Marius Barbeau and Musical Performers

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Abstract: One of Marius Barbeau's important contributions to heightening awareness of folk music traditions in Canada was his organization and promotion of concerts. These concerts took different forms and involved a range of performers. Concert presentations of folk music, such as those that Barbeau initiated called the *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, often and typically included a combination of performers. This article examines Barbeau's "performers," including classically educated musicians and some of his most prolific, talented informants.

Barbeau and Juliette Gaultier

Throughout Barbeau's career as a folklorist, one of his goals was to use trained Canadian classical musicians as folk music performers, thereby introducing Canada's rich folk music heritage to a broader public. This practice met with some mixed reviews. There are suggestions that he was criticized for depending on an American singer, Loraine Wyman, in his early presentations. Certainly, in his first *Veillées du bon vieux temps*, he used Sarah Fischer (1896-1975), a French-born singer who had made a highly praised operatic debut in 1918 at the *Monument national* in Montreal. But in 1919, she returned to Europe to pursue her career. Since she was no longer readily available for Barbeau's efforts, he had to look elsewhere.

One of Barbeau's most prominent Canadian, classically trained singers was Juliette Gauthier de la Verendrye² (1888-1972), Born in Ottawa, Juliette Gauthier attended McGill University, studied music in Europe, and made her debut with the Boston Opera in the United States. The younger sister of the singer Eva Gauthier,³ Juliette Gauthier made her professional career performing French, Inuit, and Native music. Presumably contact had occurred between Juliette Gaultier and Barbeau prior to 1925.4 A letter from Gauthier to Barbeau (May 17, 1925) states that Barbeau's songs were "the beginning of my career," and Alfred Laliberté had arranged several of them for me "very well" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24). She also speaks of songs being provided by Diamond Jenness, and that she will sing accompanied with only a drum. By 1926, Gaultier was getting sixteen-week contracts in the New York area, performing "Eskimo." French, and Indian songs, at a minimum of three hundred dollars per concert. In a letter to Barbeau (June 6, 1926), she writes: "I have had a great time getting costumes, igloo, slides, drums. Got my designer to come to the Museum [presumably in Ottawa] ... It has created quite a sensation this Eskimo music ... I did some of the French songs for [Mr. Vilhialmur Stefansson's friend] ... which he thought very beautiful ... If you know any printed matter about the Nootka Indians would you kindly let me know, or some of your Indian songs ... Some of your songs I am going to have harmonized for only stringed instruments--1st and 2nd violin, viola, cello ... It would be a very good arrangement, even better than piano. Also the autoharp which is very lovely, Eva prefers it to anything else" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24). Already, Gaultier had distinct ideas on how to present folk material and in what formats it could be turned into art music.⁵

¹ In a letter to Juliette Gaulthier (November 1927), Barbeau wrote that Lorraine Wyman had done several presentations in Montreal and Quebec City (CMC Barbeau B196, f. 24).

² Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye (1888-1972) adapted this spelling and added the name of what she thought was one of her forebears to distinguish herself from her older sister, Eva Gauthier, also an influential singer.

³ Eva Gauthier was an accomplished singer with an international reputation. Of interest here is that she studied are

³ Eva Gaulthier was an accomplished singer with an international reputation. Of interest here is that she studied and worked with a Javanese gamelan ensemble, and gave first American performances of music from the Orient, as well as compositions by Stravinsky in New York. In a famous New York recital on 1 November 1 1923, in which Eva Gaulthier sang art songs, followed by works by Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and George Gershwin, Paul Whiteman heard her accompanied by George Gershwin and subsequently commissioned the *Rhapsody in Blue*.

⁴ The family was based in Ottawa and her father was employed in a government department (Martin 1993: 20).
⁵ Did her idea about using a string quartet have any bearing on the subsequent encouragement of Ernest MacMillan via Barbeau/Gibbon to prepare what are now recognized as classics of Canadian music, *Two Sketches for String Quartet Based on French Canadian Airs* (1927)? These works were first performed at the 1927 Quebec City CPR Folk Festival by the Hart House String Quartet. Their immediate popularity inspired MacMillan to arrange other folk songs (Kines 1988: 116).

By early 1927, Gaultier (through Barbeau) had met John Murray Gibbon, the publicity agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). She enjoyed singing songs with him, "a good old Scotchman," and was soon frequently involved in promotional events for the CPR. Gibbon also provided her with railway passes that assisted her to do fieldwork. As early as 1921, she had been on Vancouver Island learning Nootka (Nuu-Chah-Nulth) songs. During the summer of 1927, while doing performances in Banff, she had contact with the Stoney Indians in Alberta and gathered songs in British Columbia where she had a meeting with George Hunt, one of Barbeau's important informants. In 1929, she collected over 300 French-Acadian songs and also visited the ninety-year-old Mi'kmaq chief Benjamin Pictou, who sang for her (Turcot 1929: 244). A review of her recordings in *The Music Lovers Phonograph Monthly Review* (1930) included a long passage describing her own fieldwork experiences:

My last trip to Acadia ... added some few hundred new songs ... and many old legends and short plays ... The language is that of the seventeenth century, spoken only by French Acadians and not by the Quebec habitant ... The Cajun does not exist in Nova Scotia ... The word comes from Cadie, the old Indian Micmac; Canayen has also been given to Canadien. This Caiun word is not used in our part of the country ... I am leaving again shortly for Nome, Alaska, where I will spend some time among the Eskimos. Coming back I shall visit the Queen Charlotte Islands to be among the Haida Indians. My travels through Canada have been from coast to coast, and at times I have journeyed twenty thousand miles in one season ... My greatest interest today is to hear reproduced the songs of our North American aboriginal races, sung either by the natives themselves, or at least when sung by white people they should be preserved in their natural form and the songs sung or harmonized to native instruments only. Our greatest difficulty today is to obtain fine inexpensive transportative recording apparatus ... Last summer alone I could have used hundreds of cylinders for both songs and legends which instead I had to write by day and almost by night to eliminate the high cost of wax cylinder recordings. I found it easier to travel from door to door, village to village, with a light violin tucked under my arm, notating each song as I went along. Besides the peasants enjoy hearing the violin, and the Eskimos or Indians are more apt to sing for you if they hear you play or sing to them first (Darrell 1930: 366).

