

The Canadian Folk Music Journal / The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music – La Revue de musique folklorique canadienne: Reflections on Thirty Years of Writing about Folk and Traditional Music in Canada¹

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Abstract: This paper examines the genesis of the *CJTM/RMFC* over its thirty year existence. These “partial” reflections include discussion of issues surrounding folk music collection and classification, as well as ongoing debates surrounding what constituted *real* folk music. The over 200 articles and reviews in the Journal’s 30 volumes show emergent ideas in ethnomusicology and folklore related to fieldwork, changing paradigms with respect to writing about music, and the relation of musical performance to musical research. Tensions and competing paradigms between French-speaking and English-speaking approaches are also considered. Finally, questions about the place of the Journal in the context of current ethnomusicological research, as well as comparisons with other related journals, including *Ethnologies*, *Ethnomusicology*, and the *Journal of American Folklore* are raised.

When the Canadian Folk Music Society published the first volume of its Journal in 1973, the editor, Edith Fowke, noted in the Foreword that the Society had wanted for some time to publish a journal “which would provide an outlet for scholars who are studying and collecting Canadian folk music.” Fowke added that the only existing outlets for such writings were the journals of the American Folklore Society, the International Folk Music Council, and the Society for Ethnomusicology. Clearly, one of the Canadian Folk Music Society’s aims in launching its journal was to bring to attention Canada’s folk music, locally and internationally, as well as to create a journal that would appeal to the “folk music specialist and non-specialist reader” (Fowke 1973: 2).

What follows here is a discussion of the Journal over its thirty-two year existence. In significant ways, the Journal’s story is closely linked to emergent themes in ethnomusicology and folklore during this period. Reflecting on the Journal’s history and its contents leads to some provocative questions about essentialized terms like *folk music* and *traditional music* and the disciplines of folklore and ethnomusicology. What were and still are the debates surrounding meanings of folk and traditional music? Who took sides, and what were the sides? How were these debates rooted in relation to local, linguistic, national, and international contexts? And what were and are the processes of change driving ideological shifts? In terms of the Journal’s over 200 articles and reviews, what kinds of histories do they provide both in relation to these questions and in relations to emergent disciplinary boundaries in ethnomusicology and folklore? And in broader contexts, how does the evolution of the Journal relate to other Canadian and American journals of the same period? I don’t have definitive answers to these kinds of questions but would like to propose some ideas for thinking about them in terms of what we might call “writing ethnomusicology” (borrowing from Clifford’s “Writing Culture” notion) in the *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*. Problematizing processes of reflection between then and now, Edward Bruner writes that while narrative structures “organize and give meaning to experience ... there are always feelings and lived experience not fully

¹ This is a version of a paper read at the fiftieth anniversary conference of the Society for Ethnomusicology in November, 2005, in Atlanta, Georgia. I am grateful for the comments I have received from a number of individuals who heard, and have read the paper, especially Judith Cohen and Jay Rahn. Sincere thanks to Mary Channen Caldwell, BMus 2006 at Queen’s University, who tracked down historical information and helped with the figures. I also take this opportunity to point out that some of the background information on the *CJTM/SCTM* and Edith Fowke will be redundant for many readers of the Journal. I apologize to those readers but believe that this information is important context for the paper. A sequel study of this work (in progress) involves an examination of the *CJTM/RMFC* along side Canadian Journal sources in music, history, folklore, ethnic studies, and First Nations studies.

encompassed by the dominant story. Only after the new narrative becomes dominant is there a reexamination of the past, a rediscovery of old texts, and a recreation of the new heroes of liberation and resistance?" (Bruner 1986: 143). My experience as Journal editor since 1999 has provided me with at least a partial vantage point from which to reflect on old/new, indeed multiple, narratives in the history of the Journal.

