Free-Range Sound Waves: Public Music and the Conditional Institution in Alberta[1]

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Consider the picture below and try to interpret its musical and symbolic language. A tinsel-clad Christmas tree, the flag of Pakistan, and a carving that imitates West Coast Indigenous material culture. A woman in silk evening wear, her expansive posture enhancing its sheen; a man in a suit and tie, drawn into his recorder; a man wearing a *topi*, the flat hat characteristic of Pakistani officialdom, bongos at the ready. An improvised microphone slants across the space to amplify the recorder's modest, woody sound. The drummer's dark-rimmed glasses confirm

Fig. 1. Eclectic ensemble of cello, recorder, and bongos. University of Alberta, 1966. Photo courtesy of the Qureshi family.

This article has accompanying videos on our YouTube channel. You can find them on the playlist for MUSICultures volume 48, available here: http://bit.ly/MUSICultures-48. With the ephemerality of web-based media in mind, we warn you that our online content may not always be accessible, and we apologize for any inconvenience.

the date of this photograph: 1966. The performance commemorates two Pakistani holidays sharing the same day: outside the picture's frame is perched a painting of the country's founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whose December 25 birthday is celebrated as Quaid-e-Azam (Urdu: "Great Leader") Day. As Christmas is also celebrated in Pakistan, the tree off to the side reflects a coincidence, an intensification of excitement, as familiar in Pakistan as it is within the South Asian diaspora of Edmonton, Alberta.

Yet the immediate setting of the photograph most interests me. Although it hints at domesticity with its fireplace and pine paneling, the room is clearly an institutional space: no home needs a fireplace that wide. The picture was taken in the University of Alberta's Students' Union Building, in a space created for the Wauneita Society, a club formed in 1908 by the university's female student body to create social support within a largely male institution (McFayden 2016: 27). This explains the ersatz totem pole. Like other contemporary clubs, white student sociability was constructed from caricatures of Indigenous protocol, ceremony, and language — traditions that at this time were banned for the actual inheritors of these cultures, none of whom were allowed to join the student body.[2]

Considering this sketchy record of inclusion, the presence of South Asian individuals in the hall bears notice. The ensemble that Dr. Regula Qureshi plays in — for this is the identity of the glamorous cellist — makes noise in the university hall, asserting some agency in the face of the silencing mentioned above. Regula Qureshi's presence at the university is partially due to her husband, Dr. Saleem Qureshi, the Indo-Muslim political scientist she married a decade before. When Saleem took a job at the University of Alberta in 1963, he helped to pave the way for South Asian academics at the university and, with Regula, for South Asian families in Edmonton. Since their courtship days in the late 1950s, the couple's experience was a study in mutual borrowings — of Marxist philosophy and Islamic mysticism, of Hindustani poetry, and fine French wine. The resultant erudition was both South Asian and Germanic, as became clear when Qureshi pursued her own PhD in anthropology on research that married her knowledge of Western classical music to her increasing facility with South Asian musical worlds. This is the process that has been caught in the picture above. On closer inspection, Qureshi's glossy textiles turn out to be a sari, no less formal, but with a different provenance; and the recorder played by her neighbour, I suspect, is a *blockflöte* brought to Canada from Switzerland.

What could this music, scored for cello, recorder, and bongos, possibly have sounded like? And do these sounds connect to the University of Alberta? The province of Alberta is home to many rich musical traditions that have been unevenly integrated into academic programs, and to musicians who have not always been served, or even recognized, by our institutions. In 1966, this concert

would not have made it into the formal musical spaces of the University of Alberta. Fifty years later, accessing this image was easy, thanks to a project with robust support by the university at all levels: the South Asian Music and Culture in Canada website (SAMCC), supported by federal and university grants. In contemporary university auditoria across North America, the song-from-home of a Ukrainian immigrant, the sound of a powwow drum, or the recited poetry of an Indo-Muslim political science professor are all offered as proof of efforts to integrate ethnomusicological perspectives into curriculums, grant applications, and concert line-ups. This special issue on Canadian ethnomusicology and popular music program histories documents such shifts across multiple provinces and institutions, and in this essay, I explore some key engagements with the musical publics of the University of Alberta: the presence of Folkways Records at the University of Alberta and the institutions that support it, and the efforts of the University of Alberta music faculty to expand access to a range of scholars in engagement with diverse communities.

Yet what of concerts like that of December 1966, staged outside of a grand public space and creating discrete musical and social synergies that would not have been recoverable but for a chance snapshot? We must also consider ways of crediting the people who do not appear on the institutional websites: Saleem Qureshi; or Métis scholar Dr. Carl Urion, a member of Regula's doctoral cohort who influenced her worldviews and consideration of Indigenous sound long before she organized a place for it in a concert; or the diverse musicians at the annual concerts themselves, authors, in sound, of their own intellectual traditions. This essay considers how best to tell histories of our institutions in a way that requires formal data to share space with the idiosyncrasies, exclusions, and promise of the cello-bongo-recorder concert, and others like it. For crucially, it was the cumulative effects of fleeting moments of social intimacy such as these — amongst people of different backgrounds, with different levels of access — that led people like Regula Qureshi to create the institutions that could program musical events for an inclusive public. Telling the history of these programs in a way that attends to both the structural and the ephemeral *is*, to a large extent, the telling of the expansion of what counts as music in Canada.

The Conditional Institution

Scholars studying bureaucracy and the modern institution have made note of the ways that serendipity, emotional resonance, and individual agency are edited out of institutional histories. The title of anthropologist Michael Herzfeld's monograph says it all: *The Social Production of Indifference* (1993).

Herzfeld, inspired by the scholarship of British anthropologist Mary Douglas (1986), shows modern Western state bureaucracy to be as revealing as any non-Western fieldwork site, and connects the impulse to edit out individual agency with the larger projects of the sovereign nation. This impulse operates within small institutions, too: as argued in a case study of British mental health offices published by an anthropologist and a psychiatrist, "knowledge produced by ... organizations effectively conceals their operations, creating a sealed rhetorical universe" (Armstrong and Agulnik 2020: 897). Noting a new advocacy for localized, informal institutional models, Armstrong and Agulnik suggest that the recognition of individual agency and the operations of chance can create more effective structures, as well as more accurate histories: "the notion of happenstance thus enables us to retain a sense that chance is social and makes links between individuals or institutions and their social surround independently of structuration or habitus" (890).

