and J.A. Lavallée

Selections from repertoire printed in General Program (Which contains list of songs)

2.5 Camille Bernard (costume du soldat de la revolution)
Acc. Madame Luce Chamberland-Paquin

Trois Jeunes tambours/ Three drummer boys*	Old French Chanson, Transl. Gibbon
Le petit Grégoire	No provenance specified, no translation provided
Fan fan la Tulippe	No provenance specified, no translation provided

2.6 J. Campbell McInnes
Folk Songs of France
Acc. Constance Hamilton

Voici la douce nuit de mai*	Adapted by McInnes from a XVth century tune
Ma douce Annette*	Arr. Bourgault-Ducoudray
Vrai dieu d'amour*	XVth century, Reimann's arrangement
Le tambourineur*	XVIII century, arr. Weckerlin
L'Angelus *	Bourgault-Ducoudray

2.7 Hector Gratton
Danse Canadienne
Composition for piano in folk style
Acc. Laliberté (piano), H. Adaskin (violin)

Third Concert (Friday Evening)
May 25, 1928. Auditorium Theatre. 8:30 pm.

3.1 Orchestral Suite \$1,000- Prize Composition
Arthur Cleland Lloyd (b. Vancouver, 1908)

Performed by Orchestra of 22nd Regiment
Rehearsed by Cpt Charles O'Neill
Conducted by Harold Eustace Key

Themes taken from "Chansons of Old French Canada" (1920, CPR, arr. Margaret Gascoigne)

3.2 Nocturnes et Aubades

Personnages: Nanon, la pastourelle (the shepherdess): Cedia Brault
Le gallant (the lover): Victor Brault

Arr. and Acc. Leo-Pol Morin
Mise en scène par (stage setting by) Arthur Lismer

Sommeiles-tu, ma petite Nanon?/ Are you asleep my so dainty Nanon?*	Coll. Massicotte and Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
Voilà la recompense!/ Is that the only welcome*	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
Les deux pailles d'orge/ The double straws of barley*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, transl. Gibbon
Je me lève à l'aurore du jour/ Early rising when dawn begins to glow*	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
L'herbe verdit tous les printemps/ Every spring the grass is green*	Coll. Barbeau/ transl. Gibbon
Ah! toi belle hirondelle/ Ah swallow, bird so sprightly*	Coll. Barbeau/ transl. Gibbon

3.3 Folk Dances in a Veillée

Fiddlers and dancers. The Ouellet family, fiddlers; Abraham Renaud and Mme Victoria Paquet, dancers. Joseph Rousselle and J.A. Lavallée in dance songs.

3.4 “Rossignol” or Nightingale Songs (Le Rossignol, Confident des Amoureux)

Harm. Laliberté

Stage settings Lismer

Artists: Mme Jeanne Dusseau, soprano

Albred Laliberté (piano), Milton Blackstone (Viola), Louigi Garzia (Flute)

Rossignolet du bois joli/ Nightingale, bird of lovely glade*	Coll. Barbeau/Transl. Gibbon
Toi qui chante le jour et la nuit*	Coll. Barbeau
Rossignol du vert bocage*	Coll. Barbeau
Rossignol sauvage, apprends-moi ton langage/ O woodland nightingale*	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
Rossignolet sauvage, toi qui vas au village*	None specified.
Au bois rossignolet	None specified.

French words and translations with Healey Willan's harmonization in the programme for Thursday evening- Madame de Repentigny group

3.5 L'Ordre de Bon-Temps

Marc Lescarbot- Rodolphe Plamondon

Samuel de Champlain- Ulysse Paquin

Jean de Biencourt- Léon Rothier

Sieur de Bouillet- Charles Marchand

Folgéré de Vitri- Emile Boucher

Le Fèvre de Retel- Miville Belleau

de Noyes- Fortunat Champagne
 Maître Estienne- Louis Bédard
 Louis Hébert- Gelinas et autres (and others)
 Pierre Augibault-
 Ralleau-
 François Ardanim-
 Membertou-
 Membertouchis-
 Actaudinech-

Chansons harmonize by Healey Willan
 Scenery by Arthur Lismer, based on the painting by C.W. Jeffreys
 Directed by Healy Willan
 Stage Manager: Victor Desautels
 Musicians:
 Healey Willan- harpsichord
 Harry Adaskin- violin
 Boris Hambourg- cello
 George Pannell- oboe
 Luigi Garzia- flute

Chantons les louanges/ Sing on glad responses*	Rodolphe Plamondon	Coll. Barbeau/Transl. Gibbon
Le Foudrion*	Rodolphe Plamondon	Coll. P. Arsenault, no translation provided
Le prince Eugène/ The prince Eugene*	Léon Rothier	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
Le prince d'Orange*	Léon Rothier	Coll. Barbeau, no translation provided
Vive les matelots/ Long live the sailors three*	Rodolphe Plamondon	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
Le Roi Anglais/ The English King*	Ulysse Paquin	From Weckerlin's "La chanson populaire," transl. Gibbon
Ma belle, si ton âme*	Ulysse Paquin	Chanson de Gilles Durant-Weckerlin's <i>Echoes du Temps passé</i> , no translation provided
La courte-paille*	Léon Rothier	None specified
Le roi a fait battre tambour*	Ulysse Paquin	None specified
Vive Henri Quatre*	Ensemble	None specified, transl. anon.