This discussion is in four sections, beginning with a background on the Canadian Society for Musical Traditions. This section is followed by observations on the content of the Journal from 1973 to the present, focusing on perspectives of subject matter, themes, and language. I then consider writings on Canadian ethnomusicology and traditional music in three parallel journals, *The American Journal of Folklore*, *The Journal of the International Folk Music Council / The Journal of the International Council for Traditional Music*, and *Ethnomusicology*. My comparisons focus on Canadian coverage, and approaches and themes in the Canadian content in relation to international perspectives. Finally, I discuss "Retrospectives on Folk Music and Ethnomusicology" in six excerpts from the *CJTM/RMFC*.

Background on the Canadian Folk Music Society / Canadian Society for Traditional Music / La Société canadienne de musique folklorique / La Société canadienne pour les traditions musicales

The Canadian Society for Musical Traditions is a bilingual society. Its French name is La Société Canadienne pour les Traditions Musicales. The Society began in 1956 as the Canadian Folk Music Society / La Société canadienne de musique folklorique, at the instigation of the English folklorist Maud Karpeles and the Canadian folklorist Marius Barbeau. The prime motivation for the establishment of the Society was to create a Canadian branch of the International Folk Music Council of which Karpeles and Barbeau had been active members.² One of the Society's major early successes was the organization of the International Folk Music Council conference in Quebec City in 1961, largely the result of efforts by Barbeau and Karpeles. The Society became autonomous with its own constitution in 1957 but has maintained its affiliation with the International Council for Traditional Music. Barbeau was the President of the Canadian Folk Music Society from its inauguration in 1956 until 1963. As the Society's first President, and with his international reputation as a respected folklorist, Barbeau played a pivotal role in shaping the mandate of the Society in its formative years. Original aims of the Society included the facilitation of research into folk traditions, the use of folk and Native song in musical composition, and the representation of this work to the newly formed government arts sponsor, the Canada Council. This mission was gradually modified to include support for "the study, appreciation, and enjoyment of the folk music of Canada in all its aspects" and the promotion of "publication and performance of Canadian folk music." The dualism reflected in these aims encompassed the academic, scholarly aspect of folklore, as well as the practical, performative dimension of folklore. From the beginnings of the Society to the present, this dualism has been a distinguishing feature of the Society's identity, creating both tensions and positive elements over the nearly 50 years of the Society's existence.

The change of the Society's name to the Canadian Society for Musical Traditions from the Canadian Folk Music Society in 1989 (ratified in 1990) parallels the 1981 name change of its parent organization, the International Folk Music Council to the International Council for Traditional Music. As Bohlman has pointed out, the "symbolic repudiation of folk music by the ICTM" was not isolated; and by the 1980s, although folk music still had a following of ardent believers, it had "fallen on hard times in the academic world" (Bohlman 1988: xiii). Bohlman goes on to explain folk music's fall from grace by what he calls the "conservative undertow" in folk music study, characterized by its rigid emphasis on salvaging and documenting folk music traditions that were perceived to be on the verge of extinction. While this kind of thinking corresponds to the motivation to change the name Canadian Folk Music Society to the Canadian Society for Traditional Music, another essential motivation was linguistic. From its beginnings in 1956, the

² A telling photograph of the 1950 conference of the International Folk Music Council in Bloomington, Indiana, shows Barbeau standing next to Maud Karpeles in the front row, among a large gathering of other folklorists and "ethnomusicologists" of the day. See the "Proceedings of the Third Conference of the International Folk Music Council Held at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1950" in the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, vol. 111 (1951): 6.

Canadian Folk Music Society had French and English identities; and in the late 1980s, French members of the Society were increasingly uncomfortable with the French version of the Society's name, pointing out that "la musique folklorique" referred to the commercial type of folk music that had been and still is important to music in French-speaking regions of Canada, such as Quebec and the Acadian parts of Atlantic Canada (Kallmann and Thrasher 1992: 213). Clearly, the name change was controversial and marked what might be regarded in retrospect as a turning point in the Society's history, for the process and the result evoked what have at times seemed to be irreconcilable differences between the Society's ethnomusicological (academic) and folk music (performance) constituencies.