Herzfeld argues that the study of institutions requires more than the insights of business or international relations scholars: "I suggest … that an anthropological sensitivity to immediate context — ethnography — helps shift the focus away from perspectives that are already, to some extent, determined by the institutional structures they were set up to examine" (Herzfeld 1992: 15). Beyond providing nuance about how institutions are formed, such an approach has considerable value for identifying the work of a broader spectrum of contributors. Crucially, the search for informal associations, chance connections, and the work of personal relationships can be a mechanism for finding and crediting the contributions of individuals unlikely to be formally recognized within organizations that are structured for their exclusion. Moreover, recognizing the work of these individuals allows us to account for how broad inclusion can create institutional change.

To move the theoretical discussion of institutions a little closer to us than the health system across the pond, consider a podcast, published by Indiana University, which also shows a new scholar exploring the legacy of her predecessor. In it, ethnomusicologist Dr. Alisha Lola Jones interviews Dr. Portia Maultsby about her legacy building Black music institutions at Indiana University, beginning in the early 1970s (Jones 2021).[3] Maultsby and Qureshi knew each other from the Society of Ethnomusicology — in 1989 and 1990, both scholars served in that society's governance. And yet, neither fully knew the institutional work of the other, residing as it did outside of official publications, even though both scholars built extensive archives and engaged communities with their performance skills. I would like to remedy this situation by briefly bringing these examples into conversation. In addition to assembling two nodes of early applied ethnomusicology for posterity, this

essay will benefit from an example of a music institution built by a BIPOC scholar and responsive to both a BIPOC community and the larger civic and academic cultures that enfold it.

Near the end of the interview, Dr. Alisha Lola Jones declares an ethical commitment: that recognizing Black women's lives, practices, spoken or sung words, and non-published work — in pedagogy, performance, or mentorship — is an essential corrective to past instances when the intellectual work of these scholars was first captured in print by those they influenced, due to structural exclusion (2021: 29:28). Let me stipulate that both Maultsby and Jones are eminently accredited and institutionally affirmed: in brief, Maultsby as the Laura Boulton Professor Emerita, founder of the Archives of African American Music and Culture (AAAMC) at Indiana University, and Senior Scholar for the inaugural exhibition of the National Museum of African American Music, Nashville, Tennessee; and Jones as a graduate of Yale Divinity School and the University of Chicago, a recently tenured professor at Indiana University, and newly appointed faculty at the University of Cambridge. But they are acknowledged within alternative formal structures as well: as performers of funk and Gospel *as well as* masters of music theory and Italian diction. They are experts affirmed by the responses of Black audiences *and* acclaim within our broader discipline, earned as a function of that lived expertise. When Jones references Maultsby's transformative role in Black music scholarship by referring to her as an Apostle (4:49), she does so by invoking a mode of authority and intimacy that comes from the Black Pentecostal church. The title is as significant as "Dean" or "Director," and the institution must expand to accommodate such a lineage of cultural authority.

The picture of Maultsby's research that emerges from the podcast is of a career developed in relation with others: with mentors like pioneering Black scholar Eileen Southern, astute administrator Herman C. Hudson, and her doctoral supervisor, Lois Anderson; with the Indiana University student-musicians of the Soul Revue ensemble; and with a new generation of scholars, Jones among them. Maultsby also recounts the interworkings of serendipity and institutional support in her career. She recounts how, in the years before her appointment at Indiana in 1971, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had prompted the university's president to ask the School of Music to program a memorial service with the music of Black composers — only to find a chastening gap in the library's collections (Jones 2021: 7:24). That gap, in large part, led to the formation of the Black Music Research Centre in the Jacobs School of Music, which sponsored seminars that brought composers Olly Wilson and Thomas Dorsey to Bloomington, among others. The resultant synergy made room for Portia Maultsby at Indiana (and eventually, for Alisha

Lola Jones). Later, Maultsby's study of Black secular popular music was affirmed alongside Black classical or sacred music, in part, due to the incorporation of this research in symposia on Black Music organized by the Program in African American Culture housed in the Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, then under the directorship of Bernice Johnson Reagon. Maultsby states, "the Smithsonian made it possible for me to be recognized for what I was doing" (28:26).

Note well that in Maultsby's statement, the institution conferred recognition, but was not responsible for research, which she had long ago initiated as performer, analyst, and scholar. Indeed, I was curious about Maultsby's career at Indiana University because I wished to trouble an understanding of informality as the only way to recognize the work of non-white institution builders, knowing that such a move could downplay agency. Within Black-led institutions, such as the AAAMC, as well as within Indigenous-focused institutions, such as the University of Alberta's Faculty of Native Studies, a well-defined mission statement, a title that confers respect, and the total of annual grants are all strategically formal ways of commanding respect.

Yet expanding institutional histories to include the informal, the relational, and the serendipitous does significant work here as well. For one thing, paying attention to how institutions developed (especially when they might not have under other circumstances) requires us to remember histories of exclusion in our efforts to inscribe the importance of structural inclusivity: we need to hear stories of the Wauneita room or the empty music library shelves to remember why we need Indigenous and Black scholars to run institutions (and why we need reparations for colleges built through slave labour, and for the trauma of residential schools). We see structures transforming before our eyes, for instance, when Maultsby recounts Bernice Johnson Reagon's insistence on storytelling rather than working with a formal script in an NPR audio series, *Wade in the Water,* on African American sacred music ("We had to stop for a moment for NPR to regroup" [Jones 2021: 24:53]); or when Jones asserts the need for recognizing oral transmission *as* scholarship ("To do Black music is to be relational, to be communal, and to be oral" [29:04]). Indeed, citing a podcast — and if you follow the link, you too can hear the banter and vocal inflections as well as the words — is itself a way to attend to these demands.

In this essay, then, I seek to understand the role the University of Alberta has played in promoting an expanded academic interface with the Canadian public in the field of music, by paying attention to the interplay of institutions and individuals, and the serendipitous transformations they set in motion. An ethnographic method like that of Herzfeld requires significant time in the field — and I only arrived in Edmonton in 2015. As it is the pressing goal of any

assistant professor to understand her new academic surroundings, however, I can pass on my findings, animated by exploration of and interviews about the Qureshis' archive of the musical life of their South Asian community.