Saturday- 11-12 am. At the Basilica

Concert of Ambrosian and Gregorian music and folk canticles
 Director: Abbé de Smet; Organist: Henri Gagnon
 Folk canticles arranged by Henri Gagnon

Fourth Concert (Saturday Matinee)

May 26, 1928. Chateau Frontenac. 2:30 pm.

4.1 France Ariel Duprat and Armand Duprat Chansons de Bretagne et Saintonge

La fille et le chasseur*	From the version by Julien Tiersot in <i>Sixty Folksongs of France</i>
La ville d'Is*	None specified
Le sabotier*	None specified
La fille du roi d'Espagne*	None specified
Les goret*s*	None specified.
Voici la Noel*	None specified.

4.2 Hart House Quartet in a String Quartet by Miss Wyatt Pargeter, England awarded a special prize in the E.W. Beatty Competition

Themes: "Ah si mon moine voulait danser"
"Petit rocher de la haute montagne"
"Ah! qui me passera le bois"
"Envoyons d'l'avant nos gens"

4.3 Round Dances and Play-Parties A group of Quebec children Under the direction of Mme Jeanne Duquet Assisted by Mlle Cécile Stafford Acc. Mlle Germaine Lavigne

Marie trempe ton pain	Louise et André Leclerc	Coll. Weckerlin
J'ai tant d'enfants à marier*	Madeleine St-Laurent et André Leclerc	Coll. Barbeau, arr. O. O'Brien
La bistringue*	F. Landry (solos), M. Bastien, M. Hébert, L.P. Duchaine	Coll. Barbeau, arr. O. O'Brien
La souris grise/ My little dusky mouse*	La souris: Louise Leclerc	Coll. Barbeau, arr. O'Brien
Compère Guilleri	Georges Henri Dugal	Coll. Weckerlin

4.4 Folk Singers Chansons de métiers and Philéas Bédard's cordonnier et fileuse

4.5 Juliette Gaultier
 in Mediaeval Pastourelles
 transcribed and prepared by Jean Beck
 Acc. on cithole by Jean Beck

Près du bosquet de Loncpré*	
Ce fut en mai*	Monoist d'Arras
Voulez-vous un joli chant*	None specified
Complainte d'amour*	None specified
En mai le mois rose*	None specified.

4.6 Léon Rothier
 in Canadian *Chansons Populaires*
 acc. Wilfrid Pelletier

La fill' du roi d'Espagne/ The Princess Salamanca*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada", harm. Geoffrey O'Hara, transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"
Dans les prisons de Nantes/ Imprison'd once at Nantes*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada," harm. Geoffrey O'Hara, transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"
A Saint-Malo, beau port de mer/ Bound for the port, St. Malo fair*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada," harm. Achille Fortier, transl. Gibbon
C'est la belle Françoise	Harm. Achille Fortier. For French words and translation see programme of Thursday evening
Joli Coeur de rose/ Lovely heart of roses*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada," harm. Achille Fortier, transl. Gibbon
Un Canadien errant/ From his Canadian home*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada," transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"

4.7 Round Dances and Play-Parties
 (second group)
 under the direction of Madame Duquet

Carmel Delaney et Marcel Morency, Jacques Leclerc

Looby Loo*	English text only. Note- Included as a gesture of goodwill from French speaking to English speaking Canadians
Dans ma main droite, j'ai un rosier*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Alexandre D'Aragon
La ronde du loup*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Alexandre D'Aragon

Fifth Concert (Saturday Evening)
 May 26, 1928. Auditorium Theatre. 8:30 pm.

5.1 Le jeu de Robin et Marion
 same text as First Concert

5.2 Camille Bernard
 in Canadian Chansons
 acc. Madame Chamberland

Le jaloux/ The jealous husband*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Arthur Somervell, English version by Harold Boulton, from "Twelve French Canadian Folk Songs"
Le marchand de velours (unaccompanied- habitant style)*	None specified
Ne pleure pas tant, charmante blonde (unaccompanied- habitant style)	None specified.