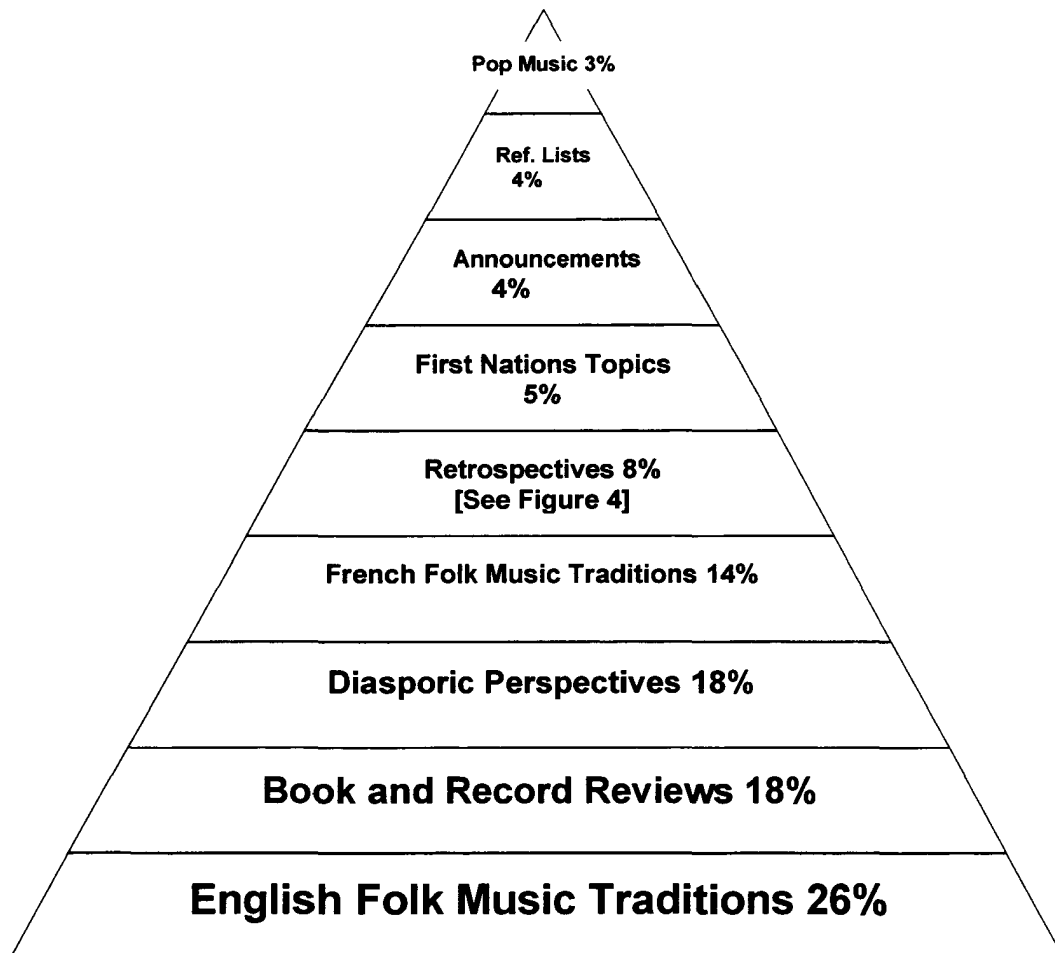
Before the Journal's contents are discussed, it is helpful and important to identify Edith Fowke, the Journal's founder and its editor for twenty-two years, from its inauguration in 1973 to 1995, one year before her death in 1996. Edith Fowke arrived in Toronto from the western Canadian province of Saskatchewan in 1938 with a Master's degree in English literature and history from the University of Saskatchewan, as well as a developing interest in folk song. As the story of Edith's early days in Toronto goes, she was disappointed by the lack of information about folk song and began research into what led to her highly popular CBC radio broadcast, "Folk-Song Time" (1950-63). She also had an incredibly prolific five-decade career as a collector, commentator, and promoter of folk song in Canada. Added to this list of activities is that of editor. I think that it is fair to say that one of Edith Fowke's central interests throughout the latter thirty years of her career was her work as editor and spokesperson for the *Canadian Folk Music Journal* (I use this title of the Journal, since it was the one Edith preferred and fought vehemently to maintain through the discussions to change the Society's and Journal's names in the late 1980s). As Jay Rahn, Edith's successor as Journal editor, commented in his obituary on Edith Fowke in the 1996 Journal issue: "Edith founded the *Journal* in 1973 and continued energetically to edit it until a few days before her death. Indeed, she worked on all but one of the articles in the present issue. Edith's sense of continuity and history within the Society was unflagging. Year after year, her reports on the *Journal's* activities began at the organization's very beginning, with a statement of editorial mandate that opened as follows: 'The Canadian Folk Music Society was established in 1956 by Dr. Marius Barbeau.'" (Rahn 1996:1).