Obviously during the 1920s, Gaultier had become an indomitable ethnographer in her own right. At her initial meeting with Gibbon, she had stressed the need to involve all Canadian performers in the CPR publicity efforts, and she recommended to Gibbon that Ernest MacMillan from Toronto would be a good musician from to approach. She had met MacMillan on a boat coming from Alaska, and they had sung Tsimshian songs for one another (Kines 1988: 112).

By 1930, Juliette Gaulthier was well known for her performances throughout the United States and in England, and her recordings added to her growing reputation. Leopold Stokowski was one of many who was impressed with her performances. After a concert of Eskimo/Inuit songs, he approached the Victor Company. Subsequently the Educational Department of the Victor Company released disc 22311, the Acadian songs: "Miracle Song of St. Nicholas," "Va Ingrate Bergère," "Berceuse Acadienne," sung to harp cithare accompaniment, and disc 22329, with the Inuit songs, "Call of the Seal," "Stone Age Dance Song," "Incantation for Healing the Sick," "Eskimo Chant," plus the Nootka "Tarna Song," and Kootenay "Parting Song," sung with the Inuit drum played on the rim, and then the "British Columbia tom-tom" which "is very large and powerful" (Darrell 1930: 365-66).

Because of her wide experience, Gaultier was a trained singer who Barbeau wished to use in his presentations. Apparently, she was one he recommended to the Canadian Clubs,⁷ but Gaultier was incensed that a Canadian Women's Club offered her a fee of thirty dollars, not even a tenth of what she was accustomed to receiving (Letter to Barbeau, February 7, 1927, CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24).⁸ Barbeau wrote to Gaultier requesting her participation in the 1927 CPR Folk and Handicrafts Festival at Quebec

⁶ Gaulthier can be seen practising the movements in a short film entitled *Totem Land* (1921).

⁷ The first Canadian Club was founded in Hamilton in 1893, and Barbeau became involved with the one in Ottawa, formed in 1904. The Association of Canadian Clubs, forty in all, was created in 1909 (www.canadianclub.ca).

⁸ In a later letter (November 7, 1927), she tells Barbeau: "I have noticed that long ago anyone Canadian is supposed to sing gratis or for half fee" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24).

City. In March, Gaultier replied, telling Barbeau that it is better to sing the French songs unaccompanied with just the spinning wheel for rhythm. "In Boston, many said they were happy to get rid of the piano" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24). It is possible Gaultier sent Barbeau a copy of the review from the *Boston Transcript*, February 16, 1927, which stated, "In addition, Miss Gaultier's costume, with the white cap and plain dress of mulberry and dark gray lent authenticity to her performance. For a similar purpose, the singer spurned the piano and all other accompanying instruments except a small table harp with which she strummed out a few chords or which she forsook entirely for her own unaccompanied voice" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24). Barbeau answered that he would be very disappointed if she sang the songs unaccompanied. On March 24, he argued that the audience and musicians in New York were probably tired of hearing songs given with a piano accompaniment, but that it is very different in Quebec, where persons have the opportunity to know and hear true folk-singers. Lorraine Wyman had given several concerts in Montreal and Quebec City where she sang songs unaccompanied. At one concert, Barbeau had his singer Mme April sing her own version following the performance by Wyman. The audience much preferred Mme April. Barbeau related that "Wyman has never sung that song again!" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24).

However, despite these differences, Barbeau and Gaultier began working together. For both the 1927 and 1928 Festivals in Quebec City, Barbeau specified what repertoire Gaultier would sing, with whom, and how it would be accompanied. Although Barbeau was involved in organizing the "amateur" performers, it appears that Gibbon also persuaded Barbeau to negotiate with the "classical" performers. Gibbon wanted to promote the Montreal-born tenor Rodolphe Plamondon, who had been having an illustrious career abroad but was scarcely known in Canada. In a letter to Barbeau, February 8, 1927, Gibbon wrote:

Harold Eustace Key arranged a musical evening for some of us last night, at which Rodolphe Plamondon sang for nearly an hour. He is certainly a great artist. I found that he was familiar with some of the Troubadour songs, and it occurs to me that we could strike a very interesting note if we began our Friday concert with a group of those songs, introducing "L'Hirondelle, Messager de l'amour" as an instance of a case where there appeared to be traces of a survival. We may have to pay Plamondon a little more than my original bargain if he has to sing twice, but this would give a sort of "cachet" to the professional concert element, which I think would impress the highbrows. The songs I heard him sing yesterday were harmonized by Gustave Michels, and are extraordinarily fine. Plamondon has been feeling rather out of the picture in Canada after his success in Europe, and I believe this opportunity of showing what he can do would give him a new spirit (Kines 1988: 114).

Involving Plamondon led to suggestions of having him perform with Gaultier. But she would have none of this, saying that the repertoire selected would not suit either of their voices well; and besides, Plamondon did not know how to interpret folk material. Eventually, that idea was dropped, and Gaulthier ended up using much of the material that she had been performing in her own programs. In 1927, she was also part of the concert featuring the Hurons (Wendat) of Lorette singing songs as taught to them by the Jesuits. Gaultier wanted advice from Barbeau on where to borrow a Wendat outfit. Barbeau advised her on March

⁹ Gibbon had been asked to organize a four-day festival in 1927 to launch the spring tourist season at the Chateau Frontenac. Both Gibbon and Barbeau have been criticized for promoting a romanticized image of French Canada. Kines argues that Gibbon and Barbeau, both having experienced positive aspects of the folk music revival in England while students at Oxford, were more inspired to try to contribute to a similar revival in Canada (Kines 1988: 108). The Fabian Society had romantic views of folk music, but went beyond viewing it as a vehicle to represent the individual character of one culture. Instead, the Fabians believed that folk music of different backgrounds could be used as a vehicle to unite cultures. It was on this principle that Gibbon had organized singsongs around campfires in the Rockies (Kines 1988: 104). In fact, Gibbon had expressed in print this view when he ended his introduction to Canadian Folk Songs (Old and New) (1927), collected by Gagnon, Joseph Levac, Barbeau, Oscar O'Brien, Massicotte, and Marchand, with piano accompaniments by Oscar O'Brien and Geoffrey O'Hara, with this sentence: "How pleasant it would be to think that the musical currents which separated in Europe should once more reunite after many hundred years in Canada." Having to organize this Festival in a short period of time, Gibbon wrote to Dr. W. H. Collins, head of the Victoria National Museum (later the National Museum), "it would be a great assistance to us if we could have the cooperation of Dr. C. Marius Barbeau." Dr. Collins replied that Dr. Barbeau's services would be free if the CPR would cover his travelling and other expenses (Kines 1988: 109).