5.3 The Canadian Singers
 Joy Kennedy, Doris Hillary, Mabel Curtis, Marjory Baldwin, Florence Glenn, Mrs. Poole, Betty Gemmill, Margaret Stephen, Grace Johns

In a group of Bergerettes, harmonized and conducted by Dr. Ernest MacMillan

Carlo Sodero (Harp), Luigi Garzia (Flute), John Ponnell (Obeo), Milton Blackstone (Viola), Boris Hambourg (cello)

Scenery by Arthur Lismer

La bergère aux champs/ The shepherd maiden a-field*	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
Qui n'a pas d'amour n'a pas de beaux jours*	Coll. Barbeau, no transl. provided
Sur la verte fougère/ Upon this ferny prairie*	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
Je te ferai demoiselle*	Coll. Barbeau, no transl. provided
Là-haut sur ces montagnes*	Coll. Barbeau, no transl. provided
Ramenez vos moutons du champ*	Coll. Barbeau, no transl. provided

5.4 Juliette Gaultier
 in Canadian Chansons populaires arr. Marion Bauer
 acc. on viola by Milton Blackstone

J'ai tant dansé, j'ai tant sauté/ I've danced to-day*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada", transl. Gibbon
La nourrice du roi/ The king's nursing woman*	Coll. P. Arsenault, Transl. Gibbon
La Sainte Vierge aux longs cheveux pendants*	Coll. Barbeau, no transl. provided
Je le mène bien mon dévidoir*	None provided. (English translation in programme of Friday evening)

5.5 Forestiers et Voyageurs

Dominique Lacerte (guide des pays en haut- up country guide)- Charles Marchand
 Anthime Lafleur (voyageur)-
 Cadet Blondin (voyageur)-
 Benn (dit l'Américain- called the "American")-
 Michel Léveillé (voyageur)-
 Autres voyageurs- Choeur des Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique (Other voyageurs- Chorus from the Chanteurs de Saint-Dominique)

Décors par (Scenery by) James Crockart
 Accompagnements par Oscar O'Brien, Orchestre du Royal 22^{ième} Régiment sous la direction du Capitaine O'Neil (Accompaniments by Oscar O'Brien, Orchestra of the Royal 22nd Regiment under the direction of Captain O'Neill)
 Arrangements pour quatre voix par (Arrangements for four voices by) Pierre Gautier
 Scenery adopted by James Crockart
 Chansons du terrior intercollées- Folksongs incorporated (melodies and words from the collection of Marius Barbeau)

Voici le printemps*	Charles Marchand, refrain by Quartet	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
Epouser le voyage*	Ulysse Paquin	Coll. Barbeau, none given
Ce sont les gens de Boucherville*	Unspecified	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, none given
La rose blanche*	Charles Marchand	Coll. Marchand, none provided
Dans les haubans*	Émile Boucher	Coll. Barbeau, none provided
À l'abri d'une olive*	Ulysse Paquin	Coll. Barbeau, none provided
Je le parle pour mon maître*	Marchand, Champagne, Boucher, Belleau	Coll. P. Arsenault
Sur le joli vent	Ensemble	Coll. Gagnon, none provided

Sixth Concert (Sunday Evening)
 May 27, 1928. Chateau Frontenac. 8:30 pm.

6.1 The Canadian Singers
 Acc. Mrs Constance E Hamilton
 Stage Setting by Arthur Lismer

Morning Hymn*	Orlando Lassus, transl. Hamilton
Christmas Motet*	Palestrina, transl. Hamilton
S'ébahiton si je vous aime/ Is it a wonder I should love thee?*	Claude le Jeune, transl. Hamilton
L'amour de may*	Arr. R. Vaughan Williams, Transl. Hamilton
Allons au vert bocage*	Guillaume Costelay
Je vous escry/ I write to you*	Arr. Hugh Ross, Transl. Hamilton
Ce moys de may*	Clement Jannequin

6.2 Round Dances and Play-Parties
 Madame Jeanne Duquet and Quebec children
 Piano settings by George Brewer- at the piano, Mlle Lavigne

La chansons des fleurs*	Coll. Adélarde Lambert
The Mulberry Bush*	Note- this familiar English round dance has been included as a gesture of goodwill from the French speaking to the English speaking Canadians
La petite mère*	Coll. Adélarde Lambert, note- this is sung to a different melody than which Juliette Gaultier will sing tomorrow
Malbrough*	None specified

6.3 Jeanne Dusseau and Ralph Errolle
 in a duet
 acc. Laliberté (piano), Blackstone (viola obligato), Luigi Garzie (Flute obligato)

Le Coeur de ma mie*	Coll. Barbeau, harm. Laliberté, Transl. Gibbon
---------------------	--

6.4 France Ariel Duprat and Armand Duprat
 Chansons du Centre de France (Auvergne, Bresse)

Acc. Hart House Quartet

La coiffe de ma mie*	None specified
La bourrée d'Auvergne*	None specified
Berceuse d'Auvergne*	None specified
Noel Béarnais	None specified
Les metamorphoses*	None specified

6.5 Male Quintet of Montreal

Paul Valade, Charles Dupuis, Charles Goulet, Gaston Monté, Léopold Fortin (bass)
In Ernest MacMillan's prize-winning composition for male voices

Blanches comme la neige/White as cometh the snowflake*	Coll. Lorette Wyman, Transl. Gibbon
--	-------------------------------------

6.6 Mixed Voice Choral Arrangements of Folk Songs

Selections from the prize-winning compositions by Dr. Alfred Whitehead
Interpreted by the Canadian Singers and the Montreal Quintette
Conducted by Whitehead