Rather than offering a chronological or organizational history replete with bylaws and boards of directors, I disrupt this logic by allowing Herzfeld's "immediate contexts" — sites where the institution must be read ethnographically — to guide a discussion of the University of Alberta's music department, and of a range of related institutions (including the Sound Studies Institute and the Canadian Centre for Ethnomusicology) that support public outreach and form generations of musicians. Throughout the essay, I trace the presence of relationships and the power of the quotidian experience within institutions that may appear impersonal and overly prescribed. Exploring these contexts creates opportunities for recognizing the transformative work of scholars like Regula Qureshi *alongside* non-white musicians, thinkers, and publics. Although I am inspired by ethnomusicological studies of the institution (Kingsbury 1988; Nettl 1995) and of the individual (Stock 1996; Guilbault and Cape 2014), I occasionally veer away from Regula Qureshi and Alberta altogether, aiming to critically frame the legacy of her institution building within our larger discipline. At times, we will jump across decades, amongst musical genres, and into theoretical cul-de-sacs — from a discussion of von Hornbostel to the repertoire of the Madrigal Singers, to an undergraduate concert at the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. But I next turn to a recent event, which — unlike the 1966 recorder, cello, and bongo performance — we *can* witness.

Happy Birthday, Moses Asch

On December 2, 2020, at the University of Alberta, Moses Asch celebrated his 115th birthday via Zoom. Or more precisely, it was celebrated for him: after educating ears over the better half of the 20th century from the New York City offices of Folkways Records, even Asch (1905-1986) couldn't be expected to continue this service into the 21st. Yet through the records he made over almost 40 years — 2,168 of them, many visible at the Sound Studies Institute's offices at the University of Alberta — Asch spoke vicariously as a curator of sound, to ethnomusicologists and crate diggers, to radio audiences and folk musicians. The task of interpreting the sounds of Folkways Records at the celebration fell to me and to composer Scott Smallwood, both of us academic faculty in the University of Alberta's Department of Music.

One might wonder at the University of Alberta's claim to interpretive authority over the collection. Why were *we* of all people holding this sonic

birthday party? After all, for music scholars, the University of Alberta is best known as the academic home of Dr. Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, FRSC — an amazing musician, but hardly a folk singer. Most ethnomusicologists know Qureshi for her path-breaking work on South Asian music. Scholars of Western art music recognize her as the confident soul who published an article in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* on non-Western music, recruiting her knowledge of *lieder* to discuss an Urdu *ghazal* (1990). Yet Qureshi's PhD was not in musicology but in anthropology, and was supervised by Michael Asch. Asch, an anthropologist committed to working for Indigenous and treaty rights, was well versed in Marxist and structuralist thought, and in the Boasian and European traditions of cultural anthropology of Columbia University, his alma mater. In fact, if you consider Qureshi's most important work, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan* (1987), you might recognize that the book was as much about labour and class as it was about music and religious devotion.

Michael Asch also happens to be Moses Asch's only son, and his career at the University of Alberta is the reason that this institution now houses a full collection of Folkways Records. The Asches, after regular visits to their grandchildren, were impressed by the community spirit of Edmonton: the city is far from New York City, but it does boast a regular street grid, a prominent independent radio station, and the Edmonton Folk Music Festival. A year before Moses Asch's death in 1986, The Moses and Frances Asch Collection — a full copy of the Folkways catalogue, over 2,000 LP records — was gifted to the University of Alberta. In 1986, the Folkways masters themselves would form the core of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, donated by the Asches in a display of public service.

At the time of its gifting to the University of Alberta, Folkways Records boasted 140 albums of Canadian music, according to Brenda Dalen in the liner notes of *Classic Canadian Songs*:

> A mixture of field and studio recordings containing Aboriginal and immigrant, vocal and instrumental, and traditional and contemporary music performed by amateur and professional musicians, both rural and urban, from virtually every region (Atlantic, Central, Western, and Northern), province, and territory in the country. (2006: 3)

Among these albums (the largest collection of Canadian music at the time) are the voices of a 23-year-old Leonard Cohen, the folksinger Alan Mills, and Cree song composers singing and drumming their creations. The man responsible for much of the Canadian material was Montreal native Samuel Gesser, who

convinced Asch to allow him to distribute Folkways Records in Canada and produced over 100 albums of Canadian content. Perhaps Gesser's Canadian career, promoting live folk music performances and creating content for radio play on the CBC, resonated strongly enough with Moses Asch to recommend his investment in another Canadian locale.

The consequence of this gift is apparent in the institutions built around it — a case study in leveraging support. The Canadian Centre for Ethnomusicology (CCE) was founded at the University of Alberta in 1992, and the Asch Collection's heft provided weight to its original documents. With ethnomusicologist Dr. Michael Frishkopf, a scholar of Egyptian music (then junior, now senior), Qureshi used this centre to launch courses, ensembles, and concerts. One concert caught the ear of the university's Vice President of Research, Gary Kachanoski, whom Qureshi had cannily invited with such a result in mind. The concert paired playback of tracks from Folkways Records with live performances of the same pieces, and was dynamic enough to enlist Kachanoski's support in building an institution around the Asch Collection by tapping the federal Western Economic Diversification Canada fund. Meanwhile, Qureshi marshalled her professional connections with the ethnomusicologists heading Smithsonian Folkways — Anthony Seeger and later, Dan Sheehy — to sustain a memorandum of understanding between the University of Alberta and the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. folkwaysAlive! was created on May 12, 2003, "strengthening the cultural fabric of the region," in the words of Canadian Secretary of State (Indian Affairs and Northern Development) Stephen Owen (Western Economic Diversification Canada 2003). The partnership between the University of Alberta and the Smithsonian Institution has changed over the years: folkwaysAlive! has transformed into the Sound Studies Institute and, under the guidance of Mary Ingraham, was given institute status by the Faculty of Arts, with its own remit for fostering explorations in sound. In 2016, a new MOU was inked, linking the Sound Studies Institute with the Smithsonian Institution, the Research Centre for the Study of Music, Media and Place at Memorial University, the Canadian Museum of History, and, in 2021, the Centre for Sound Communities at Cape Breton University, in a broad network called the Cultures of Sound Initiative.