Edith Fowke considered Barbeau to be the most important figure in the establishment and promotion of folklore in Canada; and in her years as Journal editor, she strove to represent the kinds of ideas Barbeau believed in—and she shared—through the Journal's articles. Simply, these ideas revolved around the mission of the folklorist (a term that captures Edith's professional identity more than ethnomusicologist, as she wasn't trained in music) as collector, salvager, analyzer ("classifier"), and disseminator of what was perceived as the authentic lore of the folk. With Barbeau and others of her generation (notably the Nova Scotia folklorist, Helen Creighton), Fowke believed that the Folk existed on the fringes of modern society in isolated communities, and that folk traditions were being threatened by the inevitable onslaught of the forces of modernism. In a general sense, this theme—collection, preservation, description of a musical case study—may be considered pervasive with respect to many of the articles in the Journal.

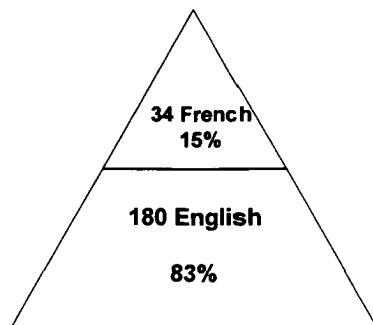
Perspectives on Proportion in the CFMJ/SCMF/CJTM/RMFC.

To facilitate reflecting on the content in the Journal, I have attempted to take stock of the Journal's contents. This "Perspectives in Proportion" includes nine broad groupings (see Figure 1): English Folk Music Traditions (26%), Book and Record Reviews (18%), Diasporic Perspectives (18%), French Folk Music Traditions (14%) (see also Figure 2), Retrospectives (8%), First Nations Topics (5%), Announcements (4%), Bibliographies and Reference Lists (4%), and Popular Music Topics (3%).

Figure 1 : *The Canadian Journal for Traditional Music / La Revue de musique folklorique canadienne* Vols. 1-31, 1973-2004 – Perspectives in Proportion



Linguistic Division of English and French



There are a number of observations one can draw from this kind of a survey, but I would like to draw attention to three. First, I need to emphasize that these categories are not fixed entities: I confess that I tried a number of classification methods, and none is without limitation. That said, hopefully these groupings provide a framework for reflection. The initial conclusion that one can draw are the extremes in these statistics: for example, the predominance of articles and reviews on English Folk Music Traditions, and the relative low percentage of contributions in French. Secondly, of possible significance is that notwithstanding the relatively low percentage rate (15%), there is a steady consistency of articles in what I refer to as the Diasporic Perspectives category through the Journal's history, compensating, or at least complementing, any perceived bias toward English Folk Music Traditions category suggested in the largest statistic. Thirdly, not only is there a low percentage of French articles, there is a noticeable decline in French articles in Journal issues over the last 10 years. Another way of viewing this is that of the 216 items (articles and reviews) in the 31 issues of the Journal to date, 180 are in English, and 34 are in French (two are bilingual). And five of the authors of the French articles are multiple contributors, meaning that they have contributed more than one article (in two cases authoring five).