Gail on la, gai le rosier/ Gay la la, gay is the rose*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada," Transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"
A la Claire fontaine/At the clear running fountain*	Coll. Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada," Transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"

- the four Canadian Folksongs arranged for mixed voices by Dr Whitehead have been published by the Boston Music Company

6.7 The Canadian Singers Second Group

Pavane*	Auteur inconnu, transl. Hamilton
Noël*	E. Du Courroy, transl. Hamilton
Griselidis*	Not specified, transl. Hamilton
Les trois princesses*	Not specified, transl. Hamilton

6.8 Round Dances and Play-Parties Madame Duquet and Quebec Children 2nd part

Mon oncle*		Coll. E.Z. Massicotte
Compagnons de la Marionnette*	La sentinelle- L.P. Duchaine; Petites Darion- Louise Leclerc, Andrée Dugal, Madeleine Landry	Coll. Lambert
Le couvre-feu*	Caporal- Marcel Morency; Compère- Henri Dugal; Marie Picard- Madeleine Boisvert	Coll. Barbeau
Viv' le roi*	Solo- Antonin Métayer	Not specified

6.9 Chanteurs Saint Dominique
 Director- R. Talbot
 Organist- J. Beaudet

From the prize-winning group arranged for male voices by Pierre Gautier

Je sais bien quelque chose/Something there is I know*	Coll. Barbeau, transl. Gibbon
Là-bas sur ces montagnes/ Out there on yonder mountains*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"

6.10 Bytown Troubadours
 acc. Louis Bédard (piano)

arr. for four voices by Pierre Gautier from harmonizations by O'Brien

Boum Budiboum*	Coll. Marchand, Transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"
C'est l'aviron qui nous mène en haut/ It is the oar that impels us on*	Coll. E.Z. Massicotte, Transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"

Seventh Concert (Monday Matinee)
 May 28, 1928. Chateau Frontenac. 2:30 pm.

7.1 La guignolée
 under the direction of Mrs Mildred Atkinson

Performers:

Grandfather- Napoléon Taylor
 Grandmother- Mrs. J. A. Levasseur
 Father- Henri Bergeron
 Mother- Mlle Stella Roberge
 Rose, daughter- Mlle Dolores Bergeron
 Emma, daughter- Mlle Annette Couture
 Aunt- Mme Tancrède Boucher

Guests:

Mme Irma Levesque, Mlle Rolland Gingras, Mme Olaf Coté, Mlle Albertine St-Hilaire, Mlle Eva Vermette, Mme Donat Vermette, Mlle S. Gagné, Albert St-Hilaire, Laurier St-Hilaire, Jack Berrigan, Lucien Demers, Philippe Couture, Patrick Hayes

"Guignoleurs":

Tancrede Boucher, Édouard Brisebois, Georges Marcoux

Trois canards	Not specified, none given
C'est pas l'affaire des filles	Not specified, none given
Quand j'étais chez mon père	Not specified, none given
Vive la Canadienne!	Not specified, none given
Marianne s'en va-t-au Moulin	Not specified, none given
Alouette	Not specified, none given

7.2 Juliette Gaultier
in Canadian *Chansons Populaires*
arr. Marion Bauer
acc. Milton Blackstone (viola)

Bonhomme, que sais tu donc faire	Not specified, none given
Mon père n'avait fille que moi	Not specified, none given
Faites-moi un homme sans tête	Not specified, none given
Le prince des Ormeaux/ The prince of the Ormeaux*	Coll. Barbeau, Transl. Gibbon
Berceuse/ Lullaby*	As sung by Juliette Gaultier's grandmother/Transl. Gibbon

7.3 J. Campbell McInnes

Merci Clamant*	Chatelain de Coucy- Trouvère 1180
Pour mal tems, ni pour gelée*	Thibaut de Champagne- Trouvère 1235
Chansons d'aventuriers*	XV Century
Le martyre de Ste-Catherine*	French Canadian folk song, arr. Barbeau
Auprès de ma blonde*	Not specified, none provided

7.4 The Canadian Singers
acc. Hamilton, directed McInnes, stage settings Lismer

La violette	Brunette, XV century
Menuet	Pastourelle, Martini
Si mon papa le savait	Arr. Maud Wood Hill
Le papillon suit la chandelle	Coll. Barbeau, arr. Wood Hill
Je ne suis pas si vilaine	Coll. Barbeau, arr. Wood Hill

7.5 Jeanne Dusseau
acc. Gwendolyn Williams

Rondel*	De Thibaut de champagne, music by henri gagnon
Isabeau s'y promène*	Coll. Barbeau
Entre Paris et Saint-Denis/ From Paris to St. Denis, see*	Arr. Geoffrey O'Hara, Transl. Gibbon "Canadian Folksongs, Old and New"
Laquelle marierons-nous*	Arr. Healey Willan
La petite galiote*	Coll. Barbeau, Harm. Arthur Somervell, in Sir Harold Boulton's "Twelve Canadian Folk Songs"
Sainte Marguerite*	Gagnon "Ch. Pop. Du Canada," arr. Willan, Transl. Gibbon