If you go to the website of Smithsonian Folkways, you will find that many of the liner notes bear the call numbers of the University of Alberta library. These imprints offer quiet testimony to the institutional interconnection mentioned above, as the documents were digitized for Smithsonian Folkways, often by local volunteers, from the collection that Regula Qureshi used to train her students. Qureshi, who could speak French, German, Italian, and Latin, brought to Alberta and to her students a fluency with European intellectual

traditions: her pronunciation of Guido Adler's name is likely identical to that of his Viennese colleagues in 1884.[4] And yet, her knowledge of ethnomusicology and anthropology was, crucially, gained in Alberta, Canada — as is shown by a deeper examination of Folkways Records, a repertoire she would not have known before arriving here. Indulge me briefly for an exploration of the institutional histories audible at the moment Qureshi put the needle to the record in class — and be assured that the next few paragraphs will come around to the discussion of individual agency within larger structures. For if relationships between individuals can reveal the workings of institutions, an individual archival entry, or a specific track on a record, can suggest the guiding logic and ultimate significance of the archive, the set of recordings, and the larger discipline that encompasses them.

Consider the records that Qureshi might have used for one course on South Asian music: an introduction to Indian classical music by Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy (FW 8366); a collection of folk music from Rajasthan and Kerala (FW 4499); or an album featuring Brahmin priests intoning Vedic scripture (FW 04126). In some ways, Folkways Records is an uneven source for a study of world music. Integrating all world music traditions into one collection of recordings and one overarching rubric — "folk" — reveals problems of classification and ontology. These recordings from South Asia, for example, include some vernacular (aka "folk") traditions, but other tracks would better be classed as ritual or court music reflecting the luster of a sovereign rather than the voice of the people. It is when we group these discrete items into larger categories, or force them into an overarching narrative that they begin to chafe at the constraint.

Even more thorny is one of my featured albums for the Zoom celebration: *The Demonstration Collection of E. M. von Hornbostel and the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* (Ethnic Folkways Library FE 4175), from which I played the sound of a Sumatran double reed, accompanied by a rhythmic thump indicating where the wax cylinder had warped. This piece was actually my second choice, my first being a track recorded in the Cree territories in 1906. (I was taken by the irony that these sounds, native to Alberta, had to travel via Berlin and New York to arrive here in Edmonton a hundred years later.) I was stopped, though, by how von Hornbostel recorded the Pawnee Ghost Dance in Oklahoma: "I have managed to acquire some twenty cylinders containing around forty songs for our collections. Some of these are of the type that are usually considered to be secret songs and are therefore very difficult to obtain" (qtd. in Reinhard 1967: 32). How a "secret song," owned and transmitted through a specialized lineage, fits within such a public-facing collection as Folkways Records is an issue with which archivists and Indigenous scholars are currently grappling (Robinson 2020: 149). Von Hornbostel, of course, displayed little discomfort with the

ontological mismatch of placing Siamese court music of "the Orient" next to "the song of the black man of Dampier land" in Australia (28): the *perceived* difference was precisely the point, an illustration of a categorical schema of musical civilization borrowed from evolutionary biology (Bohlman 2002). The most obvious coherence to the von Hornbostel collection was provided by the consistent reliance on imperial and colonial institutions as purveyors of the music examples.

Such a history does not redound to the publisher of this record, of course, who, as we will see, opposed its racialist taxonomies. And yet, the engagement of Folkways Records with "world" musical recordings features a network of connections that reads like a syllabus for an ethnomusicology proseminar. The wax cylinders from the von Hornbostel collection came courtesy of early ethnomusicologist George Herzog and composer Henry Cowell, an "ultra-modernist" maverick who taught at an equally iconoclastic institution, The New School for Social Research in New York City. In the 1930s, The New School was sometimes called the University in Exile for its welcome to scholars fleeing European fascism. And although Cowell sometimes used the language of unilinear cultural evolution, he was brought to an appreciation of world musical traditions by his mentor, Charles Seeger, which he would instill in one of his own students, the composer and gamelan-innovator Lou Harrison (Hicks 2002). It is unsurprising, then, that Cowell wrote the liner notes for Folkways' world music offerings, published under the name Ethnic Folkways Library.

The editor of this series, Harold Courlander, boasts a connection to another venerated institution. As a graduate student at Columbia University, he studied with Franz Boas, the anthropologist who almost single handedly refuted unilinear anthropology by training cultural relativists who transformed the nation's understanding of anthropology. Among these scholars were George Herzog, Bruno Nettl's teacher at Indiana University; Zora Neale Hurston and Ella Cara Deloria, models for Black and Indigenous scholarship; and Margaret Mead, who stayed put at Columbia and employed as her teaching assistant one Michael Asch. The Asches themselves would have been comfortable in the anti-fascist, progressive realm of the New School and Columbia, considering that Moses' father was a famed Yiddish playwright who moved his family in 1914 to NYC from an increasingly volatile Europe. Among Sholem Asch's appearances in the Folkways catalogue are an address at Columbia about reconciliation between divinity and humanity (FW35503), and a telling of Bible stories for children, voiced by the Harlem Renaissance poet Arna Bontemps (FW07105). Our sense of the connective tissue between Seeger and Cowell, Herzog and Courlander, Hurston and Bontemps, Asch and Qureshi, provides a crucial understanding of the institutions they created. Intellectual history may move

between centres — Columbia to Indiana and Alberta — but it is transported there in the minds of thinking individuals.

And yet, the cachet of the formal institution is persuasive. This section began with the day of one person's birth, but quickly moved into a thicket of grants, pilot projects, and administrative divisions. The Zoom talk became an official outreach activity of the Director of the Sound Studies Institute (Smallwood) and the Interim Director of the Canadian Centre for Ethnomusicology (myself), when hours before, it had been LP jackets in a office vestibule with a pair of blue gloves and a post-it reading "Do Not Touch (unless you are JB)." The Folkways listening session actually began with a video of birthday greetings for Moses Asch: Bill Flanagan, the university president ("the collection of 'the people's music' found an ideal home here at the University of Alberta, where our commitment to advancing the public good fits perfectly with sharing and preserving the legacy of Mr. Asch ..."); Ken Whelan, the former CEO of CKUA radio network ("Moses Asch's Folkways Records has been one of the most important, if not *the* most important, independent record labels in the history of recorded music"); and Dan Sheehy, Interim Director of Smithsonian Folkways, and Director from 2000-2016 ("Mo, just as you brought so much meaning to so much music through stuffing those album covers with liner notes, you brought so much meaning to so many of us around the world") (Sound Studies Institute 2020). These greetings were heartfelt. Yet once the speaker's affiliation appeared in the screen's lower third, the words represented the organization as much as the individual. Flanagan quoted the university's guiding motto; Whelan placed Asch within the music industry; and Sheehy showed the academic grounding of Folkways by mentioning liner notes. The longevity of the programs that Regula Qureshi built, too, was doubtlessly extended by the reflected lustre of the Smithsonian Institution. Qureshi was aware of such forces, and operated cannily within them.