24, 1927, that she could borrow one from Caroline Groslouis of Lorette.

One of the major events that Gibbon and Barbeau organized for the 1928 Quebec City CPR Festival was the production of Jean Beck's version of the medieval *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*. Beck wanted to be involved himself playing his *vielle*, and the initial idea was to have Gaultier perform the role of Marion. Barbeau wrote in a letter of 8 March 1928:

Je tiens beaucoup à ce que vous acceptiez de chanter des chansons de troubadours préparées par Jean Beck, des <u>pastourelles</u> du 12e et 13e siècles, qui ressemblent beaucoup à nos chansons de bergers. J'ai déjà demandé de vous accompagner lui-même avec la <u>vielle</u>. Je lui ai aussi demandé de choisir des chansons pour vous; ces chansons seront peut-être, en particulier, des pièces qu'il a préparées pour Yvette Gilbert il y a quelques années. Je sais qu'elles sont très belles et que vous auriez l'occasion belle de présenter des pièces du plus grand intèrêt et accompagnées tout à fait à votre goût. Voici ce qui est <u>plus important que tout le reste</u>.(CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24).

But Gaultier had had some unfortunate experiences performing with so-called experts on early instruments. Ahwreplied on the 15th of March: "Does Beck really play *vielle* or is it a hurdy gurdy? I hired a man here who played the viola d'amore who almost ruined my French programme in N.Y. which I had to pay \$50 ... I had to finish my programme with my harpsichord ... I did not change your programme; you did it yourself!!! I know nothing of the troubadour songs ... You can swear all you want at me, I won't mind or hear it!!" (CMC Barbeau, B196, f. 24).

Barbeau wrote to her again, gently asking her if she absolutely refused to consider the Beck collaboration. Gaulthier wrote back saying she would not consider this without a personal meeting to hear Beck. After meeting Beck, she wrote a devastating letter to Barbeau saying there was no way that she would appear on the same stage as Beck. When Barbeau suggested other arrangements she might perform, she responded that she would rather sing the fine arrangements that were being done for her by Marion Bauer. Gaulthier also pointed out that, with her busy schedule, she had little time to learn new material. If she was going to perform songs that Barbeau suggested, she needed the music immediately. In her letter of March 5, 1928, to Barbeau, she wrote:

Let me... work with your peasants and like a peasant which I am at heart... and leave <u>all</u> sophistication alone. I have been successful giving my programmes without added extravagances. You know I am not in favour of elaborate harmonization for my songs. My little harp, viola or oboe is quite sufficient to carry me through... I would rather do songs I know I can do... and accept four weeks booking here as it pays me very well... You have so many singers I am sure you can find some to replace me in these other groups... Give me two peasants any day—Indian or Eskimo. I feel more at home than with opera stars!! ... You will see I am right... Blackstone is my favorite artist. He plays beautifully (CMC Barbeau, B 196, f. 24).

On June 29, 1927, Gaultier performed for the Canadian Authors' Association at the Chateau Laurier Hotel in Ottawa. On this program, she sang French Canadian songs, as well as Inuit, Indian, including some Ojibway songs, that she had recently learned at Desbarats, Ontario. The seven French Canadian songs all appeared in the program with English translations by John Murray Gibbon Gibbon. She performed three of these with the viola played by Milton Blackstone in the arrangements by Marion Bauer. For the other French songs, taken from Gagnon and Barbeau collections, she accompanied herself on the autoharp (Program Collection, Metropolitan Toronto Library).

In April 1928, Barbeau and Gaulthier continued to exchange letters concerning Gaulthier's participation in the 1928 CPR Festival. Barbeau had given Gaulthier a list of four songs harmonized by Bauer that he thought were appropriate for the performance at the Festival. On April 23, Gaultier wrote, "You know people get an impression... of me that I am very much of a Jack Ass and most primitive of late especially... I shall make the best of a bad job, as they say here, for Gibbon's sake, <u>but never again</u> will I be dictated to as to what I should sing in any programme" (CMC Barbeau B 196 f. 24). In the end, she gave a program of four French songs with viola accompaniments by Marion Bauer. Although there are some later programs of Gaultier in the Barbeau fonds, it appears that the tension created over his

directives to her about repertoire and style of presentation ended their correspondence. She continued to perform her material widely in North America and Europe, but concert programs rarely included reference to Barbeau, as had been the case previously.

Example 1: Program of Juliette Gaultier given in Toronto, 21 May 1931. Courtesy of the Toronto Metropolitan Library.



Tyceum Momen's Art Association of Canada

este. Canada

MAY 21st, 1931 at 8.30 p.m.



Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye

FOLK SONGS OF CANADA (in costume)

Accompaniment of Primitive Instruments by the Artist

Programme

All Concerts are Under the Patronage of the National Gallery of Canada

PART I.

SONGS OF THE NORTHERN ALASKA ESKIMOS SONGS COLLECTED ON THE STEFANSSON CANADIAN
GOVERNMENT, ARCTIC EXPEDITION

- 1. Sleeping Song.
- 2. The Seal-Poke (A Cat's Cradle Chant)
- J. Sparrow Song (Children's Game Song)
- 4. Song of Asetsal: (Homesick Song)

SONGS OF THE COPPER ESKIMOS

- 5. An Old Song-Weather Incantation Against Evil Spirits.
- 6. A Dance Song-Very ancient.
 7. Falling Tears (An Old Chant Lullaby)
- 8. An Incantation for Healing the Sick. 9. A Dance Song Pisik.

PART II.