7.6 Bytown Troubadours

arr. Pierre Gautier for male voices from harmonizations by O'Brien

L'âne de p'tit Jean/Johnnie's donkey*	Not specified, Transl. Gibbon
Le merle*	Not specified, none provided
En revenant des Noces	Same words as 'a la Claire fontaine' with a different refrain
Meunier, tu dors*	Chanson de college
Sur la rue Chiffonnier*	Coll. Marchand
La perdriole/ One a little foolhen&	Gagnon "Chansons populaires du Canada" Transl. Gibbon (From twenty-one French Canadian chansons ed. MacMillan)

O Canada

Appendix B: Florence Glenn Papers

The Glenn papers consist of eleven boxes of material, including books, song transcriptions, press clippings, photographs, programs, periodicals, letters, notes, musical arrangements, and articles.

Box 1	<p>Books sent to Glenn by their author, Marius Barbeau (1929-1958)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Alouette! Nouveau recueil de chansons populaires avec melodies, choisies dans le repertoire du Musée national du Canada</i>, Ottawa: Éditions Lumen, 1946. - <i>Aux armes, canadiens!</i> Ottawa: La Hutte canadienne des Chevaliers de Colomb, 1941. - <i>Ceinture flechée</i>, Ottawa: Éditions Paysana, 1945. - <i>L'Homme aux trois femmes</i>, Montreal: Éditions Beauchemin, 1945. - Publications from the National Museum of Canada, Anthropological Series (Nos. 12, 30, 41).
Box 2	<p>Publications sent to Glenn by their author, Marius Barbeau (1945-1967)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Comment-on découvre l'Amérique</i>, Montreal: Librairie Beachemin Limitée, 1966. - <i>Fameux Peaux-Rouges d'Amérique: Du Nord-Est au Nord-Ouest</i>, , Montreal: Librairie Beachemin Limitée, 1966. - "Folklore," in <i>Cahiers de l'Académie canadienne-française</i> 9, Pierre DesMarais, [1965]. - <i>I have Seen Quebec</i>, Quebec: Librairie Garneau, 1957. - <i>Le rêve de Kamalmouk</i>, Montreal: Éditions Fides, 1948. - <i>Le Saguenay légendaire</i>, , Montreal: Librairie Beachemin Limitée, 1967. - <i>Peaux-Rouges d'Amérique: Leurs moeurs, leurs coutumes</i>, Montreal: Librairie Beachemin Limitée, 1965. - Publications from the National Museum of Canada, Anthropological Series (Nos. 16, 26, 38, 43, 46). - <i>Saintes artisans (I- Les brodeuses, II- Mille petites adresses)</i>, Montreal: Éditions Fides, 1944.
Box 3	<p>Publications sent to Glenn by their author, Marius Barbeau (1935-1958)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Alaska Beckons</i>, Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1947. - <i>Côté: The Wood Carver</i>, Canadian Art Series, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943. - <i>Grand'mère raconte</i> (No. 1302), Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1935. (Reprint Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947) - <i>Haida Myths</i>, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1953. - <i>Henri Julien</i>, Canadian Art Series, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1941.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Il était une fois</i> (No. 1301), Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1935. - <i>L'arbre des rêves</i>, Ottawa: Éditions Lumen, 1948. - <i>Les Contes du Grand-Père Sept-Heures</i>, Montreal: Les Éditions Chantecler Ltée, 1950. I- Le phénix doré II- Le fin voleur de Valenciennes III- La princesse de Tomboso IV- L'eau qui rajeunit V- La fontaine de Paris VI- La bague de vertu, VII- Le meunier sans-souci VIII- La fée de la mer verte IX- Le fantôme ingrouillable X- La vieille fée aigruchonne XI- Le miroir qui parle XII- Le monster vair - <i>Les enfants disent</i>, Ottawa: Éditions Paysana, 1943. - <i>Les rêves des chasseurs</i>, Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1942. - <i>Madonnes canadiennes</i>, Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1944. - <i>Mountain Cloud</i>, London: Quality Press Ltd., 1948. - <i>The Golden Phoenix and other French-Canadian Fairy Tales</i>, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958. - <i>The Indian Speaks</i>, Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1943. (Also published Toronto: MacMillan Co., for Canadian distribution) - <i>The Tree of Dreams</i>, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1955.
--	---

Box 4	<p>Journal articles sent to Glenn by their author, Marius Barbeau (1927-1959)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "All Hands Aboard Scrimshawing," <i>The American Neptune</i>, Vol. 12, No. 2, Salem, MA: The American Neptune, 1952. - "Asiatic Migrations into America," <i>The Canadian Historical Review</i> December 1932. - "Charles Hill-Tout: Born 1859, Died 1944," <i>Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada</i>, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1945. - "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques et folkloriques dans l'Amérique du Nord depuis 1911," <i>Archives de folklore</i>, Université de Laval, Mars-Octobre 1945. - "Folk Songs of French Louisiana," <i>The Canadian Music Journal</i>, Vol. 1, No. 2, Ottawa: The Canadian Music Council, 1957. - <i>Les Archives de folklore</i> ("Ethnobotanique abénakise," n.d.; - "Maple Sugar: Its Native Origin," <i>Royal Society of Canada</i>, Section II, Vol. XL, Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1946. - "My Life in Recording: Canadian-Indian Folk-Lore," in <i>Folkways Records, Album No. FG 3502</i>, New York: Folkways Records & Service Corp., 1957. - "The Old-World Dragon in America," <i>Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America</i>, Vol. 3, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952. - Publications from the National Museum of Canada, Anthropological Series
-------	--