And yet, the presence of Folkways at the University of Alberta is also a study of serendipity and relationships. The collection would not be in Edmonton if Michael Asch hadn't enrolled in Columbia University to avoid the Vietnam-era draft, or if his father had not been captivated by his grandchildren's new home: the archives at Indiana University or the University of Washington may have been more obvious candidates for a donation. Regula Qureshi's collegial friendship with Anthony Seeger, forged over many SEM conferences, was not referenced in the Memorandum of Understanding. Paying attention to the role of human agency — and the ways that chance operates to effectuate events and scatter sound waves — may help us to better understand the work of our institutions.

South Asian Music in the Rumpus Room

Regula Qureshi arrived at her musical vocations through the drawing rooms and basement recreation spaces of her families, by birth and by marriage. Now known as an expert *sarangi* player, she is also a performer of another stringed instrument. Qureshi (then Regula Burckhardt) studied the cello at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia under the tutelage of Leonard Rose (who also taught Yo-Yo Ma). Soon after arriving in Edmonton in 1964, she joined the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, where she played for a number of years before pursuing higher education in the early 1970s. She was, by all accounts, a soulful virtuoso.

Although the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra prided itself in bringing professionalism and culture to the fledgling city, Qureshi herself did not necessarily understand her participation in this way. The Burckhardts, an upper middle-class intellectual family of Basel, Switzerland, considered Western classical music more as a birthright than an accomplishment. Qureshi told me of how her family, when out together but separated in a public square, would whistle the first theme of Beethoven 8th Symphony (Allegro vivace e con brio) to find each other — classical repertoire reimagined as family tradition. And so, although Qureshi certainly valued the classical tradition performed in the public spaces of her new home, her experience and ownership of the music was arrived at by a more familiar, familial route.

Qureshi's acquisition of knowledge about the sarangi and its cultural milieu similarly inverts the standard narrative of the professional ethnographer. Unlike the stereotypical graduate student, who identifies a topic based on curiosity, and then works to make it real through field research, Qureshi learned South Asian music and poetry to acclimate to her home life as the wife and daughter of a family of Indian intellectuals. She picked up the sarangi in Lucknow, India, to occupy her time, and learned Urdu — the language that would ground her later research in *qawwali* music — to communicate with her new family, polishing it by listening to the cadence of poetry while seated next to her husband Saleem in Karachi, Pakistan, and Edmonton, Alberta.

Crucially, Qureshi's significant strides towards understanding Indian music were taken in Edmonton, as she learned Indian music theory and *tabla* technique from members of the South Asian community. In effect, many of the rudiments for Qureshi's work on South Asian musical contexts were gained through the methodology of family- and community-based, applied ethnomusicology — although it would not be named as such for a while longer.

The two archival images published within this paper have come to us through the South Asian Music and Culture in Canada (SAMCC) project, a

Fig. 2. Regula and Saleem Qureshi (in white) reciting poems in a *mehfil* (poetry gathering) in an Edmonton living room. 1967. Photo courtesy of the Qureshi family.

website Qureshi and Michael Frishkopf brought to life in 2009. It houses an archive compiled by the Qureshis, dating back to reel-to-reel recordings from the 1960s. It also chronicles the development of three Edmonton institutions that partnered with Qureshi: the Edmonton Raga-Mala Music Society, the Bazm-e-Sukhan Literary and Cultural Society, and the Indo-Canadian Women's Association. But although the SAMCC is formal — the acronym is a dead giveaway — its assets document the tenor of music in domestic life. Through the website, I found pictures of friends and neighbours listening to poetry together, and, spotting a tape recorder on the floor, I searched for the audio of that sociable evening. Such recordings capture the sounds of music and poetry, but also the voices of children and gossip, filtering through between songs. Through an engagement with these sources, I came to realize that the community lounge, too, is a fieldwork site as meaningful to Qureshi's work as a Sufi shrine.

Yet a canvas of Qureshi's published works reveals little of the ways in which her life educated her. You can find Saleem Qureshi if you look hard (Qureshi 2007: 55), but the tradition of scholarly writing that allows the personal to inform the academic was not yet possible in ethnomusicology in the late 1980s. Qureshi's model opened up possibilities for others, however. Michael

Frishkopf's research in Arabic music and language worlds was conditioned by domestic life with his wife, the Egyptian poet Iman Mersal; my own scholarship on Southeast Asia is constantly under review by my husband, Sumatran musician Makarios Sitanggang. It is no accident that the intellectual expansion of our domestic lives spurs the creation of institutions that recognize the value of this knowledge: responsive to community, governed by the personal. An evaluation of the ways domestic and community lives *shape* academic careers and insights is long overdue, as is the supplemental story of just how Regula Qureshi — cellist, sarangi player, scholar — became so very erudite.

Yet before I wax eloquent of the liberating potential of "domestic ethnomusicology," I would do well to recognize the crucial corrective of the scholars who have long lived at the intersections of home and the field. If Qureshi's acknowledgment of her husband in the text of her ethnography would have undermined her authority, consider the difficulty for a scholar of colour — a "culture bearer and tradition bearer" (Burnim 1985) — whose research field *is* their domestic life. As Danielle Brown stated in her "Open Letter on Racism in Music Studies,"

> Remember, for years it was fashionable to suggest that BIPOC could not be objective when studying their own cultures. This despite the fact that Western music has been taught in schools predominantly from a Eurocentric perspective, using books written by white people. (2020)