There are complicated explanations for the low numbers and decline of French items, but the existence of several amply funded French folklore Journals (i.e., *Les Archives de Folklore* [26 vols. to date], the *Ethnologie de l'Amérique française* series, "Les nouveaux cahiers du CÉLAT" [25 vols. since 1990], and the Mercury series by the National Museum in Ottawa) have provided French scholars with a linguistic and, it may be argued, a more comfortable ideological home for their work. The latter point is important and not often recognized by outsiders to French musical traditions in Canada. The idea of Quebec as a *distinct society* and a separate entity from Canada, argued for by separatists in Quebec from the 1970s, has not only a long history but also important, connected notions of cultural meaning. As Laurier Turgeon of Laval University has commented with respect to folklore: "There has always been an idea that Laval and Quebec could be a creative in-between space, an intermediary site between France and the U.S./English Canada, between Europe and North America" (Greenhill and Navarez 2002:122). Publishing paradigms in Canadian ethnomusicology over the last thirty years might suggest that this "intermediary [linguistic/ideological] site" is an inevitable, widening gulf.

Comparisons with the *JAF*, *JIFMCIYTM*, *Ethnomusicology*

In their introduction to a special Canadian issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* in 2002, the guest Canadian editors, Greenhill and Navárez, argue that "Cross-border intellectual activity has always been significant both in American folkloristics and Canadian folklore/ethnology" and that "recent Canadian folklore/ethnology scholarship has been much more extensive in its recognition of border crossing than its American counterpart" (Greenhill and Navárez 2002:283). Beginning in 1916, Canadian folklore (including musical topics) content in the *Journal of American Folklore* is featured in ten Canadian issues of the Journal, largely at the instigation of Marius Barbeau, whose participation in the American Folklore Society was encouraged by Franz Boas from as early as 1915. Figure 2 shows the Canadian presence in the *Journal of American Folklore* from 1916, including the ten "Canadian" issues. Noteworthy are the 14 musical items; among these are French song collections by Barbeau in the 1919 and 1954 issues. That the *Journal of American Folklore* published articles in French by Barbeau and other Canadian authors (24 of the 113) starting in 1919 may be regarded as an important historic example of multiculturalism. Barbeau's

influence in the American folklore Society extended to the 1950s; his last French article in the *Journal of American Folklore* was his final contribution, paralleling his first French article in the Journal in 1916, and confirming the widening linguistic space between French and English authors suggested above. Of added meaning, I think, is that Barbeau's final *Journal of American* contribution in 1954 was one of his most detailed articles on the multiple versions of a single song, in this case, the beautiful "complainte" about the legendary voyageur, Cadioux.

Figure 2: Canadian Content Comparisons with *The Journal of American Folklore*, *The Yearbook for Traditional Music* and *Ethnomusicology*

**Canadian Journal for Traditional Music (1973-2004):
218 Items, 182 English, 34 French, 2 Bilingual**

<i>Journal of American Folklore</i> 1888-2002	<i>Yearbook for Traditional Music</i> 1949-2000 (<i>The Journal of the International Folk Music Council</i> and <i>The Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council</i>)	<i>Ethnomusicology</i> 1956-2005
113 Items on Canadian Folklore Topics (89 English & 24 French)	70 Canadian Items (57 English & 13 French)	28 Canadian Items 1 Canadian Issue (1972) (See Figure 3)
14 Items on Folk/Traditional Canadian Music Topics		
10 Canadian Issues of the <i>JAF</i> 1. Vol. 29 no. 111 (1916) 2. Vol. 30 no. 115 (1917) 3. Vol. 32 no. 123 (1919) 4. Vol. 36 no. 141 (1923) 5. Vol. 39 no. 154 (1926) 6. Vol. 44 no. 173 (1931) 7. Vol. 53 no. 208-209 (1940) 8. Vol. 63 no. 248 (1950) 9. Vol. 67 no. 264 (1954) 10. Vol. 115 no. 456 (2002) Special Issue: Folklore in Canada		

By way of further comparison, Figure 2 shows that the Canadian content in the *Yearbook of the International Council for Traditional Music* comprises 70 contributions: twenty are articles, and 50 are book or record reviews (17 of these contributions are in French, with several by Barbeau, and a number by French scholars from France, such as Claudie Marcel-Dubois and Marguerite d'Harcourt). Considered within the category groupings in Figure 1 for the *CJTM*, these contributions have representative content, including, for example, twenty on French musical traditions, and two survey-type articles, including Anthony Seeger's Guide to Ethnomusicology programs in the U.S./Canada entry in the 1992 issue.