	<p>(Nos. 173).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Songs of the Northwest," <i>The Musical Quarterly</i>, Vol. 19, No. 1, New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1933. - "The Man with the Wooden Wife," <i>Imperial Oil Review</i>, Toronto: Imperial Oil Limited, 1959. - "Traditional Arts of Quebec," <i>Technique</i>, Vol. 18, No. 5, Montreal: Les Écoles d'arts et métiers, n.d. - <i>Trois Beaux Canards</i>, Montreal: Éditions Fides, 1947. - <i>Canadian Geographic Journal</i>, Montreal: The Canadian Geographical Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "An Indian Paradise Lost," Vol. 1, No. 2, 1930 · "The Bell Told Midnight," Vol. 9, No. 6, 1934 · "The People of Canada," Vol. 18, No. 5, 1939 · "The North Pacific Coast: Its Human Mosaic," Vol. 20, No. 3, 1940 - <i>Dalhousie Review</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "Canadian Legends," No. 446, Summer n.d. · "The Blind Singer," 1948 - <i>Journal of American Folklore</i>, Menasha WI: The American Folklore Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "A Modern Growth on the North Pacific Coast," Vol. 57, No. 223, 1944 · "Bear Mother," Vol. 59, No. 231, 1945 · "I Dressed me all in Feathers," Vol. 63, No. 248, 1950 · "Totemic Atmosphere on the North Pacific Coast: The Ermatinger Collection of Voyageur Songs," Vol. 67, No. 264, 1954 - <i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>, Lancaster: Lancaster Press, Inc. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "How the Huron-Wyandot Language was Saved from Oblivion," Vol. 9, No. 3, 1949 · "Charles A. Cooke, Mohawk Scholar," Vol. 96, No. 4, 1949 - <i>Queen's Quarterly</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "Backgrounds in North American Folk Arts," Vol. 48, No. 3, 1941 · "L'île d'Orleans," Vol. 49, No. 4, 1942 - <i>The French Folklore Bulletin</i>, The French Folklore Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "Canadian Folklore," No. 21, Year IV, 1945 · "Canadian Folklore," 1946 - <i>The Geographical Review</i>, New York: American Geographical Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "Totem Poles: A Recent Native Art of the Northwest Coast of America," Vol. 20, No. 2, 1930 · "The Aleutian Route of Migration into America," Vol. 35, No. 3, 1945 - <i>The Scientific Monthly</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "Asiatic Survivals In Indian Songs," Vol. 54, 1942 · "Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade," Vol. 60, 1942
--	--

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada</i>, Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “The Native Races of Canada,” Vol. 21, 1927 · “Le dernier de nos grands artisans: Louis Jobin,” Vol. 27, 1933 · “Krieghoff découvre le Canada,” Vol. 28, 1934 · “Côté, Sculpteur sur bois,” Vol. 36, 1942 · “The Hooked Rug: Its Origin,” Vol. 36, 1942 · “Louis Jobin: Statuaire (1845-1928),” Vol. 37, 1943 · “Modalité dans nos mélodies populaires,” Vol. 38, 1944 · “How the Raven Stole the Sun,” Vol. 38, 1944 · “La confrérie de Sainte-Anne,” Vol. 39, 1945
--	---

Box 5	<p>Publications sent to Glenn by Marius Barbeau (not authored by Barbeau) (1925-1956)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Guide to the Anthropological Exhibits</i>, National Museum of Canada, 1939 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “Indians of Canada” · “The Algonkians” · “Mackenzie River Tribes” · “The Eskimo” · “Pacific Coast Tribes” · “The Cordillera Indians” - “À la mémoire d’Albert Roussel,” <i>La revue musicale</i>, November 1937. - Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, <i>National Asset: Native Design</i>, Montreal: Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, 1956. - Clarisse Cardin, Luc Lacoursière, Félix-Antoine Savard, “Bio-bibliographique de Marius Barbeau, precede d’un Hommage à Marius Barbeau,” <i>Archives de Folklore</i>, Vol. II (Montreal: Éditions Fides, 1947). - Helen H. Roberts and Diamond Jenness, <i>Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1918: Songs of the Copper Eskimos</i>, Ottawa: F.A. Acland, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1925. - Hendrik Willem Van Loon and Grace Castagnetta, <i>The Last of the Troubadours: The Life and Music of Carl Michael Bellman</i>, New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1939. - Jeannine Bélanger, “La laisse épique dans nos chansons,” <i>Culture 4</i>, Quebec: Culture, 1943. - Jeannine Bélanger, <i>Une corde oubliée de notre lyre</i>, Ottawa: La Société royale du Canada, 1942. - Marguerite and Raoul D’Harcourt, <i>Chansons folkloriques francaises au Canada: Leur langue musicale</i>, University of Laval, 1956. - n.a. <i>Chansons de Botrel: Pour l’école et le foyer</i>, Éditions Beauchemin, 1931. - n.a. <i>Exposition d’art canadien: Au muse du jeu de paume</i>, Imprimerie Kapp paris-Vanves, 1927.
-------	---