INDIAN SONGS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA NOOTKA, CARRIER, AND KOOTENAY INDIAN

- 1. Tama Song-Red-Headed Woodpecker and the Thunderbird.
- 2. Love Song of the Sekanais (Bear Lake)... (Tablian)
- J. Parting Song(Kootenay Indian)
- 4. Game Song(Kootenay Indian)
- 5. Nadudu (Luliaby) (Niska) .
- 6. White Dog Sacrifice Song(Iroquois Prayer Song)

PART HL

FRENCH CANADIAN, ACADIAN AND NEWFOUNDLAND SONGS

- 1. Early Religious Miracle Song (Vaudeville 12th Century)
 La Sainte Vierge au Longs Cheveux Pendants.
- 2. Sussane sen vat au moulin (Susanne Goes to the Mill)
 (Metier) Work Song (Quebec)
- J. Melina Vat au Bois (Melina Goes to the Woods to Gather Beachnuts) Fullers Song (Quebec)
- 4. Old Sea Song (Complainte) (Acadian) Newfoundland
- 5. C'est une Bergee (The Pretty Sheperdess Watching Her Sheep)
- 6. Berceuse Acadirenne (Acadian Lullaby). (Acadia) Nova Scotia
 7. Cette aimable Tourterelle (The Lullaby). 7. Cette aimable Tourterelle. (This lovely Turtledove.) (Acadia) (Marriage Song)

Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye is the first artist to sing publicly all of the above songs in manuscript form.

Victor Records-Educational List No. 22311-22329.

Recital Management, Arthur Judson, IIJ West 57th Street, Steinway Hall, New York City.

Barbeau and J. Campbell McInnes

As Gaultier had noted, Barbeau had already been looking for other singers who perhaps would take his guidance more to heart. In his later essay entitled "Canadian Folk Music and Ernest MacMillan," probably written in 1963, he stated, "I went with [Gibbon]... to Toronto to elaborate the plans of a musical week. The first artists whom I suggested as interpreters of folk songs were Ernest MacMillan, Campbell McInnes and his Canadian Singers of Madrigals, Jeanne Dusseau, singer, the Hart House [String] Quartet, and the Bytown Troubadours. The first festival, in May 1927, was a unique success, to which Alfred LaLiberté, Hector Gratton, Harry Adaskin, and other composers and interpreters" contributed (LAC MacMillan Fonds 1969-28 A, 44/2). During this event, Barbeau met Campbell McInnes.

J. Campbell McInnes (1873-1945) arrived in Canada in 1919. Born in England, he had been the first singer chosen by Cecil Sharp and Lucy Broadwood to illustrate folk songs for their lectures in London. Subsequently, he performed recitals in which he introduced songs by contemporary British composers and also incorporated folk songs. Campbell McInnes helped to introduce the vocal repertoire of J.S. Bach to audiences in English-speaking Canada and became renowned for interpreting Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*. A reviewer in the *Toronto Evening Telegram* raved about a Campbell McInnes recital in the following terms: "We shall have to search far indeed for an abler interpreter of the Folk Song than Mr. Campbell-McInnes ... For any singer to essay twenty-one songs in an evening and finish 'fresh' is a remarkable feat. For an audience to listen to twenty-one songs in an evening, with increasing delight, and hang literally spellbound at the last and longest ["Twa Sisters"] is still more remarkable" (15 October 1924). By the late 1920s, Campbell McInnes was giving lecture-recital tours for the National Council of Education across Canada that dealt with topics concerning English diction, madrigals, and folksongs. 10

In 1925, Campbell McInnes formed The Canadian Singers for the purpose of studying folk songs and English madrigals. They performed at the 1928 CPR Festival and included Joy Kennedy, Doris Hillary, Mabel Curtis, Margaret Baldwin, Florence Glenn, Mrs. Poole, Betty Gemmill, Margaret Stephen, and Grace Jobin. Their first performance of Ernest MacMillan's *Six Bergerettes du Bas Canada* was accompanied by harp, flute, oboe, viola, and cello, and was realized in scenery created by Arthur Lismer. In another appearance at the Festival, The Canadian Singers sang Canadian folk songs arranged by Mrs. Wood-Hill. Campbell McInnes himself performed a group of French folk songs at the 1928 Festival. A five-member version of The Canadian Singers, dressed in late Renaissance-appearing gowns according to their publicity photo, toured extensively in Canada and the United States into the early 1930s.

Barbeau and Jeanne Dusseau

Barbeau's connection with Jeanne Dusseau (1893-?) may have come about through John Murray Gibbon. Jeanne Dusseau was Scotch by birth (born Ruth Thom), married L.-V. Dessane, a French-Canadian, and was living in Toronto. She had an impressive operatic career appearing with Galli Curci and Mary Garden among many others and creating the role of Ninetta in Prokofiev's *The Love of Three Oranges*. Being one of the first singers to do so, she collaborated with Barbeau and Graham Spry on the tour of the Association of Canadian Clubs in 1926-27. The publicity release that was printed for the 1927 Quebec Festival in connection with her participation stated: "The songs... have been selected by Madame Dusseau assisted by Marius Barbeau and Ernest MacMillan... using settings by LaLiberté, Willan, Smith, Somervell, and Henri Gagnon...The tour has been assisted by musicians, painters and writers of the Dominion and its object is to make known to the Canadian people the enormous store of music intimately associated with their past. Some of the songs are native Canadian, most are Canadian versions of old French songs, 100 to 1000 years old; there are Indian songs from the Huron country" (CMC Barbeau, B190, f. 50).

For the 1928 tour of the Canadian Clubs, Barbeau wrote to Dusseau in a letter dated February 15, 1928: "[A.Y.] Jackson of Toronto has drawn a little village scene for the cover. Rous & Mann, Toronto, will

¹⁰ By the early 1930s, McInnes had been appointed to Wycliffe College, and had a regular radio program called "This English" for which he often demonstrated with folksong and other vocal repertoire. His book *The Music of Language* was published in 1939 by The Frederick Harris Co. of Oakville and received glowing reviews.

presumably print it. It will be of eight pages, and will include your picture. It will be a very attractive programme... Something like 15,000 copies will be printed for the whole tour" (CMC Barbeau, B190, f. 50). Matters of repertoire were the main topic of Barbeau's letter to Dusseau in March: "I am enclosing a set of proofs of some of my songs which have just been published in England. This set includes 12 songs, some of which may be suitable for you and Mr. Campbell McInnes.¹¹ ... I am also including four photostat copies of old folk songs which you may use if you like them. They might, of course, be transposed to suit the pitch of your voice. There are no settings for 'Mon doux berger,' 'Les jeunes filles à marier,' and 'Le long de la mer jolie.' I hope that either Dr. MacMillan or Healey Willan will be willing to prepare a set of those for you" (CMC Barbeau, B190, f. 50).