Because of the resonance of this topic within the Society for Ethnomusicology, I would like to focus on one more comparison context before returning to the *CJTM/RMFC* for some final observations. In 1972, the year before the first issue of the *Canadian Folk Music Journal* appeared, a special Canadian issue of

Ethnomusicology was published. Evidently, the idea of a Canadian issue of *Ethnomusicology* came to the guest editor, Israel Katz, while he was teaching at McGill University in Montreal and later when he wrote an obituary for Marius Barbeau, described by Katz as “dean of Canadian ethnomusicology.” Figure 3 shows the contents and the “perspectives in proportion” for this *Ethnomusicology* issue.

Figure 3: *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1972, Canadian Issue

<p>Retrospectives</p> <p>English Folk Music Traditions French Folk Music Traditions Diasporic Perspectives Analytical Perspectives</p>
<p>Contents</p>
<p><i>From the Guest Editor - Israel J. Katz</i> <i>Establishing Perimeters for Ethnomusicological Field Research in Canada: On-Going Projects and Future Possibilities at the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies - Kenneth Peacock</i> <i>Anglo-Canadian Folksong: A Survey - Edith Fowke</i> <i>French-Canadian Folk Music Studies: A Survey – François Brassard</i> <i>Ethnomusicological Research among Canadian Communities of Arab and East Indian Origin - Regula Qureshi</i> <i>Canada's Maritime Provinces-An Ethnomusicological Survey (Personal Observations and Recollections) - Helen Creighton</i> <i>Canadian Indian Ethnomusicology: Selected Bibliography and Discography - Marie-Françoise Guédon</i> <i>Annotated Bibliography: Eskimo Music - Beverley Cavanagh</i> <i>The Music of Some Religious Minorities in Canada - Helen Martens</i> <i>"Sounds You Never before Heard": Ukrainian Country Music in Western Canada - Robert B. Klymasz</i> <i>Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples - George J. Casey; Neil V. Rosenberg; Wilfred W. Wareham</i> <i>The Current Ethnomusicology Curriculum in Canadian Universities - Roxane C. Carlisle</i> <i>Toward a Bibliography of Canadian Folk Music - Helmut Kallmann</i> <i>The Need for a Survey of Canadian Archives with Holdings of Ethnomusicological Interest - Renée Landry</i> <i>The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Canadian Folk Cultures: The Preservation of Ethnic Identity - Gilles Potvin</i> <i>An Apache Rabbit Dance Song Cycle as Sung by the Iroquois - Mieczyslaw Kolinski</i></p>

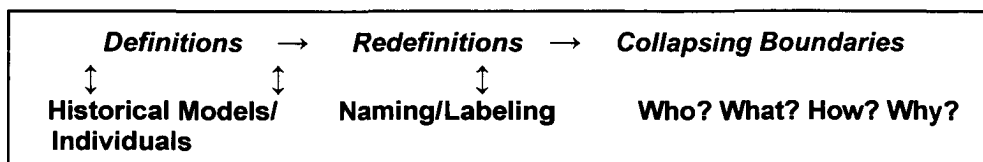
Of note here is that nearly all the articles in this journal issue may be considered “retrospectives.” In many respects, this issue of *Ethnomusicology* may be regarded as a stock-taking of Canadian ethnomusicology up to that date. There are survey/retrospective articles on most of the main “areas” being studied by Canadian ethnomusicologists, including English and French Folk Music Traditions, and Diasporic Perspectives (e.g., Ukrainian, East Indian). However, the article by Kolinski on the Apache Rabbitt dance cycle stands on its own, because of its emphasis on a particular analytical system for melodic and rhythmic analysis developed by Kolinski. Kolinski’s contribution to Canadian ethnomusicology is significant in that he

was the first to teach ethnomusicology courses at the university level in Canada (University of Toronto, from 1967). Of further interest is the fact that two of the contributors to the 1972 issue are still active in the Society for Ethnomusicology and are present at this conference (Beverly Diamond [Cavanagh] and Regula Qureshi).