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 112, <i>Annual Reports of the National Museum 1939-1947</i>, Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1949. - National Museum of Canada, <i>Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Annotated Program, Friday Evening, 1927</i>. - R.E. Ritzenthaler, <i>Masks of the North American Indians: Indian Masks</i>, Milwaukee: Milwaukee Publicc Museum, n.d. - Roger Buliard, <i>Inuk: Au dos de la terre!</i>, Éditions Saint-Germain, 1949. - Vicki Baum, <i>Lac-aux-dames</i>, Montrouge: L'imprimerie modern, 1938.
--	---

Box 6	<p>Song transcriptions and music books (1906-1963), Including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M. Béclard d'Harcourt, <i>Chansons populaires du Vieux Québec</i>, Paris: Éditions du magasin musical Pierre Schneider, 1938 - M. Béclard d'Harcourt, <i>Trois chants des Andes</i>, Milan: G. Ricordi & Co., Editori Milano, n.d. - Ernest MacMillan, <i>Three Songs of the West Coast</i>, 1929.
-------	---

Box 7	<p>Music books, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maurice Emmanuel, <i>XXX chansons bourguignonnes du pays de Beaune</i>, Paris: Durand & Cie, n.d. - J. Concone, <i>25 leçons de chant</i>, Leipzig: Edition Peters, n.d. - Louis Lablanche, <i>Vocalises</i>, Leipzig: Edition Peters, n.d. - William Shakespeare, <i>The Art of Singing</i>, Boston, MA: Oliver Ditson Company, 1921. - Vincenzo Righini, <i>Righini's Celebrated Vocal Studies</i>, Boston, MA: Oliver Ditson Company, 1921. - <i>Le temps des cerises</i>, Paris: Émile Benoît, n.d. - Arthur Uvedale, <i>Songs: Eight Classic Gems</i>, Toronto: The Nordheimer Piano & Music Co., n.d. - Harold Boulton and Robert Macleod, <i>Songs of the North: Gathered together from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland</i>, London: J.B. Cramer & Co. Ltd., n.d. - Edmund H. Fellowes, London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd. (<i>Come Again! Sweet Love Doth Now Invite; The Elves Dance and Sing We and Chant It; Now is the Month of Maying; On the Plains; Florea Gave me Fairest Flowers; O Sleep, Fond Fancy</i>; among others).
-------	--

Box 8	<p>Music books</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arthur Sullivan, J. Pittman, eds., <i>Il Flauto Magico: Opera in Two Acts</i>, New York: Boosey & Co., n.d. - Franz Schubert, <i>Gesänge für eine singstimme</i>, Vol. II, III, revised by Max Friedlaender, Leipzig, Éditions Peters, n.d. - Frédéric Chopin, <i>Polish Songs</i>, transl. Theo Baker, New York: G. Schirmer,
-------	---

	<p>n.d.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - G.F. Handel, <i>Acis and Galatea: A Serenata</i>, ed. Joseph Barnby, New York: Novello and Company, n.d. - Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, <i>Stabat Mater</i>, New York: G. Ricordi & Co., n.d. - Hugo Wolf and Paul Heyse, <i>Italienisches liederbuch</i>, Vol. I, II, III, Leipzig: Editions Peters, n.d. - J.S. Bach, <i>Kantate: Liebfter Jesu, Mein Verlangen</i>, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1933. - J.S. Bach, <i>40 Songs and Airs</i>, Book I, II, ed. E. Prout, London: Augener Ltd., n.d. - J.S. Bachs Werke: Ausgewählte arien für sopran mit einem obligaten instrument und clavier-oder orgelbegleitung, (3 Booklets), Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. - <i>Polnische Lieder: Singstimme</i>, Berlin: Edition Peters, [1829?] - Robert Schumann, <i>Schumann-Album: 50 mélodies</i>, transl. Victor Wilder, Braunschweig: Imprimerie Litolf, n.d. - Robert Schumann, <i>Fifty-Five Songs</i>, transl. Theo Baker, New York: G. Schirmer, n.d. - Robert Schumann, <i>Woman's Life and Love: Eight Songs</i>, transl. Theo Baker, New York: G. Schirmer, n.d. - W.A. Mozart, <i>Die Hochzeit des Figaro: Opera Buffa in 4 Acten</i>, Vienna: Universal-Edition, n.d. - W.A. Mozart, arr. Mildred Gauntlett, <i>Mozart's Songs and Scenas</i>, New York: Boosey & Co., n.d.
--	--