Her program was an hour and fifteen minutes in length and received warm praise in newspaper reviews. Barbeau sent her a letter (April 4, 1928) in Vancouver while she was still on the Canadian Club tour regarding her involvement in the 1928 Festival at Quebec City:

[You are] to appear in the scenario composed by de Montigny as Mme. Lambert-Dumont, a lady of the Quebec court, in 1705. The four songs you will sing while the women are at their spinning wheels and looms around you will be the four indicated and which you are using on your tour. LaLiberté ... [has] the six rossignol songs ... practically ready ... the list ... now stands exactly as I had first prepared it so that you may learn all these songs at your convenience. Then, you will sing "Au bois rossignolet" (the St. Laurent version) twice on the first evening with the de Repentigny group, with the Healey Willan setting; on the second with the "rossignol" group, using the LaLiberté setting. LaLiberté will be at the piano for this. On Sunday night you are supposed to sing with Dr. MacMillan in various songs especially prepared for you ... Now, I am suggesting to Mr. Gibbon that you appear again on Monday afternoon ... Tomorrow, I'll send you a typewritten list of these songs for Monday " (CMC Barbeau, B190, f. 50).

Another letter (May 4, 1928) contained advice concerning an accompanist: "Your accompanist of last year would hardly do for 'Madame de Repentigny's group.' She hasn't the age and the presence that would be required in that scenario, and besides, if you allow me to say so, such musicians as Dr. Willan and Mr. McInnes recently were quite positive in their remarks that Miss Williams was a far superior accompanist to the other" (CMC Barbeau, B190, f. 50).

In fact, in a glowing review of Dusseau's Toronto concert on the Canadian Club tour, Williams is specifically complimented by the reviewer (Palmer, March 15, 1928). The whole program consisted of French songs with accompaniments by Henri Gagnon, Ernest MacMillan, Alfred LaLiberté, Arthur Somervell, Healey Willan, and that of Barbeau for "M'en vas à la fontaine," plus three Indian songs in settings by MacMillan and English translations by Duncan Campbell Scott. Palmer wrote: "The rendering of these songs by Madame Dusseau will long be remembered by all who were present. She is one of the finest singers of folk songs I have ever heard" (Palmer, March 15, 1928). In these reviews there is no mention of any props being used and it seems that Dusseau's presentations were in the manner of a recital of classical art song. In later letters to Barbeau after her husband's company went bankrupt, Dusseau spoke about the warm response she received in England, France, the Netherlands, and then New York in the 1940s and 1950s singing these songs including the "rossignol" ones (CMC Barbeau, B190, f. 50).

Barbeau and the Bytown Troubadours

The Bytown Troubadours grew out of the efforts of Charles Marchand (1890-1930), a federal civil servant who also studied voice in Montreal. In post-1910 years he was engaged for benefit performances,

¹¹ Twelve Ancient French-Canadian Folk Songs collected by Marius Barbeau with English translations by Harold Boulton and musical arrangements by Arthur Somervell were published by Boosey & Co. Ltd. in 1927. Eleven songs were imports from France ["Margoton va-t à l'lau"; "La malmariée et son mari enseveli"; "Le jaloux"; "D'où viens-tu, Bergère?"; "Avoine, avoine"; "Le richard"; "Ma fille, veux-tu un bouquet?"; "Le marchand de velours"; "Jeanneton prit sa faucille"; "Je ne suis pas si vilaine"; "Le petite galiote"]. Also included was the Canadian logging song "Envoyons de l'avant."

often singing songs from Brittany, attired in a sailor's costume he had designed himself (Kallmann et al. 1992: 803). He attended the second *Veillées du bons vieux temps* concert on April 24, 1919, organized by Barbeau, and was so inspired by the event that he quit the civil service and moved to Montreal to devote himself to folk music. Since 1915, he had periodically worked with Oscar O'Brien, who eventually harmonized some 150 folk songs for him and also wrote new ones in a popular style. Founding a vocal quartet *Le Carillon canadien* in 1922, he initiated a movement dedicated to promoting Canadian songs. Associated with this movement was a monthly publication, *Le Carillon*, absorbed later by *La Lyre* (1926). Meanwhile, Marchand was touring in Quebec, Ontario, the New England states and New York. In 1927, he was placed in charge of the music preparations for Ottawa's centenary. At that time the quartet of Marchand with Émile Boucher, Miville Belleau, and Fortunat Champagne took the name, the Bytown Troubadours (Kallmann et al. 1992: 803).

The Bytown Troubadours were a huge hit at the 1927 CPR Festival, and Marchand played a role in the selection of the musical material. However, Barbeau did not refrain from giving them advice on how to present their material as in his letter of June 8, 1927: "Parmi les chansons que j'ai à vous communiquer, il y en a qui demanderaient une certaine action dramatique avec vos chanteurs, chansons avec solos et choeurs et avec action comme celle du foulon. Il serait bien utile, je crois, de vous voir personnellement et de savoir quelles sont vos réactions et vos projets" (CMC Barbeau, B218, f. 27). In the 1928 CPR Festival, Marchand directed the adaptation, "Forestiers et Voyageurs/ Backwoodsmen and Voyageurs," from Louvigny de Montigny, with music arranged by O'Brien. The Troubadours were joined by Louis Bédard and Ulysse Paquin. They also concluded the final matinée concert of the Festival. Barbeau asked if they would be interested in a Canadian Club tour, but their fee was beyond the Clubs' budget. Both Marchand as soloist, and the Bytown Troubadours, had an extensive careers touring and recording in the late 1920s. Marchand was involved with John Murray Gibbon in planning the 1930 Folk Festival in Quebec City. His premature death resulted in the Festival dates being moved to October. There was a memorial concert for Marchand given at the Monument national in Montreal on October 7, 1930. The Bytown Troubadours performed at this event; but according to the reviewer, C.-O. L. of Le Canada musical, they had not taken Barbeau's advice to heart. The reviewer even commented on their costume: "Les Troubadours de Bytown ne sont pas suffisamment rudes, vocalement. Vous imaginez-vous des 'gars' des bois venant chanter leurs 'tunes' à la manière des membres d'un quatuor en habit de soirée?"