Qureshi's married identity alone — or Frishkopf's, or mine — does not satisfy Brown's critique. Nor did something I just wrote above, and that you possibly let slide: "the stereotypical graduate student, who identifies a topic and a field based on curiosity, and then works to make it real through field research." White scholars have the option of naming, or not, our domestic sources; of engaging, or not, with the ethical imperative of applied methodologies. Similarly, white institutionalists tend to believe that institutions founded in white legitimacy can stand for the general, while those like Maultsby's African American Archives of Music and Culture can only stand for the particular. In her blog, feministkilljoys, feminist and critical race scholar Sara Ahmed points to the inevitable rewards of such a system:

> How then is "white men" built or even a building? Think about it. One practitioner relayed to me how they named buildings in her institution. All dead white men she said. We don't need the names to know how spaces come to be organised so they can receive

> certain bodies. We don't need the naming to know how or who buildings can be for. (Ahmed 2014)

Ahmed's insight brings to mind the Wauneita Society — the white, female, student club that provided the backdrop for the memorable 1966 concert. The club was originally housed in Pembina Hall, one of a trio of buildings built in 1911 and christened with Indigenous names (in contrast, the first Indigenous students graduated from the University of Alberta in 1967) (Urion, personal communication, March 31, 2021).[5] Pembina Hall is now home to the Faculty of Native Studies, but still encodes a reminder of white *women*'s ability to shape buildings, through a gesture likely thought of as gracious and community-minded: carved into the stone lintels of two external doors is the Wauneita motto, supposedly in Cree (probably influenced by Dumas): "Payuk uche kekeyow/Kekeyow uche payuk" ("All for one and one for all"), except the grammar is botched and unintelligible. At the University of Alberta, white women's sociability, and a willful misreading of Indigenous community, can also be a building.

I end this section with this cautionary tale because it has taught me, specifically, about overreach and complacency, even in the "liberated" domain

Fig. 3. Pembina Hall at the University of Alberta, the home of the Faculty of Native Studies. Image credit: University of Alberta.

Fig. 4. "Cree" motto of the Wauneita Society ("Kukeyow Uche Payuk": meant to signify "All for One"), in stone over the door in Pembina Hall. Image credit: University of Alberta.

of public ethnomusicology. When I realized the wealth of history that the Indo-Canadian archive contained, I set out to gain permission from South Asian community associations to work with their digitized assets and revive the collaboration. Easy, I thought — all organizations were listed as partners on the website. My intentions were plain: I wanted to promote their work. I found out rather quickly, however, that there are no shortcuts to community-based research, and that credentials and trust earned over decades of shared experiences cannot transfer. Attending a board meeting or addressing an AGM is different than the work of creating collaborative relationships, over phone calls and visits to the other side of town, despite stalled cars, misread signals, and hints untaken. I have so far been unable to revive a relationship with one key partner society. When I approached another organization with my idea of profiling the work of the Qureshis in Edmonton, I was told that I was centering the wrong people for the story — and I left the house with a list of South Asian names that did not appear in SAMCC, but who were foundational to an alternative community history. I do not blame this community for doubting, like Danielle Brown, the fitness of distanced white scholars to tell their stories for the right reasons. Although institutions can appear solid, they can also

easily be dissolved; their durability depends on fruitful personal relationships and individual trust, and on how well subsequent generations interpret their relevance and retain institutional memory. Alliances and even the institutions created to formalize them can unravel with dizzying speed — and perhaps they should, as an incentive to constantly renew the collaborative work that will sustain them.

Towards "The Whole People"

On the back of the business cards of people formally associated with the University of Alberta is the phrase, "uplifting the whole people." These words come from a convocation address delivered in 1908 by the first university president, Henry Marshall Tory (Corbett 1992 [1954]). An inspiring turn of phrase, to be sure, and when read as a part of the larger paragraph, one with radical, anti-elite underpinnings — as we shall see momentarily. Perhaps an appropriate musical manifestation of Tory's sentiment is one of the University of Alberta's most emblematic ensembles: the Madrigal Singers, founded in 1974, and singing the standard repertoire of Palestrina, Taverner, and Gibbons ever since. The choir has also performed material closer to home, as in a 1976 program featuring the works of Canadian composer Violet Archer (1913-2000), at the time a member of the University of Alberta's composition faculty; and "Three Hungarian Folksongs," perhaps a nod to the preferences of Alberta's Eastern European immigrant communities (University of Alberta Madrigal Singers 1976).

This matter of audience is pertinent. The 1976 program was actually broadcast on the radio station CKUA as part of a larger project "for democratizing education by bringing the university to the general public" (Fauteux 2018: 131) — a sentiment in line with Tory's principles. Media studies scholar Brian Fauteux describes how CKUA transitioned from a university radio station founded in 1927, broadcasting from the University of Alberta campus, to a donor-supported independent radio station with a diverse range of programming, situated in Edmonton's city centre. Both of these identities fit with the idea of public music at the University of Alberta. In fact, I knew of the Madrigal's Violet Archer song ("Childrens' Voices in the Orchard") from a scrawled page that seems to be CKUA audio notes — complete with tape counter numbers. In the 1990s, CKUA was broadcasting music from Moses Asch's Folkways Records; in 1992, the station would air a concert of Regula Qureshi playing the sarangi, accompanied by two members of the South Asian community on tabla and *tambura*. Although the latter offering might not have

been recognized *musically* by Tory, he would have been receptive to its sentiment — a university reaching out to its public in the spirit of educational uplift.

As a pithy motto, however, I like "Uplifting the whole people" much less: it feels in need of an asterisk. Consider, for instance, some of the political and social changes that were occurring at the time of Tory's commencement speech in Edmonton — or amiskwaciy-wâskahikan, "Beaver Hills House," as the place is known in Cree. The University of Alberta was built on territory identified a few decades before with the Papaschase Band of Cree, who lived in the area adjacent to the North Saskatchewan River and fished from the banks near which the university now stands. The story of the founding of Edmonton in 1892, after two centuries of land claims asserted by European fur companies, is also the story of the dispersal of the Papaschase to reserves located progressively further away from the valuable river lands. The plot on which the University of Alberta's Fine Arts Building stands was originally River Lot 7, the homestead of Laurent Garneau, a Métis leader famed for his role in the Red River Rebellion in Manitoba, and for his fiddling in houses throughout his community. A language that Garneau spoke was overwritten as well — the University of Alberta was for English speakers, and the area's longstanding Francophone communities were disenfranchised once English was declared to be the only language allowed in educational and governmental circles in 1892.[6]

The founders of the university, on the other hand, operated in the same milieu as one Frank Oliver, a Member of Parliament and later federal Minister of the Interior. This man, the operator of Edmonton's first newspaper, *The Edmonton Bulletin*, used its pages to aid the theft of Indigenous land on the north of the river through racist broadsides disguised as journalism. He also railed against Ukrainian economic migrants and changed federal immigration policy to ban the migration of Black Americans escaping the Jim Crow South (Murphy 2020). For years, I lived in a neighbourhood named for Oliver, a stone's throw from a school bearing his name; Oliver School is a kilometer away from Grandin School, named for a supporter of residential schools.