Box 9	<p>Music books</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arnold Dolmetsch ed., <i>Select English Songs and Dialogues of the 16th and 17th Centuries</i> (Book I) New York: Boosey & Co. Ltd., n.d. - Claude Debussy, <i>Pelléas and Mélisande: Lyric Drama in Five Acts</i>, ed. Henry Grafton Chapman, New York: G. Schirmer, n.d. - E.E. Hislop and M.H. Lake, <i>Cours moyen de français</i>, Canada: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1960. - Edmund Horace Fellowes ed., arr., <i>Forty Elizabethan Songs</i> (Book I, II, III, IV) London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd., n.d. - Frederick Keel arr., <i>Elizabethan Love Songs</i> (First and Second Set), London: Boosey & Co., n.d. - Heinrich Möller, <i>Das Lied Der Völker</i>, Leipzig: Edition Schott, n.d. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · "Russische Volkslieder," No. 551 · "Skandinavische Volkslieder," No. 552 · "Spanische Volkslieder," No. 556 · "Italienische Volkslieder," No. 557 - Henry Purcell, <i>Twenty Favourite Songs</i>, ed. Edmonstone Duncan, London: Augener Ltd., n.d. - J. S. Bach, <i>Werke: Weltliche Kantaten</i>, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.
-------	---

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - J.S. Bach, <i>Geistliche lieder und arien aus schemellis gesangbuch und dem notenbuch der Anna Magalena Bach für eine singstimme mit pianoforte orgel oder harmonium</i>, Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d. - J.S. Bach, <i>Solos from the Sacred Cantatas of J.S. Bach</i>, London: Novello and Company, Ltd., n.d. - Karol Szymanowski, <i>Deux "enfantines": Le chat- Mazourka</i>, Editions de la nouvelle revue française, 1925. - Mozart, <i>Le Nozze Di Figaro</i>, London: Novello's Ltd., n.d. - Robert Schumann, <i>Fifty Songs by Robert Schumann</i>, arr. W.J. Henderson, Boston: Oliver Ditson Company, n.d.
--	---

Box 10	<p>Music books</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Franz Schubert, <i>The Songs of Schubert</i> ("Vol. II- Containing 55") ed. Myles Foster, transl. May Byron, London: Boosey & Co., n.d. - <i>Franz Schubert</i>, transl. Theo Baker, New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., n.d. - Sir George Henschel, Elena Gerhardt, and J. Francis Harford, <i>The Hundred Best Short Songs in Four Books</i> (Book I) Patterson's Publications Ltd., n.d. - <i>Soprano Songs</i> (Vol. I, II) London: Boosey & Co., n.d.
--------	---

Box 11	<p>Press clippings, programs, photographs (1909-1959)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Including programs from <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Hart House Theatre (1924-1926) · Margaret Eaton School (1925-1926) · Women's Art Association (1926) · Women's Musical Club of Toronto (1930) · Association of Canadian Clubs (1930) · Moyse Hall (1930) · Institut canadien français d'Ottawa (1930) · English Folk Dance Society (1930-1944) · Musicale at Government House (1939) · Vogt Society Musicale (n.d.) · L'Alliance française de Toronto · Heliconian Club, Toronto (1940) · Concert in Aid of Finland (1940) · Patriotic Concert (1940) · Speranza Musical Club (1940) · Biltmore Theatre (1940) · American Women's Club (1941) · Massey Music Hall (n.d.) · - Various press clippings from many of the above mentioned concerts, pictures (some of/from Barbeau), and miscellanea
--------	---

Appendix C: List of CPR Festivals

- Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Quebec City (May 20-22, 1927)
- Highland Gathering/Scottish and Music Festival, Banff (Sept. 3-5, 1927)
- Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Quebec City (May 24-28, 1928)
- New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival, Winnipeg (1928)
- Highland Gathering and Scottish and Music Festival, Banff (Aug. 31-Sept. 3, 1928)
- Old English Yuletide Festival, Victoria (Dec. 1928)
- Sea Music Festival, Vancouver (Jan 23-26, 1929)
- Great West Canadian Folksong, Folkdance and Handicraft Festival, Regina (Mar. 20-23, 1929)
- Highland Gathering/Scottish and Music Festival, Banff (Aug. 30- Sept. 2, 1929)
- English Music Festival: FolkSong – FolkDance, Toronto (Nov. 14-18, 1929)
- Old English Yuletide Festival, Victoria (Dec. 23-30, 1929)
- Sea Music Festival, Victoria (Jan. 15-18, 1930)
- Great-West Canadian Folk Dance, Folk Song & Handicraft Festival, Calgary (Mar. 19-22, 1930)
- Highland Gathering/Scottish and Music Festival, Banff (Aug. 29- Sept 1, 1930)
- Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Quebec City (Oct. 16-18, 1930)
- Highland Gathering/Scottish and Music Festival, Banff (Aug. 27-30, 1931)