Barbeau and Camille Bernard

Another singer at the 1928 CPR Festival was Camille Bernard, accompanied by Mme Chamberland; Bernard performed Somervell folk song settings. Barbeau's letter (April 6, 1928) refers to accompaniments being prepared by Léo Roy and Hector Gratton (CMC Barbeau, B169, f. 48); but it appears that these were not prepared in time. Later Barbeau wrote to ask what she would be wearing. He was quite relieved that she would be wearing a "costume de soldat" for "Les trois jeunes tambours" (May 4, 1928), but wanted to know the name of her accompanist. Bernard went off to Paris for studies soon afterward, therefore no longer participating in Barbeau's promotional efforts.

Barbeau refused to actively assist John Murray Gibbon with the CPR Festivals after the 1928 Festival in Quebec City. He wrote to Bernard (June 18, 1928): "Ce dernier Festival m'a désappointé, franchement, parce que j'espérais vous voir faire des choses canadienne et originales et j'ai été désappointé dans mon attente" (CMC Barbeau, B169, f. 48). And he wrote in his essay, "Canadian Folk Music and Ernest MacMillan": "Although successful, this festival in May 1928 lost some of its early inspiration and became too unwieldy to be continued indefinitely" (LAC MacMillan Fonds, 1969-28 A, 44 2). More of his discontent appeared in later letters to MacMillan. Writing on May 17, 1929, Barbeau told Bernard: "I declined [Gibbon] ... the privilege [of working on the Quebec Festival in 1930] ... I will contribute songs to artists whose work is satisfactory to me; this will leave me the independence I require and will help indirectly to eliminate undesirable ones" (LAC MacMillan Fonds, 1969-28/A. 40 2). In his letter to MacMillan (December 17, 1929), Barbeau commented:

I have in mind to speak to you about the renewal of our plan to give a series of concerts under the auspices of the associated Canadian Clubs. [Graham] Spry and I are forming two programmes, one with four or five artists, including singer, violinist, pianist and accompanists; another with a singer

and accompanist for small Canadian Clubs throughout Canada... The first major concert will take place on March 6th [1930], in Ottawa, and a few others in other centres will be given at the time. The tour throughout Canada will begin immediately after. And there is a chance that Mr. Stobart of the British Radio Corporation may take it over completely for Dominion Day and Empire Day. He has already asked for a programme along these lines. We take it for granted that you are on our committee of organization - yourself, Spry and I form the committee... From the experience gained in the first tour with Mme Dusseau, I think it would be advisable to include a group of English folk songs including Scottish and Irish. This would make the programme more representative and satisfactory. This was my first idea two years ago, but Mr. Gibbon was not at the time in favour of opening the field of English-Canadian folk lore; his idea was that such folk lore was standardized first in England and that it was too late to re-open it here. Now it would be a matter of selecting a few, let us say half a dozen, English-Canadian folk tunes for the programme and have them harmonized. Otherwise, we may fall back upon some of the best published folk songs of Great Britain (LAC MacMillan Fonds, 1969-28 A 44 2).

There appears to have been at least three reasons why Barbeau did not wish to participate in the planning of future CPR Festivals. One was involved with the difficulties of actual organization, trying to keep within a budget, and negotiating with performers. The second possibly related to the selection of the musical material. For the Festival held in Quebec, it appears that Gibbon wanted to promote the performance of French-language folk songs known in Canada, often in English translations. It is possible that Barbeau was not entirely comfortable with Gibbon's approach, which Gibbon articulated in the 1927 introduction to *Canadian Folk Songs (Old and New)*: He made his translations in such a way "that gatherings of French and English people might wish to sing these songs together, each using their language..." (Kines 1988: 107). Thirdly, there are hints in the correspondence that Barbeau was not always in agreement with Gibbon about the choice of performing artists, and that in any future performance endeavours. Barbeau wanted to have control of this aspect.

Barbeau and Florence Glenn

One of the members of The Canadian Singers was Florence Glenn. Accompanied by Gwendolyn Williams, she gave a recital at the Chateau Laurier for the Art Association of Ottawa, 25 April 1929, organized by Barbeau and Spry. This recital was deliberately called "Classical Music and Canadian Folk Songs." The first part consisted of arias by A. Scarlatti, J. S. Bach, Mozart, Schumann's *Frauenliebe und Leben* (possibly sung in English), and piano solos by Chopin and Debussy. This music was followed by three English folk songs followed with accompaniments by English composers, including Cecil Sharp. In her group of French Canadian songs, Florence Glenn sang harmonization versions by O'Brien, Barbeau ("L'alouette chanta le jour"; "Laliptitou"); and Holcombe Brook. Brook was the singer Barbeau had selected to participate in the 1930 Canadian Club tour. A typescript program in the MacMillan Fonds appears to be the most complete listing of probable repertoire used on this tour when compared with the reviews.

Example 2: Program of Glenn, accompanied on piano by Williams, Canadian Club tour, 1930

Songs of Old Canada

French-Canadian folk songs (some of them translated into English)

- 1. Voila la récompense, arr. Léo-Pol Morin
- 2. Les deux pailles d'orge, arr. Morin
- 3. Sancta Catharina, Henri Gagnon
- 4. Si j'étais petite mère, Healey Willan
- 5. À la fontaine, Marius Barbeau

English-Canadian folk songs

- 6. One morning in May (Irish), arr. Healey Willan
- 7. The dying cowboy (Irish), arr. Willan
- 8. Mary-Ann, Marius Barbeau
- 9. Lady Ellen, Ernest MacMillan
- 10. The maid on the shore, MacMillan
- 11. Robedibedumi, Barbeau

Indian songs

- 12. Alaeena, arr. Leo Smith
- 13. Come back, my sweetheart, Marius Barbeau
- 14. Alone, Barbeau
- 15. Nadudu (cradle song) Sung in the native manner with a drum
- 16. Hano (dirge)
- 17. Sekanais (love song) " " " " " "

French-Canadian folk-songs

- 18. Quand l'amour n'y est pas, arr. Leo Smith
- 19. Aubade, Marius Barbeau
- 20. Et moi je m'en passe, Claude Champagne
- 21. Je n'ai pas d'amant, Leo Smith