Retrospectives on Folk Music and Ethnomusicology

As a final comparative context, I continue the theme of stock-taking, and return to what can be referred to as "Retrospectives in Folk Music and Ethnomusicology" and the *CJTM/RMFC*. To illustrate, I have grouped these retrospectives in three parts: Definitions, Redefinitions, and Collapsing Boundaries. These are represented graphically at the top of Figure 4; beneath I have listed the articles in the Retrospectives group.

Figure 4: Retrospectives on Folk Music and Ethnomusicology in the *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* Vols. 1-31, 1973-2004 [* Articles Cited]



<p>Vol. 2 (1974) *<i>The Heart of the Folk Song</i> - Isabelle Mills</p> <p>Vol. 3 (1975) <i>Situation de la recherche en folklore acadien</i> - Charlotte Cormier</p> <p>Vol. 4 (1976) <i>Aural History and Ethnomusicology</i> – Dr. Ida Halpern</p> <p>Vol. 5 (1977) *<i>Introduction: Folk Music Panel</i> - Neil V. Rosenberg <i>W. Roy Mackenzie as a Collector of Folksong</i> - Martin Lovelace</p> <p>Vol. 6 (1978) <i>Le Catalogue de la chanson folklorique française</i> - Robert Bouthillier</p> <p>Vol. 9 (1981) <i>The Child Ballad in Canada : A Survey</i> – Laurel Doucette and Colin Quigley</p> <p>Vol. 12 (1984) <i>C. Marius Barbeau and the Origins Controversy</i> - Janet McNaughton</p> <p>Vol. 13 (1985) <i>Elisabeth Greenleaf: An Appraisal</i> - Isabelle Peere</p> <p>Vol. 16 (1988) *<i>What is Folk Music?</i> - David Spalding, Ann Lederman, Ken Persson, Jay Rahn</p> <p>Vol. 20 (1992) *<i>Lessons Learned, Questions Raised: Writing a History of Ethnomusicology in Canada</i> - James Robbins</p> <p>Vol. 21 (1993) *<i>Bridging the Gap between the Folk Musician and Academia: An Alternative Approach to CSMT as discussed with Thomas Kines</i> - Paula Conlon *<i>Lessons Learned, Questions Raised: Writing a History of Ethnomusicology in Canada (II)</i> - Beverly Diamond</p>

Obviously, these kinds of categories can be subjective, and some overlap; but they do facilitate reflection on the kinds of overarching themes and ideologies found through the history of the Journal. To illustrate further, I draw briefly on six examples from these writings. (These are indicated by asterisks beside the

articles.) My process of selecting these pieces derives from illustrating retrospectives in folk music and ethnomusicology, rather than from privileging them over other texts, many of which could serve as retrospectives as well. Beginning with Definitions, it seems that defining, or at least explaining what we do, is an historic and ongoing characteristic if not an obsession with ethnomusicologists and folklorists. In Isabelle Mills' article, "The Heart of Folk Song," published in the *Journal* in 1974, Mills reiterates the 1954 International Folk Music Council "approved" definition of folk music with its emphasis on oral transmission and anonymity, and tradition as a diachronic progression through time, linking the present to the past. She also provides information on "classification of folk songs, 'folk song style,' and folk song structure." With its emphasis on "defining" folk song and talking *about* folk song, the embedded ideas in this article reverberate through other articles in the *Journal*, especially in the *Journal's* first ten years, but also in the later years.