Henry Marshall Tory was not Frank Oliver. And yet the evolutionary, hierarchical valuation familiar to us from von Hornbostel is revealed when you consider that the community fiddling of Laurent Garneau has long been displaced by the strains of Bach or Stravinsky floating out from Convocation Hall, the home of large university ensembles like the Madrigal Singers. The University of Alberta, too, enacted epistemic violence that enabled physical violence. Stó:lō music scholar Dylan Robinson puts an even finer point on this issue when he quotes University of Manitoba president David Barnard: "The University of Manitoba educated and mentored individuals who became clergy, teachers, social workers, civil servants, and politicians. They carried out

assimilation policies aimed at the Aboriginal peoples of Manitoba" (Robinson 2016: 56).

And yet Henry Marshall Tory's original quotation deserves to be read nevertheless. In full, it emerges as an anti-elitist statement, similar in intention to the guiding principle of Folkways Records: "The modern state university is a people's institution. The people demand that knowledge shall not be the concern of scholars alone. The uplifting of the whole people shall be its final goal" (Corbett 1992 [1954]: 100). The trick in making peace with Tory's statement is the recasting of who counts as "the whole people."

Case Studies in Radical Access

With Regula Qureshi's arrival, the University of Alberta music department was transformed from a hub for the composition and performance of Western art music, to a place offering access to scholarly training to diverse individuals from Alberta, and throughout the world. Qureshi's success in convincing the Music Department to expand access was doubtlessly helped by her own credentials as a Western classical musician from Europe. Her skills as a concert cellist and knowledge of German, the musicological language par excellence, also helped to establish her authority (perhaps these skills gave her the confidence to submit an article on Urdu poetry to *Ethnomusicology* four years before the conferral of her MMus in musicology, winning her the Jaap Kunst Prize for best article). Yet her experience with ethnographic methodologies was developed when, as a graduate student, she took an appointment as a research associate at the Provincial Archives of Alberta, gathering reel-to-reel recordings of music in Moravian, Ukrainian, Egyptian, Indian, and Dutch communities over a period of two years. When she joined the University of Alberta in 1983, she modelled — through her teaching, publishing, personal and civic life — lateral patterns of respect to peers who were experts in different musical and intellectual traditions.

For instance, Qureshi was instrumental in hiring Indian musician Wasanti Paranjape to create and sustain the department's Indian Music Ensemble. Such a platform allowed Mrs. Paranjape's artistry to "count" alongside the virtuosity of a violinist or the expressiveness of a pianist — as it had already "counted" for the members of Edmonton's Indian community who had attended her lessons for years. Indeed, Mrs. Paranjape had provided a young Mrs. (not yet Dr.) Qureshi a foundation for Indian musical performance in exchange for Qureshi's interpretation of the Western classical system. The students guided by Mrs. Paranjape's expertise benefited not only from her musical knowledge, but also from the mutual respect modelled in her relations with Qureshi, as musicians

and as human beings. It is fitting, then, that a commendation to Mrs. Paranjape, on the occasion of her retirement, was delivered by Leonard Ratzlaff, the music department's chair at the time, and the mainstay of the choral program. Ratzlaff's appreciation of Paranjape's vocal pedagogy was conditioned by his own years of experience conducting the Madrigal Singers. And as a testament to the importance of the social within standard Western repertoire, we should note that Ratzlaff's own deep knowledge of sacred vocal music was itself formed, in community, within the Mennonite churches of the Canadian prairies — churches not unlike the settings of the Mennonite recordings that can be found in the Regula Qureshi Fonds at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Dr. Carl Urion's engagement with Qureshi goes back almost as far as Mrs. Paranjape's, to the time when both Urion and Qureshi were doctoral students studying with Michael Asch, learning in the solidarity of a shared scholarly experience. Urion, like Qureshi an anthropologist, took a teaching position at the University of Alberta, where he would become a tenured faculty member in anthropology. In 1982, he worked as Advisor to the University on Native Affairs to promote institutional improvement and Indigenous inclusion in teaching, research, and student support. Urion was formed by his experience in a Métis family in Northern Montana and has lived in community with Cree people since his move to Alberta. Crucially, Urion allowed knowledge to flow *into* the university, as he understood the need to enrich the university with Indigenous epistemologies. Although his initial scholarship engaged with abstract contemporary debates in linguistics, he was drawn into engagement with Indigenous ontologies of music. In the 1990s, Urion collaborated for several years with Cree Elder Walter Lightning and one of Lightning's teachers, Elder Gordon Rain. He had supported Lightning's exceptional thesis work, which was based on an essay Elder Louis Sunchild had written for Lightning to explicate and publish. As it happens, both Elders Lightning and Rain had read ethnomusicologists' description of Cree music and wanted, with Urion, to offer a correction to the Western study of this music, based on Cree principles — further opening the channels of mutual access between Indigenous and non-Indigenous bases of knowledge.

I came to know of Urion's career after learning about his research on the intersection of Indigenous subjectivities and Black and Southern gospel music. I know of Paranjape through the testimony of the SAMCC archive. And yet, I've become convinced that the camaraderie and egalitarian impulses radiating from people like Qureshi, Paranjape, and Urion is a lasting legacy that has illuminated the program Regula founded. Take, for instance, the work of a student in her orbit. Ethnomusicologist Dr. Marcia Ostashewski, now the Director of the Centre for Sound Communities at Cape Breton University, came to the

University of Alberta's BMus program as a first-generation university student from a Ukrainian farming family located about an hour outside of Edmonton. Gifted with a beautiful voice, she would come to write on Ukrainian musical experiences from the vantage point of an "organic intellectual," prioritizing theoretical stances that emerge from lived experiences instead of hovering above them. It is not surprising, then, that after pursuing graduate studies with Dr. Beverley Diamond and taking up a faculty position at Cape Breton University, her experience of music and community was transformed in dialogue with her new home community, the musical leaders of the Membertou First Nation. They would use this experience to advocate, in an award-winning co-authored article, for new collaborative approaches to applied public work in music (Ostashewski, Paul, Marshall, and Johnson 2020).