Along with the introductory and concluding groups of French-Canadian songs on this program were the English-Canadian group of songs, with arrangements by Canadian composers, Willan, Barbeau, and MacMillan, and a group of Indian songs. Three of the Indian songs were performed with a drum, while the other three were arrangements by Leo Smith and Barbeau. Other Quebec composers represented on this program included Léo-Pol Morin and Claude Champagne. The reviewer of the *Toronto Evening Telegram* was enthusiastic about the program:

Miss Glenn had a nice sense of color and the pictorial quality associated with her numbers in the Hart House Theatre recital produced a most happy effect. What could be more charming then the picture she made, seated in her low red rocker, the green of her bodice for contrast, her low-heeled slippers peeping demurely from beneath the ample folds of her skirt, her sewing in her hands. Then again, her shining brown plaits disposed over her dark shawl - and she was an Indian woman singing the strange haunting melodies of the West Coast aborigines - in one instance it was an Algonquin song. Very delightful were the alternating grave and laughing songs of French Canada and it was the Indian group which was the more arrestingly lovely. The first two of these offerings, Alaeena, a Girl's Lullaby, and Haninaw, a Love Song, were arranged respectively by Leo Smith and Marius Barbeau, the remaining three, the lullaby, Nadu-du, the Algonquin Nenkee, and a Second Love song, which replaced the lament originally on the program, were sung "in native manner" with the beating of Indian drum as accompaniment.

Miss Glenn's voice is not marked by great power nor by especial breadth of range but within its compass it is beautifully mellow and rarely rich in sympathy. Perhaps its most authoritative quality was revealed in the Barbeau Love song arrangement. In this number Miss Glenn displayed a superb roundness of tone which she carried into her highest notes (? 1930) (CMC Barbeau, B199, f.1).

With the evidence given earlier about Barbeau's opinions on performance attire, the presentation described above inevitably reveals his direction. The *Toronto Evening Telegram* also provided another article about the concert on February 19, 1930, illustrated with five photos (Example 3). These indicate how she was able to perform these songs from different heritages with a minimum of costume changes.

Prior to the Canadian Club tour, Glenn appeared several times on radio programs, including the CNR network on January 2, 1930, and February 6, 1930. She was joined by Harry Adaskin and the Toronto Conservatory String Quartet for hour-long programs all based on Canadian folk music. Her successes in Canada led to invitations from the English Folk Dancing Society. Accordingly in the 1930s she was mostly based in England performing this material. A. H. Fox-Strangways wrote about one of her English concerts in *The Observer*, 25 January 1931:

The programme was skilfully varied: French-Canadian patter-songs, most practical songs from British Columbia, far-away Indian bursts of song, to be felt rather than understood, and the homeliest of English ones quite unhackneyed. It is almost a sin to name any particular one ... the setting it received by contrast with its neighbour was a great part of the pleasure it gave. But the Indian "Love song" of syllables which have no special meaning, the English "The One That I Love Best," the French "Sainte Marguerite," on four notes, and "Nadadu" a lullaby may be taken as type. They were accompanied in some sympathetic settings by Marius Barbeau, Ernest MacMillan and others (CMC Barbeau, B199, f.1).

Example 3: Photos of Florence Glenn in the Toronto Evening Telegram, 19 February 1930.



Barbeau and His Singers in the Concert Setting

It is impossible to tell from the available European reviews whether Glenn was continuing to use the costume recital format for her presentations later in the 1930s, or upon her return to Canada. In any case, the issue of costume continued to be an issue for Barbeau with his performers who gave folksong renditions without arrangement or harmonization.

The costume presentation was strongly entrenched in entertainment through the popularity of tableaux and various other presentations early in the twentieth century. It is likely that Gaultier¹² and Barbeau were also influenced by the success of performers such as Chief Os-Ke-Non-Ton (1886-c.1950). Of Mohawk heritage from Kahnawake, he was a trained singer who became very popular on the

¹² There are several references in the letters of Gaultier to Barbeau about her difficulties in procuring proper costumes or the fact that the Museum should let her use ones from their collection. Barbeau replied in his letter of 24 March 24 1927 that the Museum had a policy of never lending out its costumes. Regardless, Gaultier did manage to use costumes from its collection on occasion, possibly through the intervention of Jenness.

Chautauqua circuit and in Europe. In concert, Chief Os-Ke-Non-Ton often contrasted his operatic selections and art songs with repertoire of his Aboriginal heritage wearing a traditional outfit.

Barbeau wrote and spoke about his debt to Édouard-Zotique Massicotte for leading him to some of his most noted singers, Vincent Ferrier de Repentigny, and Philéas Bédard (www.civilization.ca/academ/barbeau/bafleng.html). Because Repentigny apparently did not read or write, there is no extant correspondence; but there is a considerable amount of correspondence between Barbeau and Bédard from 1923 on. In the first *Veillées du bons vieux temps*, the story-teller, Duhamel, appeared in the dress of an *habitant*. Probably the approval of critics helped to inspire Barbeau's preference for the appearances of traditional performers in lecture/recital or concert events as a nod towards "authenticity." The advertisement of the Exhibition of Canadian Handicraft, sponsored by the Art Association of Ottawa in 1929, shows Bédard in habitant dress. A letter (March 23, 1937) from Barbeau tells him to wear his usual costume for the upcoming performance.

In 1923, Barbeau was sending Bédard songs to add to his repertoire, and making arrangements for his appearances at conferences in Toronto with Barbeau in 1925 and 1926. A letter of 10 May 1926 specifically laid out what songs he should be prepared to sing:

Ce sont trois dames de Paris;

Je le mène bien mon dévidoir (Mon père n'avait fille que moi);

Je vais vous chanter pour passer ma tristesse;

Veux-tu venir charmante brune?;

lci il y aura deux ou trois airs de chansons que je vous indiquerai plus tard.

Les beaux souliers que me mignonne m'a donné;

Le cordonnier et la fileuse;

Quand j'étais chez mon père garçon à marier;

En rappel: Ce sont les filles de St. Rémi;

C'est un petit cordonnier qui veut se marier;

La prière du vieux garçon (CMC Barbeau, B168, f. 62).