It is interesting to read Mills' article in conjunction with—or *in contrast to*—Neil Rosenberg's introduction to a folk music panel which took place as part of a session on folk music organized by the Folklore Studies Association of Canada in 1977. As Rosenberg comments, the papers in the session showed a shared "concern with the analysis of the traditional matrices in which folksongs live" (Rosenberg 1977: 3), thereby widening perspectives of context to include the local, the present, and the author. Of note, perhaps, is that this concern came from a folklorist who was living and working in Newfoundland, the eastern most part of North America. Following from Rosenberg's comments, two years before the Society changed its name, replacing "Folk Music" with "Traditional Music," proceedings from a panel discussion titled "What is Folk Music?" were published in the *Journal* (1988: 32-42). Participants Anne Lederman and Jay Rahn advocated widening the parameters of folk music beyond the boundaries of static definitions. Indeed, Rahn cited the constitution of the Canadian Folk Music Society that specifies as its first objective "to encourage the study, appreciation, and enjoyment of the folk music of Canada in all of its aspects" (Rahn: 41).

Collapsing boundaries and widening contextual considerations are themes in two articles written in the early 1990s by James Robbins (1992) and Beverley Diamond (1993). Robbins's "Lessons Learned, Questions Raised: Writing a History of Ethnomusicology in Canada" is based on his and Diamond's experience of writing the entry "Ethnomusicology" in the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*. Rather than defining and redefining, Robbins suggests that we "keep asking those questions peculiar to our enterprise, about our own epistemological tools, goals, and assumptions"; and he focuses on such concepts as purist retentions, differential emphases on the perspectives of the insider/outside, and aspects of nationalism (Robbins: 7). In part II of this account, Diamond focuses on notions of ideology and boundary making, emphasizing how musical subjects can be interpreted as socially constructed, not objective or natural. Indeed, this point is reflected in Diamond/Robbins' definition of ethnomusicology in their *EMC* entry as "the scholarly study of music, broadly conceived to include music as object, as social practice and as concept" (Diamond: 50). These two articles mark a distance between notions of linear narrative and evolutionary development in understanding folk/traditional music, reflected in the writing in the earlier definitions and redefinitions groups. Citing Foucault, Diamond observes that history is filled with "sudden take-offs ... and transformations" rather than a continuum; and that in the early 1990s, boundary making was giving way to boundary crossing (Diamond 1993: 53). In the same issue as Diamond's article, Paula Conlon problematizes the bifurcation between the seemingly entrenched academic and performance sides of the Society in an article titled "Bridging the Gap between the Folk Musician and Academia: An Alternative Approach to CSMT as Discussed with Tom Kines." A well-known folk performer, Kines had been a member of the Society since at least the early 1960s and was a strong advocate of musical performance. With its theme of deepening understandings and respect between "folk" and "academic" constituencies, Conlon's article may be interpreted as an appeal for boundary crossing as a requisite for the identity and indeed, survival of the CSTM.

Finally, I would like to reiterate that perspectives and retrospectives of the kind I have presented in this paper stand the risk of misrepresenting or exaggerating certain aspects of a story. As Clifford has noted, "Ethnographic truths are ... inherently *partial*—committed and incomplete ... Even the best ethnographic texts—serious, true fictions, are systems, or economies, of truth. Power and history work through them in ways their authors cannot control." In addition to emphasizing the "incompleteness" of what we do as ethnomusicologists, Clifford's quote also raises a fundamental question: individual experience. In my discussion, I have mentioned nine authors (Barbeau, Fowke, Mills, Rosenberg, Lederman, Rahn,

Robbins, Diamond, Conlon) out of the nearly 200 represented in the Journal's 31 issues; indeed, I have emphasized two of them: Edith Fowke and Marius Barbeau. Who are the others? At the very least, in the kind of *partial* process I have undertaken here, true reflection means remembering that stories and versions of stories come from different individuals, different locations, different times, and different cultures, and that it is critical that those stories are read with sensitivity and an open sense of value. Indeed, this kind of *partial* process helps to remind us that "the stories we tell about ourselves" (cf., Geertz 1973:448)—in this case—as ethnomusicologists, folklorists, Canadians, Americans, individuals, and whatever other identities might follow, are multiple, nuanced, and emergent.

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