This focus on access and equality amongst musicians and musical traditions brings to mind the only stipulation that Moses Asch made upon allowing Smithsonian Folkways to assume control of Folkways Records. He required that all records be kept in print in perpetuity, regardless of whether they were in demand and lucrative (The Harry Smith Anthology) or niche and esoteric (ahem, von Hornbostel). This philosophy is extended in Asch's desire to publish records that would not otherwise see the light of day — Folkways Records contains Robert Zimmerman's voice as Blind Boy Grunt, but not as Bob Dylan. We can see the lines of Asch's progressive philosophy in his refusal to let commercial value override intrinsic value, just as a re-reading of Henry Marshall Tory's comment on "the whole people" moves the words from a university motto to a strong, anti-elitist statement and thinking about the history of the University of Alberta's ethnomusicology program reveals a philosophy based on human relationships and respect.

Conclusion: Free Range Soundwaves

Serendipity, a guiding theme in this essay, sometimes arrives in a way external to human perception, only evident after it has done its work. I like to think that it might arrive on the sound wave. Consider the following two sets of coincidences. 1) During the celebratory Zoom talk, Scott Smallwood introduced his first Folkways Records choice — experimental music by Henry Cowell and the University of Toronto Electronic Music Studio (FM 3349; FW 3436) — by recounting a chance encounter in fourth grade. His teacher brought in a Folkways recording of Cowell's music and, though the rest of the class was bemused, Smallwood became a future composer then and there. Unbeknown to him, for my Zoom talk I had pulled something from Cowell's liner notes for

an album on Indonesian music (Cowell 1961: 2): for years, I had been feeding my world music classes a metaphor about gamelan, in which music is always playing and only made audible to humans the moment the musicians sit down at their instruments. I had wondered where this came from — my own mentor, Judith Becker? — until I (re)read this same description in Henry Cowell's liner notes for Ethnic Folkways. 2) The Vice President of Research of the University of Alberta, who spurred the creation of folkwaysAlive! in 2003 after hearing Regula Qureshi's concert, may have been conditioned by hearing Folkways Records broadcast over the radio when he was an Alberta youngster. Years later, the institution that he made possible is supporting the project of Métis scholar Carl Urion, studying how local Indigenous people engage with the traditions of Black Gospel music, and drawing on the work of Melvin Butler, the advisor of Alisha Lola Jones. Effectively, the expanded inclusivity that the VP Research set in motion has allowed Urion to offer a stinging rebuke to Frank Oliver, who successfully lobbied — in the very period of the University of Alberta's founding — to appropriate Indigenous lands in Edmonton *and* keep Black migrants from inhabiting them. Or so Oliver thought — unless you consider the free range of soundwaves. Happenstance and radical access have collaborated here, and they might again, when the next listener is inspired by Folkways Records and the institutions that still give them play.

Crucially, these listeners — and singers and dancers — can help shape these institutions, even if this shaping is initially unacknowledged. Consider Frishkopf's description of the musical enfolding of refugees within Edmonton's larger Arabic community at the zenith of the Syrian refugee crisis in 2016. The excerpt below was published in a dialogue based on the President's Roundtable at the 2016 Society of Ethnomusicology, with a dire account of the refugees and the "interactions of social macrostructures within a dehumanized and dehumanizing system, overriding the humanity of individuals" (Frishkopf in Rasmussen et al. 2019: 304). Frishkopf argues that the human nature of music can counter such dehumanization through "social resonance." He recalls a performance of a university music group he leads, MENAME (Middle Eastern and North African Music Ensemble), at a hotel that housed recent Syrian refugees:

> Refugees took the mic: they sang and we played; someone recited poetry; we clapped and danced. One of the refugees, Yahya, pulled out a *mijwiz*, emitting a reedy, unbroken serpentine line that electrified the crowd and induced a sinuous *dabke* line dance physically connecting us together. Subsequently, several refugees joined MENAME. (311)

Although the description begins with the rapid unfolding of performance in the moment, and develops with the fortuitous appearance of an instrument, likely a prized possession, the excerpt ends… with an institution. The ensemble, MENAME, is also known as Music 148, 448, or 548, depending on your skill level; its requirements are laid out in a syllabus; and it confers credit to degree seekers at the University of Alberta. But reading Frishkopf's description, we become aware that it is also a community ensemble, and an ensemble based on sound communities — whether the communities in Egypt where a teacher gained his musical knowledge, the community of Albertan students that benefit from it, or the Edmonton community of refugees, now perhaps citizens, that reanimates this musical knowledge through embodied sociability. The quotation above should be enshrined in the MENAME syllabus, or in the concert programs where new audiences are introduced to new soundwaves. But in addition, I hope it might spur us to tell histories of the other institutions we know in a way that pairs the memorandum of understanding with the dabke, the buildings made of stone with the land-based practices surrounding them, and the hierarchy of the board of directors with the egalitarian spirit of Moses Asch.

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Notes

1. Editor's Note: Unlike the other articles in this special issue, this article was peer reviewed.

2. Consider also the histories of the University of Michigan's Michigamua Club (1916-2006) and "Chief Illiniwek" at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

3. Within Black scholarly networks, titles (e.g. "Dr." or "Reverend") are often retained even by people who know each other well, as a means of acknowledging

the accomplishment of the individuals and, by extension, of the communities that shaped them. Using this practice, I refer to the individuals in this article with whom I have personally interacted by their title at first reference; for others, I use standard academic citation practice. It should be noted, however, that all scholars cited in this section, and most in this essay, have thoroughly earned a doctorate.

4. Eighteen eighty-four was the date of the founding of a significant institution, through the relationship of three colleagues: the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (*Musicology Quarterly*).

5. Pembina is the name for the viburnum plant in Algonquin; it is also, now, the name of a prominent Albertan gas pipeline.

6. Another essay on Regula Qureshi's career might expand on her fluency in French, allowing her to span Anglophone and Francophone traditions of Canadian ethnomusicology as an extension of her own personal skills.

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