A review in the *Ottawa Citizen* (April 25, 1929) stated: "The singing of the folk songs by Mr. Bedard, who was dressed in a French habitant costume, was a revelation to many of those in the audience, of the richness and beauty of the songs which the people in Canada are singing every day. Canadian music lovers have discovered that the people of this country have more folk songs than any other country including Russia, which was ranked first for many years."

The relationship between Barbeau and Bédard continued into the 1940s when they went to New York. The first trip was for a CBS Columbia radio program in January 1941 presented by Alan Lomax for which Bédard sang voyageur songs. Other artists that Barbeau arranged for this radio broadcast were Madame Bolduc and the Alouettes, a group with Émile Boucher (CMC Barbeau B168, f. 62, letter of January 13, 1941). In March, 1942, Barbeau wrote Bédard to say that he was arranging an event in Montreal for the fifth and sixth of June that would include stories, fiddle-playing, dancing, and singing. Other performers who he had involved included Rousselle, Elizée Ouelette, and Emile Boucher. Bédard was asked specifically to sing "Cordonnie et la fileuse," "Si j'avais les beaux souliers," and "La prière de vieux garçon." By the end of May, Barbeau was writing to say that the concerts were ended, because he did not have enough time to organize the program.

In the early 1920s, Barbeau was often accompanied by one of his informants, such as Vincent Ferrier de Repentigny at the Women's Guild of Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal on April 12, 1920 (Parkhurst 1920: 14). Philéas Bédard accompanied Barbeau to Toronto for his presentation to the Canadian Authors' Association, according to *The Globe* (April 10, 1925).



The correspondence between Barbeau and performers such as Joseph Ouellet, Elisée Ouellet and his three sons, Mrs. Mildred T. Atkinson's Country-side Merry-makers, among others, consisted mainly of repertoire suggestions. Occasionally, there were details given of the fees that would be paid to cover transportation and living costs. That aspect bothered Barbeau probably the most, because he seemed to have difficulty justifying why and how much these individuals needed to paid in order to keep things going on the home front during absences for concerts. His folksong publications were also used by performers. Katherine Hale (Mrs. John Garvin) was just one of several who drew on songs from Barbeau's publications for her concert performances. Hale informed Barbeau that she had recently given recitals in New York, Philadelphia, and London, England, as well as across Canada; on her recitals, Hale included songs such as "Un Canadien errant," "Ah, qui me passera," "D'où viens le berger," and "Isabeau s'y promene" (CMC Barbeau, B195, f. 69).

Example 5: Program at National Museum, Ottawa, 27 July 1932.

Musical Programme

(In the National Museum)

THE BYTOWN TROUBADOURS in French-Canadian folk songs from the National Museum collections, arranged for four voices by PIERRE GAUTHIER:

LIONEL	DAUNAIS													E	la	n	lo	me	
EMILE I	BOUCHER.			× •				•								T	en.	or	
FORTUN	AT CHAM	Pá	k	Gl	VI	8								B	as	ri	to	se	
PAUL R	ADAKIR															. 1	Ba	22	

MUSICAL PROGRAMME

ALPRED LALIBRATE, componer and planes of Mastreal, will interpret with the assistance of Livore, Davisars, business, and Reason Bountain, stoor, a number of felt manage—Peach-Canadian and American Session—from the soliections of the National

FRENCH-GANADIAN SONGS

Ramence was moutann (round dance) Cetre minetide insurencia (love mag) La piente de repraetie

AMERICAN INDIAN SONGS

Anomaniard by Alexan Lacusard
The said pubs (Eshima)
An old song (Eshima)
Hane is diegr from the Northwest Count)

The comp of Americal (Fabrica)
Weather incantation (Entemp)
ALPERD L. HADDREE - LAGGER DANSERS

FRENCH-CANADIAN SONGS

Automotion by Hearty Wollen
Automotion by Madeus Brandau
La tone Marcha
Automotion by Public Clattern
Edita Bouches — Mus Bouchen

PRENCH-GANADIAN BONGS
Assessment by Assess Laussess
Goi but to gai in suite (wayanan mag)
Do n'a vest of assess (shoulded easi)

Coi but to gai to reasir (veryageur energy (lin a' a pat of amount (shephored energy) Aparenta man ten fangage (here anny) Je me suio eratorni (shonce sung) Je me suio eratorni (shonce sung)

IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA



Reception Programme

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 27TH

In spite of the opinion of Alfred LaLiberté and others, Juliette Gaultier continued to draw crowds to her performances through to the 1940s. Through to 1942 when she returned to Ottawa, she taught at the Roerich School of Art and Music in New York, continued to do radio programs, and toured locally and abroad. Jeanne Dusseau, and Florence Glenn continued to give programs of folk-based material internationally. A review in the *London Daily Free Press* (March 31, 1945) stated: "By listening to the recorded songs of the Indian as they were faithfully collected by Marius Barbeau, Miss Glenn learned to sing the music of the North American aborigines. She accompanies herself, when singing in concert, on the drums used by the Indians, one larger and the other small" (CMC Barbeau, B199 f. 1).

Perhaps because of the difficulties of convincing performers to present themselves in concerts as he thought appropriate, Barbeau began to perform the material on his own to illustrate his lectures. However, to a limited degree, he continued to arrange presentations by others. In 1932, he helped to organize a concert for the Imperial Economic Conference in Ottawa. As he told LaLiberté in a letter (July 8, 1932), there were 2000 invited. Here again he encountered problems with finances; the regular fee for the Bytown Troubadours was five hundred dollars, but they eventually agreed to open the program with four-part arrangements of French-Canadian songs by Pierre Gauthier for the fee of four hundred dollars (CMC Barbeau B210 f. 31). Lionel Daunais had replaced Marchand. Daunais and Emile Boucher, accompanied by LaLiberté, provided the remainder of the program including "Aux Illinois," harmonized by Barbeau (Example 5).

Even if Barbeau's attempts at "authenticity" in the presentation of folk music tended to alienate the Francophone upper class, it must be recognized that his efforts to promote all types of Canadian folk music from 1919 through to the 1950s with Folkways Recordings and television broadcasts did much to awaken his fellow citizens in Canada, as well as in countries abroad, to its richness and diversity. And the live concerts that he organized through this period, involving a range of performers, were an integral part of his promotional efforts on behalf of folk and traditional music in Canada.

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